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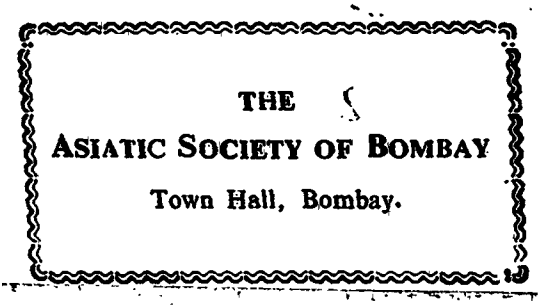

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MANUAL

OF

HISTORICO-CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

TO THE CANONICAL SCRIPTURES OF

THE OLD TESTAMENT.

111883

BY

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Translated from the Second Edition,

WITH SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES FROM BLEEK AND OTHERS,

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CONTENTS.

FIRST PART.

SECOND SECTION—THIRD DIVISION.

(CONTINUED.)

CHAPTER II.

PAGE

§ 131–134. The Book of *Daniel:* the Person of the Prophet; Contents and Unity of the Book; its Genuineness; Objections to the Genuineness, . 1

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE HAGIOGRAPHA.

§ 135. Character of these Books, ... 41

§ 136, 137. The Book of *Ruth:* its Contents, Object, and Historical Character; its Author, and the Date of Composition, . . . 41

§ 138–142. The Books of *Chronicles:* Name, Division, and Contents; Relation to the other Historical Books; the Object; the S[illegible] Author, and the Date of Composition,

§ 143, 144. Historical Character of the C[illegible] which they are parallel with the [illegible] in the Narratives which are [illegible]

§ 145–147. The Book [illegible]

THIRD SECTION.

HOW THE OLD TESTAMENT CANON ORIGINATED.

PAGE.
§ 153. Collections of the Sacred Writings at times earlier than the Exile, 132
§ 154, 155. Collection of the Old Testament after the Exile; Close of the Collection, 137
§ 156. Names, Divisions, and Enumerations of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, 153

SECOND PART.

HISTORY OF THE TRANSMISSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 157. General Survey, 159

FIRST SECTION.

PRESERVATION AND CULTIVATION OF HEBREW PHILOLOGY.

§ 158. The Transmission among the Jews of the Hebrew as a Dead Language, 159
§ 159. The Philological Cultivation of the Hebrew Language among the Jews, 163
§ 160, 161. The Study of Hebrew among the Christians until the Reformation; and thence down to the Present Time, 165
§ 162. Aids to the Investigation of the Hebrew Language, 180

SECOND SECTION.

PROPAGATION AND DIFFUSION OF THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

FIRST DIVISION.

AND PROPAGATION OF THE HEBREW CANON BY MANUSCRIPTS.

TER I.

TEXT OF THE OLD

PAGE

§ 167, 168. Divisions of the Words and of the Sense by Open Spaces and Paragraphs; Verses, Chapters, and Ecclesiastical Pericopæ, . 197
§ 169. The Masoretic System of Accents, . . 209

CHAPTER II.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 170–173. Their General Nature and Character; Synagogue Rolls; Private Manuscripts in the Chaldee Square Character, and in the Rabbinical Character, ... 210

SECOND DIVISION.

DIFFUSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT BY MEANS OF THE ANCIENT VERSIONS.

§ 174. Value and Classification of the Ancient Versions, . . . 215

CHAPTER I.

GREEK TRANSLATIONS.

§ 175. The Alexandrian Translation; its Origin and Nature, 216
§ 176. The other Ancient Greek Versions, ... 228
§ 177, 178. History of the Septuagint to the Time of Origen, and afterwards, ... 236
§ 179–184. Versions derived from the Septuagint: the Itala; Syriac Mediate Translations; the Ethiopic; the Egyptian; the Arabic Mediate Translations; and others, . . 247
§ 185. The Versio Veneta, ... 260

CHAPTER II.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATIONS.

§ 186–190. Chaldee Paraphrases (Targums), their Origin: that of Onkelos; that of Jonathan ben Uzziel; the Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch (Pseudo-Jonathan); those on the Hagiographa, ... 261
§ 191, 192. The Syriac Peshito; Versions derived from it, . . . 270
§ 193. Arabic Translations from the Original Text, . .
§ 194, 195. The Samaritan Version of the Pentateuch; Greek Translations from it, . .
§ 196. Persian Translation of the Pen-

THIRD SECTION.

THE CRITICAL TREATMENT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

FIRST PERIOD.

HISTORY OF THE CRITICISM OF THE UNPRINTED TEXT.

PAGE

§ 201. How various Readings or Errors came to exist in the Text, . . 294
§ 202. Nature and Condition of the Text before and at the Closing of the Canon, ... 298
§ 203. How the Text took firm Shape in the Age of the Sopherim, . . . 300
§ 204. The Samaritan-Alexandrine Text, ... 302
§ 205, 206. The Hebrew Text in the Talmudic and in the Masoretic Periods, 309
§ 207, 208. The Masora; Subsequent Fortunes of the Unprinted Text, . 316

SECOND PERIOD.

HISTORY OF THE PRINTED TEXT.

§ 209. The Principal Editions of the Old Testament, ... 320
§ 210, 211. Critical Apparatus: the Transactions respecting the Integrity of the Masoretic Text, ... 326

FOURTH SECTION.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY AND TREATMENT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 212. The Character of the Old Testament in general, . . 332

FIRST DIVISION.

DOCTRINE OF THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

. . 335

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CANON IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

PAGE

§ 216. The Views of the Ancient Church as to the Authority of the Old Testament Canon, and the Number of Books comprehended within it, 347

§ 217. Protestant and Neo-Catholic Canon, 366

§ 218. The more recent Views with reference to the Canon of the Old Testament, 374

SECOND DIVISION.

THE HERMENEUTICAL TREATMENT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 219. In general, 378

CHAPTER I.

THE HERMENEUTICAL TREATMENT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AMONG THE JEWS.

§ 220–222. The Hermeneutical Procedure of the Talmudists, and of the Rabbins who explained the Scriptures; that of the Hellenistic and Alexandrian Jews; that of the Karaites and of the Kabbalists, 380

CHAPTER II.

THE HERMENEUTICAL TREATMENT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

§ 223–225. In the Ancient Church till the Reformation; in the Protestant Church; in the Roman Catholic Church, 393

INDEXES.

Passages of Scripture Illustrated or Explained, 425

Principal Subjects, 426

FIRST PART.

SECOND SECTION—THIRD DIVISION.

CONTINUED.

CHAPTER II.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL (דָּנִיאֵל).

COMMENTARIES:—Paraphr. *Josephi Jachiadæ*, c. vers. et annotatt. *Const. l'Empereur*, Amstelodami 1633, 4to. *Casp. Sanctius, Maldonatus*; see § 225. *J. Calvin, Melanchthon, V. Strigel, M. Geier, Coccejus, Venema, Chr. Ben. Michaelis* (in *J. H. Michaelis*, uberior. annotatt.), *Rosenmüller, Maurer*; see § 224. *Sir Isaac Newton*, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, etc., London 1733, 4to; translated into Latin by *W. Sudermann*, Amsterdam 1737, 4to, and then into German by *Chr. Fr. Grohmann*, Leipzig 1765, 8vo. *Leonh. Bertholdt*, Daniel aus d. Hebr. Aram. neu übersetzt u. erklärt mit e. vollst. Einl. u. einigen hist. u. exeg. Excursen, Erlangen 1806 and 1808. *H. A. Chr. Hövernick*, Comm. üb. d. B. Daniel, Hamburg 1832. *Gaussen*, Daniel le prophète, 2d ed. 1850. Das B. Daniel verdeutscht u. ausgelegt v. *C. von Lengerke*, Königsberg 1835. *F. Hitzig*, d. B. Daniel erklärt, Leipzig 1850 (Lief. 10 of the kurzgef[illegible] Handbuch). *C. Aug. Auberlen*, d. Proph. Daniel [illegible] Johannis, Basil 1854, 2d ed. 1857.

For Introduction:— [illegible] descriptionem [illegible] 1820 [illegible]

§ 131. *The Person of the Prophet.*

Daniel, a young Hebrew of noble birth (1), was carried away to Babylon, along with other Israelite youths of high rank, in the reign of Jehoiakim (2); and there, under the name of *Belteshazzar*, he was educated in the wisdom and science of the Chaldees, with the view of being employed at court (ch. i.). With fidelity he held fast to the faith of his fathers (i. 8–16), and was endowed by God with exalted wisdom, and with understanding in wonderful visions and dreams. In consequence of this, which enabled him to interpret two remarkable dreams of Nebuchadnezzar's (ch. ii. iv.), he was elevated to the rank of president of the wise men of Babylon (ii. 48); and under the following Chaldean rulers he still took charge of royal business, and was renowned for depth of insight as a seer (v. 14, viii. 27) (3). When Babylon was taken, in consequence of his interpreting a wonderful writing perceived by Belshazzar on the wall of his palace (v. 5 ff.), he was elevated by Darius the Mede (Cyaxares II.) to be one of the three presidents of the kingdom (vi. 1); and after the unsuccessful attempt of the royal satraps to ruin him (vi. 2 ff.), he remained invested with this office till the early part of the reign of Cyrus (i. 21, vi. 29, x. 1).

Although, according to this statement, he lived to see the deliverance of his people from the exile, yet he himself seems not to have returned to his mother-country. In the third year of the reign of Cyrus he once more had a vision, in which he received a series of the most special revelations, bearing on the fortunes and sufferings of the covenant people on to the appearing of Christ, along with the consoling exhortation to meet his end in peace, awaiting the resurrection of the dead at the end of the days (x.–xii.).

(1) According to i. 3, the young captives were "of the royal seed, [illegible] princes;" according to *Josephus*, Antiqq. x. 10, 1, ἐκ τοῦ [illegible] opposition to which, the account of the *Pseudo-* [illegible] that he was born ἐν Βεθεβόρῳ τῇ [illegible] historical foundation.

[illegible] of

because; according to Jer. xxv. 1, xlvi. 2, the *fourth* year of Jehoiakim was the first of Nebuchadnezzar; and because, according to xxv. 9, in the *fourth* year—nay, according to xxxvi. 9, in the *fifth* year—of Jehoiakim, the Chaldeans had still not come to Jerusalem" (*De Wette, Hitzig* [*Bleek*, p. 597, as a great difficulty], and others). Suppose, however, that we translate Dan. i. 1, "In the third year of Jehoiakim, Nebuchadnezzar *went, set out*, to Jerusalem,"—a meaning of the verb which is not only thoroughly justified by Jonah i. 3, Gen. xlv. 17, and other passages, but which probably is actually the original one, although the less common one in those treasures of the language which have been transmitted to us (comp. *Gesenius*, Lex. Man. ed. *Hofmann*, *s.v.*),—and thus refer the chronological statement to the commencement of the expedition against Jerusalem. Then the solution of the apparent contradiction is given by combining two things: Nebuchadnezzar took the field against Western Asia so early as the third year of Jehoiakim, beginning perhaps toward the end of that year; yet he did not defeat the Egyptians at Carchemish on the Euphrates till the fourth year of Jehoiakim (it might be the beginning of the year), in the autumn of which year he followed up his victory by the capture of Jerusalem. Nor in this way need there have been any hesitation in designating the fourth year of Jehoiakim as the first year of Nebuchadnezzar; since this was the year in which those events occurred which resulted so fatally for Judah, that yet took their rise in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar's public appearance. This reconciliation of *Perizonius*, origg. Babyl. p. 487, *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. p. 55 ff., and *Häv.* on Dan. i., is not to be refuted either by a reference to 2 Kings xxiv. 1, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, and Jer. xxxvi. 9; or yet by arbitrary assertions assuming to be authoritative, such as that "the history knows nothing of any captivity besides the one under Zedekiah, unless the one under Jehoiakim [Jehoiachin?] in the eighth of Nebuchadnezzar, 2 Kings xxiv. 12." For these assertions are not historical facts, nor is the proposed combination in conflict with 2 Kings xxiv. 1 and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6 (comp. my Comm. on Kings, p. 596 ff.): and the fast proclaimed in the fifth year of Jehoiakim, Jer. xxxvi. 9, need not be assumed to have been appointed to avert the invasion by the Chaldeans, which had not yet taken place; but it may perfectly well be understood, after the analogy of Zech. viii. 19, to have been a day of humiliation in memory of the first capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, which had taken place the year before. —On the other hand, a combination, of which some hints were given by *Kleinert* in the Dorpat. theol. Beitrr. ii. p. 128 ff., and which has been given by *Hofmann*, die siebzig Jahre des Jeremia u. s. w., 1836,

p. 9 ff., and has been accepted by *Hāv.* (neu. krit. Unterss. p. 62 ff.), and by *Oehler* in *Tholuck's* litt. Anzeiger, 1842, No. 49, p. 395 ff., according to which the capture of Jerusalem mentioned in Dan. i. 1, 2 occurred a year before the battle of Carchemish, is untenable, because it is irreconcilable with Jer. xxv. For in this chapter the fourth year of Jehoiakim is unmistakeably represented as that which made an epoch for the theocracy and for all the kingdoms of Hither Asia; since the Lord was about to send for Nebuchadnezzar and all the northern races, and bring them upon Judah, so as to lay that land desolate, and to make its inhabitants, with all the nations round about, servants to the king of Babylon for seventy years (xxv. 9–11). So emphatic a prophecy as this from the mouth of Jeremiah would be quite incomprehensible, on the supposition that Jerusalem had been taken by Nebuchadnezzar, and Jehoiakim made tributary, a year earlier: while in this fourth year of Jehoiakim, to which Jeremiah gave prominence with so much emphasis (xxv. 3 ff.), nothing at all is supposed to have taken place; nor, in fact, anything further during the rest of Jehoiakim's reign, except that he revolted from the Chaldeans a couple of years afterwards, and was therefore exposed to incursions from the bands of the Chaldeans, Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites (2 Kings xxiv. 2). [This criticism is scarcely justifiable. Though the proposed reconciliation is less probable than that of *Perizonius*, on account of difficulties to be stated immediately, yet its defenders might reply that a very great deal was done in the fourth year of Jehoiakim: that circumstances of which we know nothing, on account of our having no Egyptian or Babylonian documents preserved, may have led Nebuchadnezzar to push forward at least a part of his army and take Jerusalem the year before; yet that this might have been an event of no greater importance to the theocracy, and with no more enduring consequences, than that taking of Jerusalem by Pharaoh-Necho when Jehoahaz was deposed and Jehoiakim elevated to the throne. For undoubtedly the decisive circumstance, as regarded Jerusalem and Judah, and all Western Asia, was the crushing defeat of the Egyptians at Carchemish in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, after which "the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land: for the king of Babylon had taken, from the torrent of Egypt unto the river Euphrates, all that pertained to the king of Egypt." 2 Kings xxiv. 7.] But what makes this combination quite inconceivable is, that at a time when the king of Egypt was certainly in possession of Carchemish at the river Euphrates, upon which fortress he had advanced already so early as the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign (2 Kings

xxiii. 29; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20), Nebuchadnezzar never could have passed beyond this hostile army and advanced upon Judea, leaving Babylonia at the mercy of so powerful an enemy. But if he had been able to do this, and if he had actually done it, incredible as it appears, still Pharaoh-Necho would neither have permitted his enemy to operate in his rear undisturbed, and to overcome Jehoiakim his vassal; nor yet would Nebuchadnezzar have wheeled about after he had conquered Jerusalem to return for the first time to conquer Carchemish and defeat his principal enemy, instead of pressing forward into Egypt and taking possession of that land with little trouble, when it was left exposed without its armies. Comp. *Hitzig*, p. 3. And all this is without taking into account the fact that this combination cannot be reconciled with the extracts from *Berosus* given by *Josephus*, Antiqq. x. 11, 1, and c. Ap. i. 19. [It is true wisdom to acknowledge modestly how ignorant we are of the details of the history, and how we must be content with hypothetical solutions of a difficulty like this. We may prefer one or other of these solutions; yet we need not go further than to indicate such a preference, just because they are hypothetical. Nor has an opponent any right to ask more than such a hypothetical reply, to whose truth we do not pledge ourselves, in consideration of our imperfect knowledge; only we affirm that, if true, it meets his objection. On a chronological difficulty such as this, it may also be remarked with the same truth as on difficulties about the synchronisms of the accessions of the kings of Israel and Judah, and the lengths of their reigns, that we do not know whether the years of these kings were not counted from some anniversary or day fixed as the starting-point in every year. But if the reigns were calculated from the real day of the accession to the throne, then the third or the fourth year of Jehoiakim could correspond exactly or throughout with the first year of Nebuchadnezzar only on the very improbable supposition that they began their reigns on the same day of the year. Nor, finally, has any one reason for denying that Nebuchadnezzar may have *come into Jerusalem and besieged it* in the third year of Jehoiakim, and yet not have *taken* it till the fourth year.]

(3) It is clear from viii. 27, and still more from v. 11 ff., where king Belshazzar's attention is first turned to Daniel by the queen-mother, that Daniel had not continued in the office of president of the Magi, as *Bertholdt*, *Jahn*, *De Wette*, and others suppose. Comp. *Häv.* Comm. p. xxv., and *Winer*, bibl. Real-Wörterbuch, i. 247. [*Bleek*, p. 598, thinks it improbable in the highest degree that a zealous worshipper of Jehovah could have held this office, in which

he would be mixed up with idolatry. We may reply, that no one is entitled to say that he must have been mixed up with idolatry; rather we may be sure that Daniel would make his own terms in accepting the office, so as to keep himself pure. Yet the difficulties may well have been very great; so that nothing but a conviction that the remarkable providence marked out his path of duty, led him to accept office, and at the death of the great king, his patron, he may have gladly found an excuse for retiring.]

Although Daniel was carried captive into Chaldea whilst still at a youthful age (יֶלֶד, i. 4, 10, 13), yet in any case he must have attained the age of ninety at the least. Even during his lifetime the fame of his righteousness and divinely-imparted wisdom was so great, that Ezekiel named him as a pattern in these respects (Ezek. xiv. 14, 20, xxviii. 3). In subsequent times, however, his life, already rich in miracles of the divine omnipotence, was adorned with legendary additions (4).

(4) Regarding the end of his life, there exist only legends which are destitute of confirmation, and are mutually contradictory. According to certain Jewish and oriental legends, he returned to his mother-country; according to others, he died and was buried in Babylon or Susa. Comp. *Carpzov*, iii. p. 239 sqq. Many legends also came to be circulated as to the circumstances of his early life, which begin so far back as in the apocryphal additions and interpolations of the Alexandrian version of Daniel (with the stories of Susannah and of Bel and the Dragon at Babylon), and have been spun out further in the later Jewish Hagada, the Fathers, and even the Mohammedan writers. Comp. *Häv.* Comm. pp. xxvi. and xlii. ff.; *Zunz*, die gottesdienstl. Vorträge, p. 122 f.; *Delitzsch*, de Habacuci vita, p. 24 sqq.; and *Herbelot*, biblioth. orient., in the article Daniel. —On the contrary, the modern criticism has not only refused to admit the genuineness of the book of Daniel: it has also thrown doubt upon his historical existence, partly on account of the supposed false account in ch. i. 1, partly on account of the honourable mention made of him by Ezekiel; and instead of him it has preferred to devise, as the subject of this book, an ancient famous hero of this name, either in mythically remote times (*v. Lengerke, Hitzig*) or in the Assyrian exile (*Ewald* [and *Bunsen*]). See *Bleek*, in the Berliner theol. Zeitschrift, iii. p. 283 ff.; *De Wette*, Einl. § 283; *v. Lengerke*, Dan. p. xciii. ff.; *Ewald*, Proph. ii. p. 560; *Hitzig*, Dan. p. vii. f.—

Such fictions find no justification either in the account at i. 1 (see above, Note 2), or in the passages in Ezekiel. For it is impossible to see, in this case, why Daniel might not have attained to that renown for wisdom and righteousness which Ezekiel celebrates, so early as thirteen or fourteen years after his captivity, and ten years after his elevation as president of the Babylonian Magi; and why his position between Noah and Job *must* be taken chronologically, and may not be explained by an intentional climax in Ezekiel's discourse (comp. *Häv.* Ezek. p. 207). Comp. also *Kirmss, l.c.* p. 59 sqq.; *Winer*, bibl. Real-Wörterbuch, i. 24; and *Delitzsch* in *Herzog's* Encyclop. iii. p. 271 ff.—One circumstance is decisive against the fiction of a mythical Daniel, that the name itself first appears among the sons of David, and is unknown to higher Hebrew antiquity. [*Bleek*, pp. 607–610, thinks that the Daniel mentioned by Ezekiel might be a somewhat poetical personage, like Job; yet that more probably he was a real person, about whom a book had been written, which has perished long before the present book came into existence (!). But he adds that, curiously, we do read of a Daniel, Ezra viii. 2, Neh. x. 7, accompanied by three persons who bore the same names as Daniel's three friends in this book—Mishael in Neh. viii. 4, and Hananiah and Azariah in Neh. x. 3, 24; and these names he thinks were probably borrowed (all the more probably, since Daniel and Mishael are rare) by the author of this book of Daniel, which he regards as a romance in the interest of religious faithfulness, composed during the Maccabean struggle. He holds this opinion in accordance with those views which are discussed afterwards in § 134.]

§ 132. *Contents of the Book, and its Unity.*

The book of Daniel commences with an introductory biographical account of matters relating to his life (ch. i.); after which, it divides itself into two parts, ch. ii.–vii. and ch. viii.–xii. (1). The *first part* relates events and revelations in dreams, which announce the collective development of the worldly power in the four great successive empires, and the erection of the everlasting kingdom of God which was to annihilate that worldly power (2). The *second part* contains visions, which give more precise explanations of the relations of the worldly powers to the kingdom of God in Israel, until the appearing of Christ in the flesh, as predicted in ch. ix. (3).

(1) So *Auberlen*, p. 36 ff. By the ordinary division of the book

into two equal parts, each of six chapters—the first half containing purely history, the second half (ch. vii.–xii.) containing purely visions —a separation is made between the two dreams revealing the worldly monarchies, ch. ii. and vii.; while yet both represent the same object under different images, and both are *narrated* as dreams; and in vii. 1, 2, Daniel still gives a narrative of himself in the third person, as he does in the first six chapters, so that his vision in a dream (ch. vii.) has the same right as Nebuchadnezzar's dream (ch. ii.) to be regarded as history. Add to this that ch. vii. is attached to the first part, and is characteristically distinguished from the second part by the use of the Chaldee language; for the second part is written in Hebrew, like the introductory first chapter.

(2) In the *first part*, ch. ii. contains Nebuchadnezzar's mysterious dream of a colossal image put together of various metals, and of a stone which ground this image to powder; together with the interpretation given by Daniel, that these were the four empires of the world, and the Messianic kingdom which was to annihilate them. Ch. iii. contains the miraculous deliverance of the three friends of Daniel in the fiery furnace. Ch. iii. 31–iv. 34 contains the authoritative publication of the facts of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, his madness, and his restoration to health. Ch. v. contains the narrative of the miraculous writing seen upon the wall by Belshazzar at a nocturnal feast, and Daniel's interpretation of it as foretelling the ruin of the king and his kingdom. Ch. vi. relates the miraculous preservation of Daniel in the lion's den, in the reign of Darius the Mede. And ch. vii. contains Daniel's vision in a dream of the four beasts coming up out of the sea, representing four empires of the world, with the judgment upon them, and the erection of God's everlasting kingdom.—"Thus Daniel's personal fortunes are historically presupposed in his predictions, nay, even form a typical basis for them" (*Auberlen*, p. 37).

The four empires of the world, which are represented in ch. vii. by the four beasts coming up out of the sea, are the same as those of the image seen in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, ch. ii. And certainly, according to the conception ever formed in the Church, which is in conformity with the Scripture, by the golden head (ii. 32), and by the first beast (vii. 4), is to be understood the Babylonian empire; by the silver breast and arms (ii. 32), and by the second beast (vii. 5), the Medo-Persian empire; by the brazen belly and loins (ii. 32), and by the third beast (vii. 6), the Macedonian empire; by the iron legs and the feet partly of iron and partly of clay (ii. 33), and by the fourth beast (vii. 7), the Roman empire.—On the contrary, *Hitzig* would under-

stand Nebuchadnezzar by the golden head, Belshazzar by the breast and arms of silver, the Medo-Persian empire by the belly and loins, and the empire of Alexander and his successors by the legs and feet. It is otherwise in ch. vii.: there, with *Eichhorn*, *von Lengerke*, *Ewald*, *Hilgenfeld*, and others—even *Delitzsch*, *ibid.* p. 280 ff.—he finds the Median empire in the second beast, the Persian in the third, and the Macedonian in the fourth.—These interpretations are refuted, and that received by the Church is vindicated, by *Häv.* Comm. p. 560 ff.; *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. p. 199 ff.; *Hofmann*, Weissagung u. Erfüllung, i. p. 278 ff.; *Caspari*, d. vier Daniel. Weltmonarchien, in *Rudelbach* u. *Guericke's* Zeitschrift, 1841, iv. p. 121 ff.; and *Auberlen*, pp. 41 ff., 191 ff. [and *Pusey* devotes some excellent remarks to the same topic].

(3) In the *second part*, the vision of the ram and the he-goat (ch. viii.) represents the second and third empires, and especially the attitude of the latter towards the kingdom of God. In ch. ix. Daniel receives a revelation as to the seventy years of the exile, that seventy weeks of years are appointed, with the expiry of which, by means of the death of Christ, sin shall be atoned for, bloody and bloodless offerings shall cease, and the city and the sanctuary shall be destroyed. As to these seventy weeks of Daniel, comp. *Hengstb.* Christol. iii. p. 19 ff., and *Auberlen*, p. 103 ff.—Finally, in ch. x.–xii., Daniel obtains fuller explanations of the development of the third empire, and of its struggle against the kingdom of God, with a closing allusion to the resurrection of the dead and the judgment at the end of the days.

There is an internal connection between the two parts of the book. Not only do the several sections of the same part stand in mutual relation (4): the historical and prophetical portions are also related mutually; and, in spite of the composition of the first (ii. 4 [middle]—vii. 28) in Chaldee, and the second in Hebrew, they are connected by similar peculiarities of writing (5), so that we cannot doubt the unity of authorship (6).

(4) Comp. iii. 12 with ii. 49; v. 11 with ii. 48; v. 18 ff. with iv. 22 ff.; vi. 1 with v. 30; ix. 21 with viii. 15 ff.; x. 12 with ix. 23.

(5) In addition to the general affinity which subsists betwixt ch. ii., vii., and viii., compare in particular ii. 28, iv. 2, 7, 10, with vii. 1, 2, 15; v. 6, 9, with vii. 28 (זִי שְׁנָא); iv. 16, v. 6, 10, with vii. 28 (רַעְיוֹנֹהִי יְבַהֲלִנֵּהּ); iii. 4, 7, 31, v. 19, vi. 26, and vii. 14 (עַמְמַיָּא אֻמַיָּא וְלִשָׁנַיָּא); and the similarity in the laudatory notices of Daniel, ii. 26, iv. 5, 16, x. 1, and iv. 15, v. 11, ix. 23, x. 11, 19.

(6) The assumption that there were various authors was made by *Eichhorn* and *Bertholdt;* but it has been long since set aside by *Bleek*, *ibid.* p. 242 ff.; *De Wette*, Einl. § 256; *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. p. 64 ff.; and *Häv.* Einl. ii. 2, pp. 443–4. [*Bleek*, pp. 584–5, says that a plurality of authors was accepted by even *Sack*, *Herbst*, and Dr. *Samuel Davidson*, although they defended the genuineness of the prophecies: for they assigned to Daniel only ch. vii.–xii., and looked upon ch. i.–vi. as a later composition, intended for an introduction. He adds that *Eichhorn*, in his third and fourth editions, assumed two writers, the one of ii. 4–vi. 29, the other of i. 1–ii. 3, and of vii.–xii.; while *Bertholdt*, followed by *Augusti*, assumed nine. On the contrary, *Bleek* himself notices that the book is one composition throughout,—one in spirit, in language, and in mode of representation, and connected by a regular plan. Thus, in the historical part, ch. i. gives prominence to Daniel's knowledge of the meaning of dreams, which was to come out in ch. ii.; ch. i. also names his three friends, and ii. 49 relates their advancement over the province of Babylon, in preparation for their history in ch. iii.; and the mention of the temple vessels being carried away with the captives, i. 2, is with a prospective reference to ch. v.]

§ 133. *Genuineness of the Book of Daniel.*

If the book has proceeded from a single author, then he can be no other than the prophet *Daniel*, who is named as the recipient of the revelations in the second part, and who speaks almost throughout that part in the first person, vii. 2, 4, 6 ff., 28, viii. 1 ff., 15 ff., ix. 2 ff., x. 2 ff., xii. 5–8; although in the historical part, conformably to the objective character of sacred historical composition, he uses the third person in speaking of himself (1). Besides, in xii. 4 he is plainly enough designated as the author of the book. Comp. also vii. 1.

(1) "It is no proof that Daniel did not write ch. i.–vi., that he is spoken of in the third person: we have but to compare Hos. i.–iii., Isa. vii., xx., Amos viii., and other examples. The first and the second parts are from one and the same author" (*De Wette*, Einl. p. 348. Comp. *Auberlen*, pp. 4, 5).

This testimony of the book as to its origin is confirmed by the historical tradition of the Jews and Christians, who are unanimous in attributing it to the ancient prophet Daniel (2); also by sure traces

of the existence of the book before the times of the Maccabees (3); by the nature of its language, which corresponds to the age of the exile (4); by its exact acquaintance with the historical relations, manners, and customs of the time of Daniel (5); and by the peculiarity in its prophecies, which are conformed to the times of the exile, and to the personal position of Daniel (6).

(2) The very reception of the book into the Canon affords a testimony to its genuineness; for those who collected the canonical books were neither so credulous nor so unconscientious as to receive into the number of the sacred books which their nation held to be divine, a performance of the age of the Maccabees, which was attributed by an artifice to the ancient prophet Daniel. Next, the Jewish synagogue, from the first and unanimously, acknowledged its genuineness. What *Bertholdt* adduces to prove the reverse, is based upon misunderstandings; comp. *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. p. 2 ff., and *Häv.* Einl. ii. 2, p. 415 f. Christ also makes a direct recognition of the prophecies of Daniel as true prophecies, Matt. xxiv. 15; and in the discourses relating to His coming or appearing (Matt. x. 23, xvi. 27 f., xix. 28, xxiv. 30, xxv. 31, xxvi. 64), which are based upon Dan. vii. 13, 14, 26, 27, He does so indirectly: and thus He testifies to the genuineness of the book. There is no force at all in the objection of *De Wette*, and others, "Christ had neither the *will*, nor in the nature of the case the *power*, to be a critical authority." For the question as to the genuineness of this book is not merely of a critical nature, but coincides with the religious and dogmatic question, whether the book contains genuine predictions of the ancient prophet Daniel, or mere forged *vaticinia ex eventu* of a Maccabean Jew: and in this matter who dares impute to Jesus either ignorance or error? Comp. *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. p. 258 ff.; *Häv.* Einl. ii. 2, p. 462 ff.; *Auberlen*, pp. 5, 6; and *Kling*, in *Schneider's* deutsch. Zeitschrift, 1855, p. 310 ff. The same is true of the testimony of the apostles, 1 Pet. i. 10 ff., comp. Dan. xii. 8 ff.; 2 Thess. ii. 3 ff., comp. Dan. vii. 8, 25; 1 Cor. vi. 2, comp. Dan. vii. 22; Heb. xi. 33, 34, comp. Dan. vi. and iii.

(3) According to *Josephus*, Antiqq. xi. 8, 4 ff., Alexander the Great was induced to deal tenderly with the Jews, on account of the prophecies of Daniel which were shown to him at his entry into Jerusalem: see the vindication of this narrative, which carries with it all the traces of historical truth, in *Hengstb. ibid.* p. 277 ff., and *Häv. ibid.* pp. 456–7. Next, the Alexandrian translation even of the Pentateuch bears traces of acquaintance with the book of Daniel, from which it has drawn the doctrine of tutelary angels presiding

over heathen kingdoms, introduced by it into the passage, Deut. xxxii. 8; comp. also Isa. xxx. 4 (Sept.). This doctrine is found in Ecclus. xvii. 14, where the ἡγούμενος alludes to the שַׂר in Dan. x. 21, xii. 1. Add to this the manifold use of Daniel in the book of Baruch, whose origin is to be placed in the Maccabean period [or, at all events, later than the close of the Canon; for nothing is known of its date except by conjecture]: comp. in particular ch. i. and ii. with Dan. ix., on account of which *Hitzig*, die Psalmen, ii. p. 120, chooses to attribute Daniel and Baruch to the same author, though this opinion is rightly combated by *Oehler* in *Tholuck's* litt. Anzeiger, 1842, No. 50, p. 388, and by *Fritzsche*, kurzgefasst. exeg. Handbuch, on the Apocrypha, i. p. 173. Further, the first book of Maccabees shows acquaintance with the book of Daniel, and this in the form of the Alexandrian translation of it (i. 54, comp. Dan. ix. 27; ii. 59, 60, comp. Dan. iii.) [against which, *Bleek*, p. 587, has only this reply, that this passage is a speech not truly belonging to the Maccabean age, but worked up by the author of the first book of Maccabees, perhaps about the year B.C. 100. To this it is sufficient to rejoin, with *Pusey*, that the historian is singularly exact in general, and that these words are wonderfully graphic and precise in their allusion to the book of Daniel]. Finally, there is the circumstance, that such a multitude of special references to the persecutions by Antiochus are contained in the Alexandrian version of Daniel, as to necessitate the belief that it was made while the influence of that persecution was still fresh (comp. *Häv.* p. 458); and yet that it was made not contemporaneously with the original, but a considerable time later, since it deals with this original freely, nay, at times arbitrarily: consequently, the Hebrew book of Daniel must be much older.

(4) First of all, the easy transition from the Hebrew to the Chaldee language (ii. 4), and the reverse (viii. 1 ff.), is explicable only on the supposition that the writer and the readers of the book had equal fluency in both. This does not suit the Maccabean age, in which the prevalence of the Aramaic dialect had led to the disuse of the Hebrew, the knowledge of which was therefore propagated only by learned study; but it suits perfectly the time of Daniel or of the exile, in which the people had learned the Chaldee dialect, but had not yet unlearned their Hebrew mother tongue. Still more convincing is the incontrovertible fact, that the Hebrew of Daniel bears the closest affinity to the language of the writings in the exile, especially Ezekiel's (comp. the style of accosting, בֶּן אָדָם, viii. 17, habitual in Ezekiel): זֹהַר, brightness (also the verb), xii. 3, like Ezek. viii. 2; חַיֵּב, to bring guilt upon, or make indebted, i. 10, and the noun חוֹב, only in Ezek. xviii. 7;

כְּתַב instead of סְפַר, x. 21, like Ezek. xiii. 9 [or rather, in both cases the noun כְּתָב, though the verb occurs in the latter text]; לָבוּשׁ בַּדִּים, x. 5, and Ezek. ix. 2, 3; פַּתְבַּג, royal food, i. 5, and בַּג, food, Ezek. xxv. 7 [*Kthîb*]; הַצְּבִי as a description of the land of Israel, viii. 9 (comp. xi. 16, 41), like Ezek. xx. 6, 15, comp. Jer. iii. 19; קָלָל, polished, x. 6, and Ezek. i. 7; and others besides (comp. *Häv.* neue krit. Unterss. pp. 97–8). And, along with this, there is the surprising agreement of the Chaldee with that of the book of Ezra, distinguished by many Hebraisms from that of the earliest Targums; for instance, ה instead of א in feminine terminations: חֲבוּלָה, vi. 23; מְדִבְּחָה, Ezra vii. 17; דְּהָבָה, ver. 18; כְּתָבָה, v. 5; אָכְלָה and רְפָסָה, vii. 7: in *Aphel*, as in the Hebrew *Hiphil*, הַשְׁפַּחַת, ii. 25; הַצְלָה, vi. 29; הַרְגִּשׁוּ, vi. 7, like הַרְנִזוּ, Ezra v. 12; הִקְרִבוּ, Ezra vi. 17; הָעֲל, ii. 24; הֵיבֵל, Ezra v. 14; הֲקִים, iii. 2, 14, comp. v. 11, vii. 5, and *Winer's* Chald. Grammat. 2d ed. p. 41: in *Ithpaal*, הִתְחֲרַךְ, iii. 27: in the infinitive *Pael*, קְטָלָה, ii. 14; בְּקָרָה, Ezra vii. 14; שְׁכְלָלָה, Ezra v. 3: further, verbs ל״ה instead of ל״א—for instance, רָבָה, iv. 8; בָּעָה, ii. 16: the resolution of *Daghesh forte* not only where it represents an extruded *Nun*, but also in words and forms in which that letter had never been, as אַנְבָּה, iv. 9, 18; הַנְעֵל, ii. 25, iv. 3, vi. 19: the furtive *Pattach*, which, properly speaking, is foreign to Chaldee—שְׁלִיתַ, v. 24, and Ezra vii. 14: the dual, which elsewhere is foreign to Chaldee—יְדַיִן, hands, ii. 34; מְאָתַיִן, 200, Ezra vi. 17; קַרְנַיִן, horns, vii. 7; רַגְלַיִן, feet, vii. 4 (the Targumists writing עֵינַיִן, מְאָתַן, רַגְלַיִן, יְדַיִן; comp. *Buxtorf*, Gramm. Chald. p. 33): the segholate forms, מֶלֶךְ, קֶרֶן, חֶלֶם, מִלָּה (*Buxtorf*, *l.c.* p. 212; *Winer*, Chald. Gramm. p. 86): the peculiar form of a perfect passive derived from the passive participle, v. 27, 28, 30, vi. 4, vii. 4, 11, 12, Ezra v. 14 (comp. *Buxtorf*, *l.c.* p. 66; *Winer*, *ibid.* p. 42): the retention in the imperfect and participle of the ה characteristic of *Aphel*, and the use of *Hophal* in place of *Ittophal*, which does not occur at all in Daniel and Ezra (*Winer*, p. 41): the treatment of the verb יְדַע as if it were a verb פ״נ—thus, אִנְדַּע, ii. 9; תִּנְדַּע, ii. 30, iv. 22, 23, Ezra iv. 15; מִנְדַּעְא, ii. 21, iv. 3, and often, of which in the Targums there has hitherto been produced but a single instance—אִנְדַּע, Ruth iv. 4. Comp. *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. p. 303 ff. [Also see *Pusey* on Daniel, pp. 37–40, and his note B on the Hebrew, and pp. 41–56 on the Chaldee. He also holds that the Chaldee is the same in Daniel as in Ezra, and is different from that of the earliest Targums. He disagrees with the common opinion in some particulars; denying that the peculiarities of the Chaldee in Daniel are Hebraisms, and affirming that they are the eastern form of the language.] Hence *J. D. Michaelis*, gramm. Chald. p. 25, long ago gave judgment correctly: "ex his similibusque

Danielis et Ezræ Hebraismis, qui his libris peculiares sunt, intelliges, utrumque librum eo tempore scriptum fuisse, quo recens adhuc vernacula sua admiscentibus Hebræis lingua Chaldaica; *non seriore tempore confictum.* In Thargumim enim, antiquissimis etiam, plerumque frustra hos Hebraismos quæsieris, in Daniele et Ezra ubique obvios." Yet, that this agreement of Daniel with Ezra has not arisen from imitation, is shown by their many divergences, which set before us the independence of the two writers. Such are the pronominal forms in Ezra, לְהוֹם and לְהוֹם, both with ן instead of ם in Daniel, who again has הֵמּוֹן, as well as the apocopate form without ן, in ii. 34, 35, iii. 22, while Ezra has the latter only; הוּךְ in Ezra, for which we find אָזֹל in Dan. vi. 19; גִּנְבַר, treasures, Ezra i. 8, vii. 21 [plural גִּנְבַרַיָּא], for which [in the plural] גִּנְזַבְרַיָּא, Dan. iii. 2, 3: the adverbs אֲזַפְרְנָא, studiously, Ezra v. 8, vi. 8, and אֲדַרְזְדָא, diligently, vii. 23, are unknown to Daniel: for נְוָלִי, a dunghill, Dan. ii. 5, stands נְוָלָה in Ezra vi. 11. And there are other differences.

(5) Intimate familiarity with the historical relations of the time comes out incidentally from the mention of the laws of the *Medes and Persians*, vi. 9, 13, 16; since the Persians took precedence of the Medes from the time of Cyrus and onwards, so that already the book of Esther speaks only of the laws of the *Persians and Medes*, Esth. i. 19, comp. v. 3, 14, 18. Exact knowledge of the arrangements, manners, and customs of the Babylonian court and kingdom is evinced by the account i. 7, that Daniel and his companions received new names when they were taken to the court, as a preparation for employment in the king's service, as it was a Chaldean custom, according to 2 Kings xxiv. 17, though it could not be inferred from this passage, since the names are Chaldee, and are connected with Babylonian gods; also by the king's command, ii. 5, to turn into dunghills the houses of the magi who were unable to tell his dream, according to an ancient, wide-spread oriental custom (comp. *Häv.* on Dan. ii. 5); the capital punishments of cutting to pieces and burning in a furnace, mentioned in ii. 5, iii. 6, which are shown to have been usual among the Chaldeans by Ezek. xvi. 40, xxiii. 47, Jer. xxix. 22, and other testimonies; while that of casting into the den of lions (vi. 8, 13 ff.) occurs among the Medo-Persians. The account of the clothing of Daniel's companions, iii. 21, agrees with what is said in *Herodotus*, i. 195; the presence of the women at feasts and drinking-banquets, v. 2, is confirmed by *Xenophon*, Cyrop. v. 2, and *Curtius*, v. 1, 38. Also the accounts of the Babylonian priestly caste in the book of Daniel are in harmony with those of profane writers, so that already *Münter*, d. Religion der Babylonier, p. 5, remarks: "What is

contained in the earlier Israelitish prophets as to the religion of the Babylonians, *agrees admirably with the accounts in Daniel; and the legends preserved by Ctesias, Herodotus, Berosus, and Diodorus, can quite well be brought into combination with it too.*" Even *Schlosser* says, in his universalhistor. Uebers. i. p. 242: "We believe that the only remains of the habits of thinking and the manners of the Babylonian period are preserved in Daniel, along with the only connected remnant of their ancient language; because the Greeks have transmitted nothing but the Greek view of these things, or, like Berosus, the Babylonian transformed into Greek. The entire style and manner of the interpretation of omens and dreams, the organization of the priestly caste, and the whole way of life of the latest Babylonian rulers, as well as some intimations about the Medo-Persian age, are to be found in these fragments." See the particulars in *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. p. 333 ff.—The assertion of our opponents, that the book of Daniel contains a multitude of blunders which stand opposed to well-authenticated history, is as yet unconfirmed by a single proof that will bear examination.

(6) [*Bleek*, p. 600, after noticing difficulties and objections which shall be taken up in § 134, asserts that "the nature of the first great division of the book, when viewed by itself, shows that these narratives cannot well have been composed by Daniel or a contemporary writer, and brings before us at least something in favour of the assumption, to which we are also conducted by its affinity to the second division—*namely, that it has* been written by the author of the visions, and so *likewise no earlier than the* age of Antiochus Epiphanes." He then proceeds, pp. 600–607, to inquire what motive this supposed author could have, or what was the object of his work. He rejects the notion that it was in any sense or degree historical; and he holds that it was *entirely hortatory, the exhortation* and comfort being intimately related to the times in which he lived. "If we reflect upon these relations, we shall have no doubt that the author makes the examples which he adduces—of Daniel and his three companions on the one hand; and, on the other hand, of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar—the starting-point of his exhortation to his countrymen living at the time, to imitate the former in an unbending spirit of faith, publicly confessing the God of their fathers without regard to consequences: at the same time directing them to the consideration, that this only true and almighty God would know how, in His own time, to humble and cast to the ground those who, like Antiochus Epiphanes, lifted themselves up in presumptuous arrogance against Him, and sought to turn His people from serving Him; and how, on the contrary, to

achieve the victory finally for His resolute and faithful worshippers." He contrives to get very lightly over the difficulty that there would be really nothing on which to base the exhortation, if these narratives were mere fictions: for he concedes that the writer may have had something in the shape of tradition before him, "which he worked up freely in a manner most suitable to his hortatory object." And so he proceeds to point out that these extraordinary narratives, ch. iii.–vi., are stories based upon events in the age in which he supposes the author to have lived, but veiled and transformed a little for the sake of his readers. Thus, he says, ch. iii. 1–30 reminds us of the attempt to introduce Grecian worship, 1 Macc. i. 43 ff.; and he reckons ch. vi. much of the same nature, referring to the stedfastness of the aged Eleazar, 2 Macc. vi. 18–31. Ch. iv. and v. are pronounced to be two pictures of Antiochus, especially because he used the temple-vessels; comp. 1 Macc. i. 21 ff., 2 Macc. v. 15 ff. In the early part of the book, the account of Daniel and his companions confining themselves to vegetable diet and water, in order to avoid pollution by the bread and wine of the king, is alleged to be for the purpose of exhorting the Jews to similar self-denial in food under Antiochus Epiphanes; and reference is made to Judas Maccabæus and others, who lived on herbs in order to avoid the risk of polluting themselves with heathenish food, 2 Macc. v. 27, comparing 1 Macc. i. 62 ff.— It is scarcely necessary to deal with this laborious attempt to undermine the historical authority of the book. If *Bleek* had set down plainly the amount of matter which he was willing to admit as historically true, he would have been brought very quickly to the dilemma of making only such shadowy admissions as to leave his explanation destitute of a basis on which to rest, or of making such substantial admissions as would carry with them the truth of the entire narratives. The resemblances to events in the Maccabean time are so general as to have many parallels in every age of trial; they merely show that Scripture is so written as to be "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness," to the Church in all circumstances in which she finds herself placed from age to age.— *Pusey*, p. 439, note, speaks strongly, and with good reason, of *Bleek's* procedure in comparing the image set up by Nebuchadnezzar in the plain of Dura to the act of Antiochus consecrating the temple at Jerusalem to Jupiter Olympius, and transforming the altar of burnt-offering for purposes of idolatrous service; "beside which *there is no doubt* that he erected a statue of the god to whom the temple was dedicated" (*Bleek*, Einl. p. 602): and this after *Hengstb.* i. 86, had shown the erection of such a statue to be a pure fiction, as was owned

by *v. Lengerke*, pp. 104–5.]—The form and the contents of Daniel's prophecies are distinguished from those of the other prophetic writings. They are neither prophetic discourses, whose matter consists of rebukes, and threatenings, and promises; nor are they symbolic actions, which embody prophetic truths: but they describe, in images and symbols, with many features of minute detail and with extremely special predictions, the future configuration of the empires of the world, their struggle with the kingdom of God, and its final victory over all the hostile worldly powers. This peculiar character of Daniel's prophecies corresponds in general to the relations introduced by the exile, by which the theocracy was delivered over to the historical process of the empires of the world; and its continued existence and its configuration in the more distant future were so swallowed up in their course of development, that it could attain to its destined glory only through their overthrow. But besides, and in particular, the character of these prophecies corresponds to Daniel's position at the Babylonian court, to his initiation into the wisdom of the Chaldees, and to the problem of his calling as God had shown it to him. For, in order to manifest to the proud and insolent rulers of Babylon that the earthly wisdom and skill of their magi was a nonentity, and at the same time to manifest to them the hidden wisdom of the Almighty God and Lord of heaven and earth, it was necessary that Divine Revelation should enter into the form of the wisdom known to them, and esteemed more highly than anything else by them, and into its symbolism and its figurative language, and so overcome them and put them to shame. Now this revelation was in its final aim destined for the covenant people, and was meant to impart to them light, and comfort, and strength, that they might persevere in the faith during the times of severe impending tribulation, while their fortunes continued interwoven with the process of the heathenish empires, until Messiah should renew the theocracy. And if this object was to be attained, the revelation must unveil the whole course of the entanglement of the theocracy with the empires of the world, and must represent it, as much as possible, by the plainest images and the most distinct and determinate sketches. Comp. *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. pp. 191–2, and *Auberlen*, p. 29 ff. But a very strong proof of the genuineness of the prophecies of this book lies in this their peculiarly constituted nature, so thoroughly corresponding to the position of Daniel, and also to the necessities of the covenant people. [*Pusey*, p. 353 ff., argues in favour of the genuineness of the book on the following grounds:—1. The influence of Daniel's prayer, ch. ix. 4, on the prayer in Neh. i. 4, ix. 32, and Dan. ix. 15 on Neh. ix. 10, and perhaps Dan. ix. 8 on Neh. ix. 34; while

there is nothing like continual and aimless copying, such as those critics think they find, who allege that the Pseudo-Daniel transferred Nehemiah's language to his own book. 2. Zechariah's references to Daniel, in his visions of the four horns and the four chariots. 3. The precise and repeated copying of Dan. ix. 7–18 in Baruch i. 15–ii. 19. Baruch is not the original, since the book is plainly a compilation, and makes the error of supposing Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar contemporary, i. 11, 12, which it might be led to do owing to the silence of the book of Daniel. Yet it was probably written not long after the close of the Canon, as it hoped for a speedy restoration, iv. 22, 24, 25; "and in a calm atmosphere of trust, in the consciousness of no troubles beyond those which were the results of the captivity, and with no anticipation of the distresses of the Maccabean period." 4. The Septuagint rendering of Deut. xxxii. 8. 5. The third Sibylline book, whose date he fixes to about B.C. 170, its author being an Alexandrian Jew. 6. The use made of the original book of Daniel in 1st Maccabees. 7. The nature of the Septuagint translation of Daniel, with so many glosses, making it much later than the original, and connecting it with Antiochus; for instance, about the seventy weeks. 8. The influence of Daniel on the apocryphal book of Enoch.]

§ 134. *Objections to the Genuineness of the Book of Daniel.*

In spite of these weighty testimonies, ever since the last twenty or thirty years of the eighteenth century, the Rationalist critics have assailed the genuineness of the book of Daniel; have denied that its contents were prophetic; and have very confidently held the opinion to be a fact established by sufficient evidence, that the book is the production of a Jew in the time of the Maccabees, who was induced by religious and patriotic aims to attribute his predictions, composed after the events to which they refer, to the ancient prophet Daniel. They think they discover the proof of this in the position which it occupies in the Canon of the Old Testament; in the silence of Jesus the son of Sirach as to Daniel; in the laudatory and frequently repeated mention of Daniel in the book itself; in its corrupt language, both Hebrew and Chaldee, and in the Greek words which occur in it; but especially in the romance of its historical narratives, in the apocalyptic character of its prophecies, and in its many dogmatic and ethical representations belonging to a later age (1).

(1) The originator of this view, and at the same time the solitary

opponent of the genuineness of the book in ancient times, was the well-known adversary of Christianity, *Porphyry* [who died A.D. 304; *Bleek*, p. 583]. Of him we are informed by *Jerome* in the preface to his Commentary on Daniel (Opp. v. p. 267): "Nolens eum," that is, the book of Daniel, "ab ipso, cujus inscriptus est nomine, esse compositum, sed a quodam, qui temporibus Antiochi Epiphanis fuerit in Judæa; et non tam Danielem ventura dixisse, quam illum narrasse præterita. Denique quicquid usque ad Antiochum dixerit, veram historiam continere; si quid autem ultra opinatus sit, quia futura nescierit, esse mentitum." In opposition to him, *Eusebius* of Cæsarea, *Methodius* of Tyre, *Apollinaris* of Laodicea in Syria, and *Jerome*, defended the genuineness of the book and its prophecies; and the Church did not let this assault mislead it away from its firm faith in the divine truth of the book. Comp. *Carpzov*, iii. p. 243. Nor did *Spinoza* once attempt to reject the genuineness of the whole book, or to attack its prophecies; but in his tractat. theol. pol. c. x. p. 130 sq., he merely says: "Hic (Danielis liber) sine dubio ex cap. viii. ipsius Danielis scripta continet. Undenam autem priora septem capita descripta fuerint nescio. Possumus suspicari, quandoquidem præter primum Chaldaice scripta sunt, ex Chaldæorum chronologiis. Hoc tantum notare saltem possumus, hæc capita Chaldaice scripta esse et nihilominus æque sacra esse ac reliqua Bibliorum," etc. (See the particulars of his hypothesis as to how the whole book originated, in *Carpzov*, p. 252 sq.) Still less did *Sir Isaac Newton* and *Beausobre* (rémarques sur le Nouveau Testament, i. p. 70) wish to throw doubt upon the genuineness of the prophecies, when they maintained that Daniel himself wrote only the latter chapters; comp. *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. pp. 3, 4. Altogether unimportant also was the attack of the Jewish atheist *Uriel Akosta*, about 1624; a man who, in order that he might deny the immortality of the soul, advanced the assertion that the book of Daniel was forged, after the manner of the books of Judith and 3d and 4th Esdras, so as to favour the pharisaical doctrine of the resurrection of the body (comp. *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 161): and equally so is the attack of the English deist *Antony Collins*, who assailed the integrity of the book on account of its prophecies. In like manner *Semler* (freie Untersuchung des Canon, iii. 505, comp. also ii. 220) rejected the divinity of the book of Daniel, "because he finds in it no such useful end as God wishes to attain in man, when He applies wholly peculiar expedients in order to help him." *J. D. Michaelis* (Uebersetzung d. Alten Test. mit Anmerkk. f. Ungelehrte, x. pp. 22–3) doubted of no more than the genuineness of ch. iii.–vi., because he thought that

the first translator of Daniel did not find them in his copy, and that a later one worked them up according to a text which deviated from it greatly; and he did this partly also on account of the objections raised against their contents, and on account of the Greek words appearing in them; and yet he did not choose to attribute decisive weight to these doubts, while he held firmly and decidedly to the genuineness of ch. i., ii., vii.–xii. Even *Eichhorn*, in the first two editions of his Introduction, defended the genuineness of the last six chapters: he did not reject the genuineness of the *whole* book until the third and fourth editions, after *Corrodi* (freimüth. Versuche über verschiedene in Theologie u. bibl. Krit. einschlagende Gegenstände, 1783, p. 1 ff.; Beleuchtung der Gesch. des Kanon, i. p. 75 ff.; and Gesch. des Chiliasmus, i. p. 247 ff.) had explained the book as the work of a deceiver in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. More profound and acute was the attack of *Bertholdt* (Daniel neu übersetzt, i. p. 22 ff.; and Einl. p. 1511 ff.), to whom its more recent opponents attach themselves, only modifying individual points. Such are *Griesinger* (neue Ansicht der Aufsätze im B. Dan. 1812); *Gesenius* (Allg. Lit. Zeitung, 1816, No. 57, E. B. No. 80); *Bleek, ibid.* p. 171 ff., who showed the unity of the book against *Eichhorn* and *Bertholdt*, but at the same time sifted, whetted, and perfected the arguments against its genuineness; *Kirmss, l.c.; De Wette* (Einl. § 255); *Redepenning* (theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1833, p. 831 ff.; 1835, p. 163 ff.); *Rosenmüller, v. Lengerke*, and *Hitzig* (in their Commentaries); *Knobel* (d. Prophetismus, ii. p. 389 ff.); *Hilgenfeld* (d. jüd. Apokalyptik, Jena 1857, p. 19 ff.); *Ewald* (Propheten, ii. p. 559 ff.; bibl. Jahrb. iii. p. 229 ff.; and Gesch. d. Volks Israel, iv. p. 345 ff.), who sets up the hypothesis that the book has proceeded from an older work as its source. [To this list *Bleek*, p. 584, adds *Lücke*, Einl. in die Offenbarung Johan., 2d ed. p. 41 ff.; *Bunsen*, Gott in d. Geschichte, i. 514–540; *Bleek*, Messian. Weissag. im B. Daniel, mit Beziechung auf Auberlen, in Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol. 1860, 1, pp. 45–101, as well as that other treatise of his own already more shortly noticed by *Keil*,—namely, Abhandlung über Verfasser u. Zweck d. B. Daniel; Revision der neueren darüber angestellten Unters., in *Schleiermacher, De Wette, u. Lücke's* theol. Zeitschrift, Heft 3 (Berl. 1822), pp. 171–294.]

On the other hand, the genuineness has been defended by *Lüderwald* (die sechs ersten Capp. Daniel's nach histor. Gründen geprüft, Helmstädt 1787, against *Eichhorn*, Einl. 1st ed.), *Stäudlin* (in d. neu. Beitrr. zur Erläut. d. Proph., Göttingen 1781; as to him, comp. *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. p. 9), *Beckhaus* (Integr. d. proph. Schriften, p. 297

ff.); more profoundly by *Jahn* (Einl. ii. p. 624 ff.), *Dereser* (d. Proph. Ezech. u. Daniel übersetzt u. erklärt, p. 228 ff.); more shortly by *Pareau* (instit. interpr. Vet. Test. pp. 424 sq. and 528 sqq.) and *Sack* (christl. Apologetik, p. 331 ff., 2d ed.); most profoundly of all by *Hengstb.* (Beitrr. i.) and *Häv.* (Comm.; also his neue krit. Unterss.; also his Einl. ii. 2, p. 444 ff.), by *Herbst* (Einl., with *Welte's* additions, ii. 2, p. 80 ff.), *Scholz* (Einl. iii. p. 482 ff.), *Auberlen, ibid.*, and *Delitzsch, ibid.*

But a closer examination of the point in dispute shows that the arguments of the opponents of the genuineness of the book and its prophecies, are not calculated to shake and overthrow the testimonies in its favour, and the facts which speak for it; or rather, they even become transformed in great measure into proofs of its genuineness.

I. The position of the book among the Hagiographa affords no argument for determining the date of its composition. 1. Because the threefold division of the Canon does not rest upon chronological considerations, but has a dogmatic basis. 2. Because whensoever the book appeared, at all events it was held to be a work of the ancient prophet Daniel, such as men would have placed in the series of the prophetical books, had it belonged to them in respect of matter and form (2).

(2) It is very justly remarked by *Häv.* Einl. ii. 2, p. 450: "The thesis of our opponents, that on the appearance of the book of Daniel, it was without any controversy held to be a work of Daniel's, stands in glaring contradiction to the view that it came to be placed among the Hagiographa on account of the late age to which it belonged." We need not dwell upon their error in saying that the three parts of the Canon were put together successively, and one after another (comp. § 155, Note 6); whereas we ought to seek the principle of that threefold division in the position occupied by the individual books and their authors in respect of divine revelation and the theocracy. Apart from this, and to speak generally, it is impossible to present in a reasonable shape the assertion that one division of the Canon would be closed in such a way, that a more recently discovered writing could not be incorporated with it or annexed to it, even although it belonged to that division, in respect of the nature of its contents. The book of Daniel receives its place among the Hagiographa, partly because Daniel was not entrusted with the office of a prophet in Israel, or within the theocracy, notwithstanding the very lofty reve-

lations which were vouchsafed to him by God; partly because, in spite of the prophecies contained in his book, it does not bear the character of a prophetical book [in the technical sense in which the word is explained, § 40 and § 61], but belongs to that class of writings in which the human heart expresses itself when it has been moved by the revelation of God [see § 106], and the history and prophecy in it are recorded only for the edification of the Church. Comp. *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. p. 23 ff., where he rightly applies to the position of Daniel in the Canon the distinction which *Witsius* had already made between "donum" and "munus propheticum;". *Auberlen*, p. 33 ff.; and *Delitzsch*, *ibid.* p. 272. [See also *Pusey*, p. 351, who at the same time quotes Jewish authorities to show that Daniel was most highly esteemed.]

II. That Daniel is not mentioned in Ecclus. xlix. is a mere *argumentum e silentio*, and therefore is of little weight, since a necessity for mentioning him cannot be proved. In his ὕμνος πατέρων the writer passes over many other distinguished theocratic men, maintains silence as to the twelve minor prophets (for xlix. 10 is spurious), the highly renowned Ezra, Mordecai, and others. In general, it may be said that he does not aim at anything like a complete enumeration of the distinguished men of the past; and much less does he set out with the purpose of praising *all the writers* in his nation (3).

(3) Comp. *Hengstb.* pp. 21–2; *Häv.* Einl. ii. 2, pp. 451–2; *Herbst*, Einl. ii. 2, p. 88. [*Pusey* also inclines to think the verse spurious in which the twelve prophets are mentioned, on account of the difficulty of the construction. On the other hand, *Bleek*, pp. 588–9, says that there is no sufficient ground for this assertion, although it is made by *Hengstb.*, *Häv.*, *Keil*, Dr. *Samuel Davidson*, and *Bretschneider*: he also gives it as his own opinion that no mention was made of Ezra, because he really had been a very much less important person than later Jewish tradition would lead us to suppose; though he offers no reason for thinking that later Jewish tradition altered the estimate of Ezra, which (on his principles) was still prevalent at least 300 years after the exile, the approximate date he gives for the author of Ecclesiasticus. More sensible is the remark of *Pusey*, pp. 351–3, who agrees with *Keil*, that at any rate the circumstance of no mention being made of Daniel among the prophets can prove no more than that he did not stand among the prophets, and so far therefore ought to confirm our faith in the Canon. And in fact this

whole argument, from his not being mentioned, can be logically used only in proof of one of these two positions, neither of which would probably be approved by most of the impugners of the genuineness of the book: either that no such person as Daniel ever lived; or else that he was not held in any great estimation among his countrymen.]

III. The honourable mention repeatedly made in the book (i. 17, 19, 20, v. 11, 12, vi. 4, ix. 23, x. 11) is analogous to many expressions of the Apostle Paul about himself; for instance, 1 Cor. xv. 10, 2 Cor. xi. 5, 6, xii. 2 ff. The instances are partly due to the completeness of the historical representation, as in ix. 23 and x. 11 the epithet "greatly beloved" given to him by the angel, and in v. 11, 12 the honourable testimony borne to him by the queen in presence of Belshazzar; partly they belong to passages in which the aim is to glorify God, who had endowed His servant with marvellous wisdom (i. 17, 19, 20, vi. 4). In either case, they contain no mark of a Pelagian self-contemplation in a mirror, which could be taken as evidence that he was not the author of the book (4).

(4) On this point, comp. *Hengstb.* pp. 220–1.

IV. Still weaker is the appeal made to the corrupted Hebrew and Chaldee language of the book. Can we expect classic Hebrew expressions throughout from a man who received his education at the Chaldean court, and who spent his whole life in Babylonia? Or can later Chaldee and Persian words in Daniel prove anything, when such are to be found in all the writers of the period of the exile? Or has Ezekiel a purer or better style? (Comp. § 133, Note 4.) As for the alleged Greek words, they are restricted to three, or perhaps four, names of musical instruments, which may have been brought from Greece to Babylon by mercantile intercourse long before the time of Daniel (5).

(5) Of the ten words which *Bertholdt*, Daniel, i. p. 24, brought forward as Greek, the later opponents of the genuineness dropped six as proving nothing, and they hold firmly to the Grecian origin only of קִיתָרוֹס, *κίθαρις*; סַבְּכָא, *σαμβύκη*; סוּמְפֹּנְיָה, *συμφωνία*; פְּסַנְתֵּרִין, *ψαλτήριον* (iii. 5, 7, 10): *De Wette*, Einl. p. 347. Yet the *σαμβύκη* or *ζαμβύκη ἰαμβύκη* of the Greeks is of oriental origin, according to the testimony of the ancients (*Athenæus*, iv. p. 182, xiv. p. 634 sq.),

derived from סַבְּכָא, and not the reverse; of the *κιθάρα* also, *Strabo*, x. 3, p. 471, maintains the Asiatic origin, although certainly against the national Hellenist view; and even of the other two it is perfectly possible that the Greek name may be a transformation from the Shemitic. Comp. *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. p. 11 ff., and *Häv.* neue krit. Unterss. p. 100. *Oehler*, *ibid.* p. 408, remarks upon this: "It is quite impossible to think of an Asiatic origin of *σύριγξ* and *κιθάρα*, in the sense in which we think of it, for *κινύρα* and *νάβλα*. The use of the two former in Homer shows that they really belong to the Greek language: the two latter, on the contrary, like so many other words of an age posterior to Homer's, like those for definite Grecian measures, point to commercial intercourse between Western Asia and Greece," etc. Yet comp. *Auberlen*, p. 12 ff.; *Delitzsch*, p. 274: and as to the extremely ancient relations of Greece with the Assyrio-Babylonian East, comp. *Joh. Brandis*, ü. d. histor. Gewinn aus der Entzifferung der Assyr. Inschriften, 1856, p. 1 ff. [The variations in the spelling of the words in Daniel may perhaps be an evidence that they were foreign. *Delitzsch* presses the fact most justly, that there are in Daniel seven or eight Aryan words, which are much more important testimony in favour of the genuineness.]

V. The reproach that "*the contents of the book are of the nature of a romance*" embraces the improbabilities, the alleged historical inaccuracies, and the miracles of the historical chapters. It owes its origin to the Rationalist horror of miracles, combined with misunderstanding of the object contemplated by the performance of these miracles, and also with defective intimate acquaintance with the spirit and manners of ancient oriental kingdoms; and it depends for its argumentation upon the misinterpretation and misuse of the fragmentary notices to be found elsewhere about the Babylonian and Median kingdoms.

1. There is Nebuchadnezzar's demand, ii. 3 ff., that the magi should not only interpret his dream, but also tell what it had been, whether it might be that he had forgotten it, or whether that he only wished to put the magi to the proof with this; and also his command to put the magi to death who had been unable to gratify him. No one who knows and understands how to estimate the spirit and state of matters in these ancient oriental nations will find in this a sufficient reason for rejecting the historical truth of this narrative: for there is abundant testimony from other sources, both to the importance

attached to visions in dreams by those nations, and by the Babylonians in particular, and also to the regardless cruelty of Asiatic despots.—The description of the idol pillar in ch. iii. corresponds thoroughly to what is told of Babylonian idols, which were distinguished precisely by colossal greatness and by disproportion. The refusal of Daniel's friends to worship this idol is to be explained by the power of true faith in the living God, of which the martyrology of the Christian Church affords many similar examples; and the punishment denounced by the king is rendered more easily credible by the fact that other witnesses corroborate the representation of Nebuchadnezzar's barbarity.—The madness of this king, ch. iv., is strikingly confirmed by the short intimation in *Berosus* regarding the disease that came upon him; and still more by the legend in *Abydenus*, independent of the Bible, and yet agreeing with it in the points of principal importance (6).—The non-appearance of Daniel with the rest of the magi before Belshazzar, ch. v., becomes intelligible by the oriental ordinance of state, according to which a change in the occupant of the throne is usually attended by a removal from office of the priests; and Belshazzar's gracious behaviour in respect of Daniel corresponds with the powerful impression which the marvellous writing and its interpretation must have produced upon the careless royal reveller. [Nor need difficulty be felt, though it appears serious to *Bleek*, p. 599, on account of the number of events crowded into a single night; for analogous cases are not so rare, in which events seem to hurry forward with accelerated speed as they approach some great crisis.]—The decree published by Darius, ch. vi., against asking a petition of any god or man except the king for thirty days, would have only this purpose to serve, that it would sanction the apotheosis of the king as an incarnation of Ahuro-Mazdao,—a doctrine which is taught by the Zend religion [and so understood, it becomes intelligible as a test of the loyalty of these new subjects]: and profane history also offers parallels to this (7).—Nor does it follow from the use of the word גֻּבָּא, to designate the lion's den, vi. 8, 18, that the writer represented this to himself as a funnel-shaped cistern: for the word denotes any kind of pit or hole; and in Syriac it is used not only for prisons, but also for the holes of wild beasts (8).

(6) *Berosus*, in *Josephus*, against Apion, i. 20: *Ναβουχοδονόσορος*

μὲν οὖν μετὰ τὸ ἄρξασθαι τοῦ προειρημένου τείχους, ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀῤῥωστίαν, μετηλλάξατο τὸν βίον. *Abydenus*, in *Eusebius*, præp. evang. ix. 41 : Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ, λέγεται πρὸς Χαλδαίων, ὡς ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλήϊα κατασχεθείη Θεῷ ὅτεῳ δή. Φθεγξάμενος δὲ εἶπεν· οὗτος ἐγὼ Ναβουκοδρόσορος, ὦ Βαβυλώνιοι, τὴν μέλλουσαν ὑμῖν προαγγέλλω συμφορὴν, τὴν ὁ τε Βῆλος ἐμὸς πρόγονος ἥ τε βασίλεια Βῆλτις ἀποστρέψαι, Μοίρας πεῖσαι ἀσθενοῦσιν. Ἥξει Πέρσης ἡμίονος, τοῖσιν ὑμετέροισι δαίμοσι χρεώμενος συμμάχοισιν· ἐπάξει δὲ δουλοσύνην. Οὗ δὴ συναίτιος ἔσται Μήδης, τὸ Ἀσσύριον αὔχημα. Ὡς εἴθε μιν πρόσθεν ἢ προδοῦναι τοὺς πολιήτας, Χάρυβδίν τινα ἢ θάλασσαν εἰσδεξαμένην, ἀϊστώσαι πρόῤῥιζον· ἤ μιν ἄλλας ὁδοὺς στραφέντα φέρεσθαι διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου, ἵνα οὔτε ἄστεα οὔτε πάτος ἀνθρώπων, θῆρες δὲ νομὸν ἔχουσι, καὶ ὄρνιθες πλάζονται, ἐν τε πέτρῃσι καὶ χαράδρῃσι μοῦνον ἁλώμενον· ἐμέ τε πρὶν εἰς νόον βαλέσθαι ταῦτα, τέλεος ἀμείνονος κυρῆσαι. Ὁ μὲν θεσπίσας παραχρῆμα ἠφάνιστο. Comp. on this, *Hengstb.* p. 105 ff.; *Häv.* neue krit. Unterss. p. 52 ff., whose evidence adduced has not been refuted by *Hitzig;* and *Delitzsch*, p. 277. [*Bleek*, pp. 598–9, says that no historical trace of this madness of Nebuchadnezzar for seven years could be found, not even by *Origen* and *Jerome*, in spite of all their labours; yet he says it must have occasioned very important changes and confusions in the Babylonian empire. It may be replied, however, *a*, that his government might be so firmly settled as not to be shaken by this event, especially if the influence of Daniel was paramount at the time; *b*, that, on the other hand, the utter disorganization of the empire at Nebuchadnezzar's death may have had its origin in disorders to which the events of those seven years had given rise, although the strain upon the system of administration did not prove fatal to it at the moment; *c*, that we are extremely ignorant of the history of Nebuchadnezzar's long reign; and that we need feel no surprise at the Babylonian historians disguising, or passing silently over, an event which on several accounts must have been unpleasant for them to record. See the mention of several years of apathy and doing nothing, probably four years, in Nebuchadnezzar's account of himself, in the Standard Inscription, given in *Rawlinson's* Bampton Lecture, p. 131. Besides, it has been rightly argued, that lycanthropy, the peculiar kind of madness attributed to Nebuchadnezzar, is singularly rare, and therefore that it is unlikely to have been pitched upon by the writer of a romance. Comp. *Pusey*, pp. 425–433.]

(7) [*Bleek*, p. 600, also objects to this chapter, besides the decree on pain of death, that it makes all the presidents, and the satraps, and their families, be assembled and present for a considerable period

of time in Babylon. But (unless these officers were meant to be a council of state, and to reside at Babylon) does not this decree suggest the probability that it was issued at some crisis or special occasion in the king's history, when such a gathering might naturally take place, or even before they first separated for their several provinces?] See the illustration and thorough refutation of every one of the objections of the principal opponents of the genuineness (*Bertholdt's* and *Bleek's*), in *Hengstb.* pp. 41 ff., 69 ff.; and (*v. Lengerke's*) in *Häv.* neue krit. Unterss. p. 48 ff., Einl. ii. 2, p. 471 ff.: against which *Hitzig* has advanced nothing of importance. Further, comp. *Delitzsch*, p. 278.

(8) Comp. *Hengstb.* p. 46 ff.; *Häv.* neue krit. Unterss. p. 65 ff.

2. Among "the historical inaccuracies," there is first the alleged contradiction between i. 5, 18, that Daniel and his companions should have been instructed for *three* years in the wisdom of the Chaldeans before they appeared in presence of the king, and ii. 1 ff., according to which Daniel interprets Nebuchadnezzar's dream so early as the *second* year of his reign. This is met by the remark, that when Jerusalem was taken in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (comp. § 131, Note 2), and Daniel was carried captive, Nebuchadnezzar had not yet ascended the throne; but as he was generalissimo, he received the title of king proleptically, ch. i. 1, 3, 5: so that between this event and his actual accession there intervened a full year and more; and in the second year of his reign, that is, towards the end of it, the education of Daniel and his companions might be already completed (9). More important appear to be the errors about Belshazzar and Darius the Mede, which are alleged to exist in ch. v. and vi. It is true that we have sufficient assurance of the existence of a Median king Darius before Cyrus, and of his identity with Cyaxares II.,—a fact which a hypercritical scepticism has denied (10). Nevertheless, the accounts of the Babylonian and the Median kings, derived from other sources than Scripture, are so fragmentary and contradictory, that we are unable to corroborate the accounts in the book of Daniel by testimonies drawn from other quarters, in such a manner as to strike down every rising doubt: but yet this affords no justifiable reason for suspecting the accuracy of the book (11). [It seems scarcely necessary to offer any formal remarks upon the difficulty urged by *Bleek*, pp. 594–5, that בְּסִפְרִים in Dan. ix. 2, "I Daniel

understood *by the books* the number of the years, whereof the word of Jehovah came to Jeremiah the prophet," etc., must mean a collection of the sacred writings invested with canonical authority, though (he says) no such collection existed at the period assumed for Daniel doing this; and that, till the literal seventy years of the captivity had been fulfilled, it is improbable that any Jew should have thought of anything more than the simple meaning of this term of years; whereas after this period had long gone by, and the expected glories of the returned exiles had never been realized, some of the pious people amidst the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes might think of a deeper mystical meaning, such as the seventy weeks of years in this prophecy, which might be supposed to be on the point of expiring with the half-week of the tyranny of Antiochus, to be followed immediately by a glorious fulfilment of all Jehovah's promises to His people. Arguments of this kind proceed from a state of mind which believing readers of the word of God have considerable difficulty in even imagining to be of any possible weight.]

(9) Even *Wieseler*, die 70 Wochen und die 63 Jahrwochen des Propheten Daniel, Göttingen 1839, p. 9, thinks the contradiction so gross, when an event which was to happen after Daniel had had three years of instruction is placed in the second year after his arrival in Babylon, that it is inconceivable even in a pseudo-Daniel. His solution, however, is not satisfactory. Comp. *Hengstb.* p. 60 ff.

(10) *Darius* "the Mede" (xi. 1), or "the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes" (ix. 1), who "took the kingdom" of Babylon, and had Cyrus for a successor (vi. 1, 29), is *Cyaxares* II., the son and successor of Astyages, and the uncle of Cyrus; a weak, effeminate pleasure-seeker, who left to his nephew Cyrus almost all the actual power and the whole conduct of military affairs (*Xenophon*, Cyrop. i. 5. 2, iv. 5. 8, 52, v. 5. 44), and gave him his daughter, and Media as a gift along with her (Cyrop. viii. 5. 19); so that Cyrus obtained the throne of Media by legitimate succession. According to *Josephus*, Antiqq. x. 11. 4, the son of Astyages bore another name among the Greeks; that is, according to Xenophon, Cyaxares. Though *Herodotus*, i. 127 ff., passes him over, and makes Cyrus the successor of Astyages, this cannot render his existence dubious. "Solere Herodotum prætermissis mediocribus hominibus ex longa regum serie nonnisi unum alterumve memorare reliquis eminentiorem, et aliunde constat et ipsa Babyloniæ historia docet, ex qua unius Nitocris reginæ mentionem

injicit, reliquos reges omnes usque ad Labynetum, ne Nebucadnezare quidem excepto, silentio transiit (i. 185–187);" *Gesenius*, thesaur. p. 350. [*Herodotus* himself asserts that he knew other accounts of Cyrus, though he preferred the one which he has related, which denies that Astyages had any male issue. Then no more is necessary than to hold that in this instance he fell into an error of judgment, and that the true account has been preserved by *Ctesias* (a historian generally very greatly inferior to him, but who certainly had access to Medo-Persian documents which he had not), and by *Xenophon* in that romance which he founded upon history.] The accounts in the book of Daniel and in Xenophon receive confirmation also from the words of *Æschylus*, Pers. 762–5:

Μῆδος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡμεμὼν στρατοῦ (Astyages),
Ἄλλος δ' ἐκείνου παῖς τόδ' ἔργον ἤνυσε. . . .
Τρίτος δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κῦρος, εὐδαίμων ἀνήρ, κ.τ.λ.

Comp. *Offerhaus*, specilegg. hist. chronol. libri iii., Groningæ 1739, p. 265 sqq.; *Bertholdt*, 4 Excurs. z. Daniel, p. 843 ff.; *Jehring*, in the Biblioth. Brem. viii. 580 sqq.; *Hengstb.* p. 48 ff.; *Gesenius*, thesaur. p. 349 sq.; *Winer*, bibl. Real-Wörterbuch, i. 250; *Häv.* Comm. z. Dan. p. 203 ff., and neue krit. Unterss. p. 74 ff.; *Delitzsch*, p. 278; and *Auberlen*, pp. 17, 18.

(11) Two courses have been taken in order to solve the difficulties presented by the account of Belshazzar's feast and death, ch. v., and the transference of the kingdom from the Babylonians to the Medes, which is connected with it, ch. vi. 1:—A. Following *Marsham*, Canon. chron. p. 596 sq., *Hofmann*, die 70 Jahre des Jerem. u. die 70 Jahrwochen des Daniel, Nürnberg 1836, p. 44 ff., has developed the view that the murder of Belshazzar (v. 30) stands in no connection with the taking of Babylon by the Medes and Persians, and with the termination of the Babylonian empire; but that Belshazzar, the son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar, is Evil-merodach, who was murdered by his brother-in-law Neriglissar; and that the notice about Darius the Mede in ch. vi. 1 [which is attached in the English Bible to ch. v. as the thirty-first verse, apparently because the second explanation was assumed to be the only one, in which case this division of the chapters would be very natural] is joined to it only because mention was now to be made of what happened to Daniel under his reign. So also *Häv.* in the neue krit. Unterss. p. 71 ff.; *Oehler*, *ibid.* p. 398; and *Wilh. Hupfeld*, Exercitatt. Herodot. spec. ii. (Rintel. 1843), p. 46. Two circumstances certainly tend to favour the reception of this view: the one that Nebuchadnezzar is called the father

(אַב) of Belshazzar, v. 11, 13, 18, 22 [more precisely, Belshazzar is called his son, v. 22]; the other, that this removes the difference between the chapter in Daniel and the accounts of the last Babylonian king in Berosus. But against the identification of Belshazzar with Evil-merodach, there is the mention of the *third* year of the reign of Belshazzar (viii. 1), since Evil-merodach reigned only *two* years according to *Berosus*, in *Josephus*, ag. Apion, i. 20, and the Canon of *Ptolemy* (whilst the Canon of *Syncellus*, which attributes a reign of three or five years to him, contains many errors); and still more, the close connection between vi. 1 and v. 30, which latter (taken in combination with the miraculous handwriting formerly mentioned, which predicted to Belshazzar not merely the end of his life, but also the partition of his kingdom, as it was to be delivered over to the Medes and Persians) forces us to connect the slaying of Belshazzar with the overthrow of the kingdom, and to consider him the last Babylonian sovereign. If the slaying of the king had not been connected with the taking of Babylon by the Medes and Persians, then the transference of the kingdom to Darius the Mede (vi. 1) could not have been attached to ch. v. 30 by the copula ו; nay, there must have been an express statement at v. 30 of the way and the time of fulfilment of that prediction to Belshazzar, v. 28, that his kingdom should be divided and given to the Medes and Persians. Moreover, this view rests upon chronological combinations which at the utmost are only problematical, and which in part are decidedly erroneous.—B. Much rather, Belshazzar is the last Babylonian king, called Nabonid [or Nabonned] by *Berosus* and the Canon of *Ptolemy*, and *Λαβύνητος* or *Λαβύνιτος* by *Herodotus*, i. 188; and the great festival of which we have the account in Dan. v. is confirmed by *Xenophon*, vii. 5. 15 ff., and *Herodotus*, i. 191, according to whom Babylon was taken during a drunken feast, as had been prophesied in Isa. xxi. 5 and Jer. li. 39. According to *Herodotus*, i. 188, Labynetus was also a son of Nebuchadnezzar [*Herodotus* says a son of a father of the same name as himself, and of Nitocris]; and the queen-mother in Dan. v. 10 is perhaps this Nitocris, who is mentioned by Herodotus, and by Berosus in *Josephus*, ag. Apion, i. 19, and Antiqq. x. 11. 1; and possibly she is also identical with Amuhea who is mentioned by Alexander Polyhistor, in spite of the considerations to the contrary presented by *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. p. 318. But should it be so that this conjecture has no historical foundation, and that Nabonid was not a son, but a grandson, of Nebuchadnezzar, it would by no means follow from this that the author of Dan. v. had followed an erroneous legend as to the taking of Babylon and the fortunes of its last king. It is true that the

account of Berosus is, that Nabonid was not of royal descent, but was merely one of the conspirators against Laborosoarchad; that he marched out to meet the enemy, was defeated, threw himself into the fortress of Borsippa, and only after Babylon had been taken surrendered to Cyrus, who assigned Caramania to him as a place of residence, where he died a natural death; while Abydenus elevates him to the rank of governor of Caramania. Nevertheless these accounts are not of a nature to convict the book of Daniel of error; since their source has unmistakeably been the Babylonian legend which sought to diminish as much as possible the undeniable disgrace of the taking of Babylon and the fall of the empire, and whose object was to roll away the shame of the defeat from the royal line, and especially from the canonized Nebuchadnezzar. Comp. *Hengstb.* p. 321 ff., with the accumulation of proofs at pp. 103–4 of the panegyrizing character of the Chaldean legends preserved by Berosus and Abydenus. [All this is most reasonable and just, supposing that we are shut up to estimate the historical value of Berosus and of the book of Daniel respectively. Most remarkable, however, is the discovery made independently in 1854 by *Oppert* and *Sir Henry Rawlinson*, of a Babylonian brick with the royal name Belsharassur or Belsharezzer (contracted Belshazzar, just as Nergalshareser in Berosus is contracted by others to Neriglisar and Niglisar), which shows that this king, overlooked by historians, as was also Darius the Mede, was the son and the colleague of Nabonid. This circumstance at once explains how the scriptural and the extra-scriptural histories may both be true; how the luxurious king Belshazzar might be slain inside of Babylon, and how the Chaldean historians might keep silence on this point, confining themselves to the narrative of Nabonid's unsuccessful military efforts outside the city, and his capitulation, and his honourable and peaceful end. It also receives a beautiful subsidiary confirmation from the peculiar language in Belshazzar's promise, and in the history of its fulfilment, that the man who read and interpreted the writing on the wall should be the *third* ruler in the kingdom, that is, should be the first person after the two kings, analogous to the position which Daniel afterwards occupied under Darius the Mede, ch. v. 7, 29, vi. 2, 3; whereas, on a similar occasion, when Pharaoh had placed Joseph in the position next himself, "he made him to ride in the *second* chariot which he had, . . . and he made him ruler over all the land of Egypt," Gen. xli. 40, 43.—The titles of father and son, given to Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar respectively in the narrative, would occasion little difficulty, even if they had to be emptied of so much of their meaning as to signify no more than predecessor and

successor in the royal line; while it is not improbable that Belshazzar was descended from Nebuchadnezzar by the mother's side. And there is this incidental confirmation of the death of the *eldest* son of Nabonid, that the impostor who raised the standard of revolt in Babylon against Darius Hystaspis assumed the name of the *second* son of Nabonid, namely Nabukudurusur. Indeed, if two impostors assumed the name of Nabocodrossor the son of Nabonid, this fact also shows that there was some generally understood claim in Nabonid's family to connection with that of Nebuchadnezzar, whether by marriage or otherwise. See, for information more fully upon these points, *Pusey*, pp. 402–4, and Dr. *G. Rawlinson's* Bampton Lectures, Lect. v. Another combination is given by *Delitzsch*, p. 278.]

The remaining historical errors imputed to the book of Daniel, in reference to the wise men of Babylon and Daniel's reception among them, and also in reference to the satrapies erected by Darius according to vi. 2, etc., are refuted by *Häv.* neue krit. Unterss. pp. 66–7, 78–9, and Einl. ii. 2, p. 474 ff.; and by *Hengstb.* p. 41 ff. [also by *Rawlinson, ibid.;* and by *Pusey*, pp. 409–413].

3. The *miracles* in this book, regarded simply as such, can be placed among the proofs of its spuriousness only on the thoroughly false assumption, that events which transcend the known laws of nature, and bear witness to the immediate working of divine omnipotence, cannot occur in the history of the kingdom of God (12). But apart from this assumption, neither the accumulation of miraculous matter nor the colossal form of the individual miracles justifies the reproach that there is a passion for miracles in the book; still less can it be said that miracles are lavished aimlessly. For none of the sacred writers relate mere matters of every-day life, but it is their purpose to bear witness to the revelations of divine grace and omnipotence. And therefore, in the book of Daniel also, only those transactions are set down by means of which the God of Israel made His omnipotence known to the haughty power of those heathen rulers into whose hands He had given up the people of His inheritance as a chastisement for their sins: His object being to bring these men to give Him glory, as the God of heaven and earth: and also to make them know that He (and not their idol-gods) ruled the world, had the power to preserve His servants, and could punish and humble the insolence and pride of the lofty and mighty ones on the earth (13). The reason why all the miracles were performed for Daniel and his com-

panions, or tend to glorify Daniel, lies in the position which he (he individually, at a time when God could not glorify Himself in the whole people) was called to fill before the eyes of the ruler of Babylon, who reckoned himself almighty: in his own person he had to represent the people of God, and the theocracy outwardly given over to the power of the Chaldees, before the heathen, and at the place where the heathen worldly power dwelt supreme; and by so representing it, he had to prepare the way for the preservation and restoration of that people, and for their return to their own land (14). It was necessary that the miracles should assume a mighty and imposing character, if they were to make an impression upon the mighty supporters of heathenism. And that they actually attained this object is proved by the issue of the exile,—namely, the decree of Cyrus (Ezra i. 1–4), which was not confined to permitting the return of the Jews to their mother-country, but also expressly gave glory to the God of Israel as the God of Israel, and gave command to build His temple (15).

(12) Even *De Wette*, § 255, *a*, appropriates the trivial argument of *Knobel*, der Prophetismus, ii. p. 401: "Wherever in the Hebrew history there are found numerous myths and legends"—that means miracles—"as, for instance, in the history of the patriarchs, of Moses, of Balaam, of Samson, of Elijah, of Elisha,—there we have always narratives which were not written till a considerable time after the events. Where, on the other hand, the transactions appear to be *natural*, as in the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and 1st Maccabees, there the composition of the narrative has generally, if not always, been contemporaneous with the events, or it has followed soon after them." When, in addition, *De Wette* ascribes to the book of Daniel "religious fanaticism nourished by persecutions," he has not given, and could not give, one single proof of his accusation from the book itself.

(13) "Without such a revelation of Jehovah, the theocracy would have been left to the mercy of heathenism, or would have been swallowed up by it: Jehovah's signs and wonders, in the sight of the mighty kingdoms of the world, declared him to be for ever King of kings. Properly speaking, it was by this that the question of the life of the theocracy was decided" (*Häv.* neue krit. Unterss. p. 85).

(14) "While it was the special calling of an Ezekiel in the captivity to act upon the exiles themselves by the Word, the position of Daniel all along led him to unfold another side of practical life—

to stand for the people of God, in their position with reference to those on the outside of them—for their rights in opposition to heathenism. In consequence of this peculiar position, he had the call to be a man of action, who should meet perplexed human wisdom with a higher wisdom—that of God; and who should meet the doings of sovereigns intoxicated by victory with a greater power for action—that of God. Hence his relation to Ezekiel manifests itself as a supplementary glorious testimony to divine grace.—The miraculous power of God could not glorify itself in the whole people collectively, as in the days of Moses and Joshua, for this would have been contrary to the idea of the exile; but it might well glorify itself in individuals, who represented here the idea of the theocracy, the proper spiritual Israel, as it ought to come forth purified out from the fiery furnace of the exile" (*Häv.* pp. 85 and 86).

(15) As to this edict, comp. *Kleinert*, Echtheit der jesajan. Weissag. i. p. 135 ff., and *Hengstb.* p. 38 ff. [*Bleek*, p. 597, maintains that the decrees of the Chaldean and Median kings given in Daniel, honouring the God of the Jews, etc., are inconceivable; especially as these decrees are represented at ch. vi. 9 as being irreversible, he says there ought to be some trace of the important consequences to which they led, whether they were obeyed or resisted. He rejects them, therefore, comparing them to the book of Jonah, which he believed to be unhistorical; and, on the same grounds, he would no doubt reject the edict of Cyrus in Ezra.]—It is impossible to speak of "aimless prodigality of miracles" (*v. Lengerke*, p. lxii.), unless we determine the aim of the book untruly, and thrust this in as its object, a wish to convert Nebuchadnezzar or Belshazzar to Judaism.

VI. "*The apocalyptic character of the prophecy*" in the book of Daniel is adduced as an argument against its genuineness, because its prophecies are regarded as merely a poetical form and an artificial composition, partly of events in the past, partly of vague anticipations of the future (16). It is true that these prophecies are remarkable for the definiteness with which they predict the future, not only of the kingdom of Messiah, but also of worldly kingdoms, even of some which had not so much as come forward on the stage of history in the time of the prophet. But however much this may be the case, they nowhere lose themselves in external predictions of merely political events; nor do they by any means describe the time from the fall of the Persian empire till the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes with the detail to be expected in a book of history (17). On the contrary,

they are in every respect true to the idea of scriptural prophecy. Their starting-point is the relations and necessities of the present; and throughout they are animated and borne along by the fundamental idea of the kingdom of God triumphing in the struggle with the kingdoms of the world. This struggle is developed in its progressive intensity, and the figurative descriptions are given evermore in detail, and the intimations become more special and individualized, on to the final victory of the kingdom of God, far beyond the times of Antiochus Epiphanes (18), even to the glorification of God's everlasting kingdom, as connected with the resurrection at the end of the days. Even the determinate chronological dates preserve throughout the character of numbers which have a symbolical importance, their basis being the holy number seven in manifold relations; the object being to represent the critical moments of suffering in the history of the theocracy in the impending struggle, as determinate steps, the measure and number of which were ordained by God, as it was to be developed into the glory of His perfected kingdom. But whether we look at the determinate and detailed predictions, or whether at the chronological statements, in both respects the prophecies of Daniel are distinguished from those of other prophets, not in essence, but only in degree (19). And this distinction in degree was conditioned partly by the peculiar position of Daniel, as contrasted with the heathenish predictions of the Chaldean wise men; partly by the peculiar necessities of the covenant people, who were to be under the necessity of contenting themselves with his prophecies during those succeeding times in which prophecy was to be silent (20).

(16) [*Bleek*, p. 594, argues that in these respects it resembles the so-called Sibylline oracles, almost the entire third book of which is by an Alexandrian Jew, belonging like the pseudo-Daniel to the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, and much in the style of the book of Daniel. He also instances other such works by Jewish or Jewish-Christian authors; namely, the rest of the Sibylline oracles (which he reckons to be chiefly Christian), 4th Esdras, the book of Enoch, the Ascension of Isaiah, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. The use which *Pusey* makes of such works in proof of the genuineness of Daniel has been already noticed at the end of § 133.] Even *Fr. Lücke*, in his Versuch einer vollst. Einleit. in die Offenbarung Johannis, Bonn 1852 (2d ed.), has not risen essentially above this

Rationalist view; for although in p. 40 ff. he concedes that there is a connection between the apocalyptic book of Daniel and the prophetic literature, yet at the same time he distinguishes the book of Daniel from the prophets: he designates it "their latest offshoot, a continuation of them, but also a degeneration from them;" and he ascribes the book, not to the prophet Daniel, but to an unknown prophet of the Maccabean age. There are two considerations, however, which he has not weighed when adopting this opinion. First, it depreciates the prophecy to a mere fiction, and brands the author of the book as a deceiver, who gave out his hopes and expectations as the predictions of an ancient prophet. And secondly, counterfeiting and interpolating productions under names which they had no right to use, was a practice which always met with resistance and rebuke, even among the better disposed heathen; but it never could even make a place for itself within the religion of revelation or the canonical literature. Comp. *Häv.* neue krit. Unterss. p. 8 ff. Nor does the point of view in Daniel's prophecies, looking out upon universal history, justify us in calling it a degenerate species of prophecy: but it corresponds to that attitude which in the exile the theocracy began to assume towards the kingdoms of the world; and, by *Lücke's* own confession, it is not foreign to even the earlier prophets, although in their case, amid very different circumstances, a different form has been stamped upon it. Comp. *Auberlen*, p. 79 ff.

(17) This objection, which was raised by *Porphyry*, has been repeated by all the opponents of the genuineness. Against it, comp. *Hengstb.* pp. 195–6; *Häv.* neue krit. Unterss. p. 88 ff.

(18) The assertion that the determinate predictions extend only to Antiochus Epiphanes, rests upon arbitrary and untrue explanations of the four empires. Comp. above, § 132, Note 2.

(19) Comp. the collection of special predictions and chronological determinations in other prophets, which is given by *Hengstb.* p. 173 ff.

(20) *Häv.* Einl. ii. 2, p. 480, refers fittingly to the analogy to Daniel's case, which is presented in the case of his contemporary Ezekiel, in whom also we find special predictions, the like of which there are not in any earlier prophet. No less admirable is his observation upon the remarkably detailed delineation in ch. xi.: "Its justification also is chiefly found in this, that the period of the exile needed precisely such memorable predictions, standing out with especial prominence on account of their determinate nature; so that there was a correspondence between them and the miracles of the book. For this would preserve the strongest impression of the special protection under which the theocracy stood, both in the present and

for the future. And it cannot but be deemed a suitable arrangement in divine providence, that such a prop for their faith, and such a point of support for their hope, should be given to God's people, who for a long time were to be forced to dispense with prophetic assistance."

VII. The *dogmatic* and *ethical representations* in the book of Daniel, far from proving that it originated in the Maccabean period, furnish a very weighty testimony in favour of the prophet Daniel's authorship; for, in respect of dogmatic and ethical contents, the book is in harmony with the older canonical literature of the Old Testament. But, on the contrary, the later Jewish apocryphal literature diverges from it in most points, and even contradicts it; although certainly it leans upon it in respect of certain ideas, and draws some things from it. The entire apocryphal literature shows no progress made in developing the *Messianic idea*, knows nothing of a personal Messiah, not even 1 Macc. xiv. 41. Whereas the book of Daniel on the one hand represents the Messiah, ch. vii. 13, 14, as a heavenly being, endowed with divine power and glory, and at the same time a man; and thus it unfolds further the germs of the truth that He is God-man, as they lie in Isa. ix., and other prophetic passages: on the other hand, in entire opposition to the narrow-hearted particularism of later Judaism, it apprehends the Messianic kingdom in its universality, and places it in combination with the *resurrection of the dead*, and thus at the same time developes it further in harmony with the earlier prophecies, Isa. xxiv., lxvi. 22–24, Ezek. xxxvii., of which the apocryphal books contain only some feeble traces in 2 Macc. vii. 9 ff. [*Bleek*, p. 589, thinks there is no trace of its views having exerted any influence in giving shape or modification to the Messianic representations of the later prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.]— In its *angelology* the book of Daniel manifests the closest affinity to the prophecies of Ezekiel (comp., for instance, x. 12 [x. and xii. ?] with Ezek. ix. and x.; vii. 9 with Ezek. i. 26) and Zechariah (ch. i.–vi.) [which latter is not denied by *Bleek*, p. 589 f.; only he holds the representations in Daniel to be more elaborated than those in Zechariah, and therefore to be later than them]. The special working out of this doctrine in these prophets is not to be traced to the influence of Parseeism on Judaism; but it was occasioned and promoted by the predominance of *visions*, in which spiritual ideas are

embodied (21). In the Apocrypha, on the contrary, the book of Tobit introduces the angel Raphael into the visible phenomenal world, —thus showing that this idea had struck root into a different soil, namely the popular faith; whilst the rest of the apocryphal books present few or no traces of the doctrine of angels (22).—So far as *ethical ideas* are concerned, the high significance of prayer (Dan. ii. 18, vi. 11, ix. 3, x. 2) was already sufficiently known from the Psalms; and the custom of praying three times a day (Dan. vi. 11) is at once justified by Ps. lv. 18 as a practice in use from ancient times. Again, the frequent use of fasting rightly came into use just in the exile: comp. Ezra viii. 21 ff., ix. 3, 4; Neh. i. 4, ix. 1; Zech. vii. 3, viii. 19. [Observe also the parallel in the New Testament, Matt. ix. 14, 15.] And the abstinence from unclean food (Dan. i. 8 ff.) is perfectly in harmony with Hos. ix. 3, 4, Ezek. xxii. 26, xliv. 23, xxxiii. 25, iv. 13, 14; consequently its origin cannot be ascribed to the times of the Maccabees (23).

(21) Besides, in the earlier writings of the Old Testament there is preparation made for this doctrine, not only in general, but also as it is wrought out peculiarly in Daniel. The doctrine of angelic princes, x. 13, 20, xii. 1, is hinted by "the captain of Jehovah's host" in Josh. v. 14 (the same noun, שַׂר, being used in all the passages), and by the seraphim in Isa. vi. 2 (comp. *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. p. 163 ff. [see *Gesenius* and other authorities for the derivation of this word, in which modern scholars generally acquiesce—"princes, nobles"]); and the doctrine of tutelary spirits for individual kingdoms, in Isa. xxiv. 21, 22. Comp. *Oehler, ibid.* pp. 394–5. [It must also be recollected, *a*, That these passages in Daniel admit of a plausible interpretation without bringing angels in at all, on the supposition that the so-called tutelary princes of Persia and of Greece are the earthly sovereigns, whether taken individually or collectively and ideally. *b*, That there is, at all events, no intruding into angelic mysteries with that puffed-up fleshly mind which the apostle reprehends, and of which there are examples in abundance in both Jewish and Christian writings. *c*, That *Auberlen* rightly draws a parallel between the extraordinary glance into the unseen world of angels, and the extraordinary glance into the unseen world of the future, — the two peculiarities by which Dan. x. and xi. are characterized; the one characteristic being well adapted to the other in this marvellous revelation. *d*, That there is a comparatively early scriptural account

of good and bad angels taking part in producing political changes,—namely, Micaiah's vision recorded in 1 Kings xxii.]

(22) See the refutation at large of the objections to the book of Daniel, formed out of its dogmatical ideas, in *Häv.* neue krit. Unterss. p. 32 ff.; with which may be compared the remarks of *Oehler, ibid.* p. 388, agreeing with them, yet carrying out the discussion of many points further. [There is also a good deal upon this topic, and upon the alleged borrowing from Parseeism, by the writer of the book of Daniel, in *Pusey*, p. 525 ff.]

(23) Comp. *Häv.* neue krit. Unterss. p. 42 ff., and *Hengstb.* p. 137 ff.

Thus, not one of our opponents' arguments offers any proof whatever, even the feeblest, of the spuriousness of the book; on the contrary, the most of them speak strongly in favour of its genuineness. Then, without dwelling upon the difficulties which would have resisted the reception into the Canon of a supposititious work with such contents as we find in the book of Daniel (24), there are other considerations which are fatal to the assertion that it originated in the Maccabean age. A. There are the contents of the book, so rich in historical details; since no Jew of that late age could acquire so varied and exact an acquaintance with the men and the circumstances of the Babylonian and the Medo-Persian empires, as lies before us here (25). B. There is the sharp contrast between the great miracles which revealed the arm of the Lord with might, and the prophecies bearing on the history of the world, as presented in the book of Daniel on the one hand; and on the other, the feeling which shows itself openly in all the actual monuments of the Maccabean age, that the people had been forsaken by God, and that the mighty deeds of the Lord, as also the prophetic spirit, had vanished from amongst them, 1 Macc. iv. 46, ix. 27, xiv. 41 (26). C. There is the deep and thorough contradiction between the struggle of the heathen powers of the world, represented by Antiochus Epiphanes against the theocracy, whose aim was the extirpation of Judaism, and the attitude assumed towards Judaism by heathenism, as represented by the kings of Babylon portrayed in the book of Daniel (27).—Looking to the contents, the form, and the spirit of this book, it is inconceivable as a production of Maccabean Judaism: it is conceivable only as a genuine work of the prophet Daniel, who is named and praised before his countrymen, by one who lived so early as Ezekiel,

as being a perfect pattern of righteousness and wisdom, Ezek. xiv. 14–20, xxviii. 3. The book of Daniel furnishes us with such an admirable commentary on these utterances of Ezekiel, that they themselves form a not unimportant testimony to its genuineness.

(24) Upon this subject, comp. *Häv.* neue krit. Unterss. p. 19 ff.

(25) How poor and full of errors, on the contrary, is the knowledge of Babylon and inner Asia, exhibited in the apocryphal books of the Old Testament [for instance, in the apocryphal additions to this very book of Daniel]!

(26) "In the Maccabean period, the desertion of the people by God showed itself precisely in the way which excluded miracles. The dead form had remained with the people in a rigid tradition; but the freshness and fulness of the ancient theocratic and poetic spirit was awanting. . . . The ancient prophecy must first waken up anew, and people must hope to see the days of old returning: not until then could Israel behold greater things than their fathers had ever been favoured to see. And the consciousness of this is plainly expressed in the monuments of that time. The first book of Maccabees reports not one word of a miracle: the depressed spirit of the time could not once lift itself up to expect one; for at every attempt to idealize the present, it discovered how forcible the contrast was between this present and the past. And in the second book of Maccabees how wretched is the fiction of miracles which was still foreign to the spirit of Palestine (comp. iii. 24, v. 2, xi. 8, xv. 12)!" —*Häv.* neue krit. Unterss. p. 87.

(27) Comp. *Herbst*, Einl. ii. 2, pp. 98–9, and *Häv.* Einl. ii. 2, p. 488: "How completely different from Antiochus Epiphanes are the heathen kings in this book! It is true that here also there occur collisions with Judaism; but into what an entirely different attitude do Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and Darius the Mede throw themselves, in reference to the acknowledgment of Judaism and its God! Where is there here a proof of the tendency to extirpate Judaism, or to give an inlet to a formal persecution of the Jews, which lay within the range of the views of Antiochus? We cannot well offer any instance of greater dissimilarity than that between the conduct of the Seleucide king and the conduct of a Belshazzar and a Darius." P. 487: "When Daniel was instructed, along with his companions, in the language and wisdom of the Chaldeans, and even appears as president of the caste of the magi; when he receives a heathen name; when he holds a political position at heathen courts, stands in very close friendly relations with heathen princes, takes as hearty and

intimate an interest as possible in them (comp. iv. 16 [Eng. version, iv. 19]);—all these are simply traits most consistent with the history, and corresponding to the circumstances which the exile introduced. But they do not suit the rigorous spirit of the time of the Maccabees."

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORICAL WRITINGS IN THE HAGIOGRAPHA.

§ 135. *Character of the Historical Books in the Hagiographa.*

The *historical writings* of the Old Testament which stand in the Hagiographa are distinguished from the prophetical books of history [Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings] by the want of the prophetic spirit in the conception and representation of the theocratic history, which in those books is the guiding principle for the selection and treatment of the historical matter (§ 40). They describe either the course of life along which an individual was led, as *Ruth* does; or remarkable demonstrations of that divine providence which took the oversight of the Jewish people, like *Esther;* or the history of single periods of the theocracy, in that character which prevailed after the exile (whether connected most intimately with the priests and Levites, or whether with the scribes), like *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah*. They furnish by no means unimportant contributions to the history of the theocracy; but yet they give no historical delineation of its course of development in correspondence with the principle of the Old Covenant.

THE BOOK OF RUTH (רות).

Commentaries:—*Serarius, Bonfrerius, Casp. Sanctius;* see § 225. *Brentius, V. Strigel, Seb. Schmidt, J. A. Osiander, Drusius, Clericus, Rambach* in *J. H. Michaelis*, annotatt. uberior. vol. ii., *Rosenmüller, Maurer;* see § 224. *J. Ben. Carpzov*, Colleg. rabb.-bibl. in libr. Ruth, Lipsiæ 1703–4. *C. L. F. Mezger*, Libr. Ruth ex Hebr. in Lat. versus perpetuaque interpret. illustr., Tubingæ 1856, 4to. Translated and explained by *Dereser*, Frankfort 1806; *G. Riegler*, Würzburg 1812. *Bertheau;* see under the book of Judges [and so also *Keil* himself].

For Introduction:—*Umbreit*, üb. Geist u. Zweck des B. Ruth, in the theol. Studien u. Krit. 1834, Heft 2.

§ 136. *Contents, Object, and Historical Character.*

The little book of *Ruth* introduces us to the domestic circle of the ancestors of the royal house of David. It describes in a pleasing manner, with the utmost simplicity, and with a faithful delineation of manners, how the Moabitess *Ruth* left her home, impelled by the fear of God and by filial love for her Israelite mother-in-law, a native of Bethlehem; how she came with her to Judah; and how she there married Boaz, a near connection of her deceased husband; and how she bore to him Obed, the grandfather [?] of David. The genealogy of the family of Pharez down to David forms the conclusion of the book (ch. i.–iv.) (1).

(1) The genealogy, iv. 18–22, is incomplete, as it gives only ten links in the chain from Pharez the son of Judah to David, that is, for a period of about 850 years [by the shortest computation]. But this is to be explained, not by the defectiveness of materials (*Eichhorn*, Einl. iii. p. 462; *Rosenmüller*, Schol. p. 490), but by the intention of mentioning by name only the principal persons among David's ancestors, as is often the case in these genealogical tables. Comp. *Guil. Surenhusius*, Βίβλος καταλλαγ., Amstelodami 1713, p. 68; *Eichhorn*, pp. 582–3; *Winer*, bibl. Real-Wörterbuch, ii. 517.

As the books of Samuel contain no more precise accounts of the ancestors of David's race, this book serves as a supplement to them (2). It places David's origin in the light of history and genealogy; and it aims at showing how a heathen woman, by birth belonging to a nation so hostile to the theocracy as the Moabites were, received the honour of becoming the ancestor of the great and godly king David, because she manifested unconditional confidence in Jehovah, and had come to seek for refuge under the wings of the God of Israel (i. 16, ii. 11, 12) (3).

(2) For this reason, and also because the history which it narrates falls within the times of the judges (i. 1), the book has been placed in the Alexandrian version between the books of Judges and 1st Samuel. [See more on this subject in the addition to § 137, Note 4.]

(3) Comp. *Umbreit*, üb. Geist u. Zweck des B. Ruth, pp. 307–8;

Häv. Einl. ii. 1, p. 113. It is a mistake in *Bertholdt*, Einl. v. p. 2357, and in *Ferd. Benary*, de Hebræorum Leviratu, Berolini 1835, p. 30, to assume that the object of the book is to represent the obligation of the marriage law in a lovely family picture. [*Bleek*, pp. 353–4, also rejects the opinion of these two authors, and that of *Bereser*, that there was at least a second object, to rebuke Jewish hardness towards foreigners; for of a tendency in this direction there is not a trace. He regards the book as having purely a historical object.]

The book is neither adorned in the style of an idyll, nor idealized poetically; nor yet is it the result of learned investigation and skilful treatment of certain materials taken from legendary history. But it gives the simple historical truth in a beautiful form, corresponding to its lovely contents (4).

(4) There are absolutely no reasons for the assertion of *Bertholdt*, Einl. p. 2342 ff., that the history is purely fictitious; for the contradiction which he discovers between i. 21 and iv. 3 ff. is a mere misunderstanding. Idyllic ornament or poetic idealizing cannot once be proved. That the names in the book, as a whole, are significant, is not a circumstance which proves that they have been accommodated to the characters in the narrative; for the names of the ancient Hebrews, taken as a whole, are significant; and it is precisely the name of the principal person, Ruth, which has no signification corresponding to her character. The skilful plan, and the beautiful and noble characters, are no proof that it is a fiction, but of themselves they arise out of the historical matter; in the elaboration of which there is no application either of the "skilful and learned treatment," or of the "peculiar erudition," which *Ewald*, Geschichte, i. p. 206, and *Bertheau*, Commentar, p. 236, find in it: there is merely the natural expression, taken from actual life, given to the historical material, which is attractive in virtue of what it contains. Neither the illustration of ancient customs in Israel, ch. iv. 7, nor the wish for a blessing uttered by the elders of the people, ch. iv. 11, 12, affords any proof of learned investigations: are we to affirm that any elder in Israel did not know the family blessings bestowed on Rachel and Leah, or the history of Tamar? In addition, comp. *Häv.* p. 115 f.

§ 137. *The Date and the Author.*

Although the history of Ruth falls within the period of the judges, about 100 years [at least] before David (1), yet the contents

and the object of the book make it manifest that it was not composed earlier than the concluding years of David's reign, and perhaps not till a later time. Not only had changes taken place in manners and customs, in the interval between the date of the occurrences and that of the composition of the book (iv. 7): the object of the book, in which the narrative issues with its genealogy carried down to David (iv. 18–22), takes for granted that David had by this time attained to the highest theocratic importance for Israel. Still, neither the language of the narrative, nor the illustration of a custom which had fallen into disuse, compels us to bring the book down to much later times—for instance, quite down to the time of the exile. The alleged Chaldaisms are in part remains of the older formation of the language, and partly they are taken from the common colloquial language; and in the author's own narrative his diction is pure Hebrew, correct, and free from later Chaldaisms (2). The ancient custom of pulling off the shoe at every mercantile transaction may have gone into disuse by the time of David himself, since great changes found their way into the common life of the Israelites along with the introduction of royalty [at all events, it scarcely could be kept up throughout the busy commercial reign of Solomon].—It is a circumstance decisive against the time of the exile being the date of composition, that at this period marriages with Moabite women were held to be scandalous (comp. Ezra ix. 1 ff.; Neh. xiii. 1–3, 23–27) (3).

(1) The time cannot be more precisely determined. For the famine, in the course of which Elimelech and Naomi went into the land of Moab, is not mentioned in the book of Judges, the only source of our historical knowledge of those times; and a combination of it with the ravaging of the land by the Midianites (*Hengstb.* Beitrr. iii. p. 111; against which, comp. *Bertheau*, p. 234) is excluded by the circumstance that the Midianite invasion took place 175 years before David's accession, while Boaz cannot have married Ruth much more than 100 years before that event; that is to say, perhaps a short time before the pontificate of Eli. *Josephus*, Antiqq. v. 9. 1, places the occurrences in the time of Eli, after the death of Samson, relying upon chronological combinations which are quite untenable. Comp. my article upon the chronology of the period of the judges in the Dorpater theol. Beitrr. ii. p. 325 ff. [In the additions to § 48, it has been pointed out that *Keil's* chronology of this period is probably

very erroneous. Yet, granting its correctness for the sake of argument, there are no data for restricting the period between Boaz and David to 100 years. He rightly maintains that links in the genealogy have been intentionally omitted, § 136, Note 1; and not even probabilities can be suggested as to the points in the series from which these links have been dropped.]

(2) *Bertholdt*, pp. 2352–3, and *E. Meier* (Gesch. d. poet. National-Literatur der Hebr. p. 500 ff.), place the composition after the exile; *Ewald*, Geschichte, i. p. 207, and *Bertheau*, p. 237, during the exile. Their reasons are: *a*, the Chaldaizing language; *b*, the use made of earlier writings; *c*, the historical antiquarian character which pervades the whole book. But this last argument is purely fanciful; comp. § 136, Note 4. That use has been made of earlier writings, does not follow by any means from the fact that certain expressions in our book occur also in the books of Samuel and Kings, and elsewhere: for instance, the formula in swearing, "Jehovah do so to me, and more also," i. 17, only in the books of Samuel and Kings; וַתֶּהֱם כָּל־הָעִיר, i. 19 and 1 Kings i. 45; נְגָלָה אָזֶן, iv. 4, as in 1 Sam. xxii. 8, 17, and others. Even the phrases כִּי הֵמַר שַׁדַּי לִי מְאֹד and וְשַׁדַּי הֵרַע לִי [i. 20, 21] are not borrowed from Job xxvii. 2, וְשַׁדַּי הֵמַר לְנַפְשִׁי; nor has the abbreviation of El Shaddai into Shaddai first "been rendered possible by the great precedent in the book of Job" (*Ewald*), but it had been used already by Jacob and Balaam, Gen. xlix. 25, Num. xxiv. 4, 16 [nor do we admit that Job is a book later than the age of David and Solomon]. Finally, with respect to the Chaldaisms, let it be noted that the forms תִּתְעַבּוּרִי, תִּדְבָּקְנִין (ii. 8, 21), יִקְצֹרוּן (ii. 9), שְׁמַתִּי, יָרַדְתִּי (iii. 3), שָׁכַבְתִּי (iii. 4), מְרָא with א for ה (i. 20), לָהֵן for לָכֵן [i. 13 *bis*], occur only in the conversations, and not in the author's own narrative; also that the phrase אֵיךְ יִפֹּל דָּבָר, "how the matter will fall," iii. 18, has nothing in common with the Chaldee דִּי יִפְלַח לָךְ לְמִנְתַּן, "which thou shalt have occasion to bestow," Ezra vii. 20. Hence it is clearly seen, not that we have before us the language of writings composed in the exile or in still later times, but that we have reported to us the common conversational language of the time of the judges. Still less can the age of the book be determined from the occurrence of מַרְגֵּלוֹת (iii. 7, 8, 14) again only in Dan. x. 6, but in a different sense; or of פֶּרֶשׂ כַּנָּפַיִם (iii. 9) again only in Ezek. xvi. 8, since the thing itself is not mentioned any more. Just as little can the *usus loquendi* of the time of the exile be deduced from מִקְרֶה, ii. 3, comp. 1 Sam. vi. 9, xx. 26; נָשָׂא נָשִׁים, i. 4, comp. Judg. xxi. 23; פִּלְנִי אַלְמֹנִי, iv. 1, comp. 1 Sam. xxi. 3; and קַיֵּם דָּבָר for הֲקִים דָּבָר, iv. 7. Further, comp. *Häv.* p. 117.

(3) "There is nowhere a trace of the ancestry of Ruth being found scandalous or offensive; nor is there the slightest apologetic aim" (*De Wette*, Einl. p. 259). [*Bleek*, p. 354, also thinks it "probable that at the time the book was composed Israel had not been involved in severe struggles with neighbouring foreign nations; so that a mild disposition towards them was prevalent." And in accordance with his views of the late composition of the book of Deuteronomy, another probability, according to him, is, that the book of Ruth was written earlier than Deuteronomy, at a time when marrying the brother's wife rested rather upon traditional custom than upon the written law as embodied in that book.]

The author is not the same person as the writer of the book of Judges, or the writer of the books of Samuel, if we may judge from the many peculiar turns and expressions in his style. And to say no more, we cannot discover any more precisely who he is (4).

(4) The book has been ascribed to the author of the book of Judges by *Abarbanel* and *Seb. Schmidt* in their Commentaries. Others, the latest being *Pareau*, institut. interpret. Vet. Test. p. 414 sq., thought that it was by Samuel; others still, for whom see *Carpzov*, Introd. i. p. 198, thought of Hezekiah or Ezra. To the rare and unusual expressions in the book belong עָגַן, to detain, to shut up, i. 13; צָבַט, to reach or hand something, ii. 14; שָׁלַל, to draw out [Eng. version, to let fall], ii. 16; נִלְפַּת, to turn for the purpose of looking, iii. 8; the frequent use of דָּבַק with בְּ or עִם, i. 14, ii. 8, 21, 23; and others besides.—The conjecture of *Ewald*, partly adopted by *Bertheau*, p. 238, that this little work had originally belonged to a larger whole, and was incorporated in a suitable place, that is, after the book of Judges, by the last editor of "the great book of Kings," is destitute of every historical foundation. [This conjecture is thrown aside by *Bleek* also, p. 355. He adds that though the Septuagint, and to some extent the Hebrew Jews themselves at a still earlier time, placed it after the book of Judges, along with which they counted it one book, yet this was merely for convenience of enumeration, and there is no reason for thinking that it was ever anything else than an independent work; in which respect it differed from the two appendices to our book of Judges. He gives a similar statement at p. 668, referring to the testimonies of *Josephus*, *Melito*, *Origen*, *Jerome*, and others, upon the subject of the Hebrew Canon. Some of these statements are afterwards quoted by *Keil*, § 216, Note 11.]

THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES (דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים).

Commentaries:—*Serarius*, *Bonfrerius*, *Sanctius*, *Clericus*, *Maurer*, Comment.; see § 224, 225. *Lud. Lavateri*, Comm. in Paralip., Heidelberg 1599, fol. *J. H. Michaelis* and *Rambach*, in uberior. annotatt. in Hagiogr. vol. iii. *E. Bertheau*, die Bücher der Chronik erklärt, Leipzig 1854 (Lief. 15 of the kurzgefasst. exeg. Handbuch).

For Introduction:—*De Wette*, Beitrr. zur Einl. i. Alte Test. vol. i.; [*J. G.*] *Dahler*, de libror. Paralipom. auctoritate atque fide hist., Argentorati 1819. *Gramberg*, die Chronik nach ihrem geschichtl. Character und ihrer Glaubwürdigkeit geprüft., Halle 1823 (shallow throughout). Ueber d. BB. d. Chron., ihr Verhältniss zu den BB. Sam. u. d. Könige, ihre Glaubwürdigkeit u. die Zeit ihrer Abfassung, in the Tübing. theol. Quartalschrift, 1831, ii. pp. 201–282. *K. F. Keil*, apologet. Versuch üb. d. BB. der Chron., u. üb. die Integrität des B. Esra, Berlin 1833. *F. C. Movers*, krit. Untersuchungen üb. d. bibl. Chronik, Bonn 1834.

§ 138. *Name, Division, and Contents.*

The *books of Chronicles* form a single book in the Hebrew Canon, as they also do according to their own plan, with the superscription דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים. But by the Alexandrians they were divided into two books under the title of *Παραλειπόμενα*; while the name of *Chronicles* came into use through *Jerome's* instrumentality (1).

(1) *Παραλειπόμενα* does not mean "Supplementa" [though this is the signification adopted by *Bleek*, p. 392], "remains from other historical works" (*Movers*, as above, p. 95); but "Prætermissa," *ἐπειδὴ παραλειφθέντα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς βασιλείαις περιέχεται ἐν τούτοις* (Synops. Script. sacr. in *Athanasii* Opp. ii. p. 148; comp. *Isidori* Origg. vi. c. 1). *Jerome*, in prologo galeato: "דברי הימים, *i.e. verba dierum*, quod significantius *chronicon totius divinæ historiæ* possumus appellare, qui liber apud nos Paralipomenon primus et secundus inscribitur. Comp. *Bertheau*, Chron. p. xiv.

If we consider their contents, they fall into *three* divisions:—I. Genealogies, along with isolated historical notices, and geographical and topographical lists (1 Chron. i.–ix.) (2). II. The history of David's reign (1 Chron. x.–xxix.). III. The history of the reign of Solomon, and of the kings of Judah from the schism in the kingdom

until the exile; in which the kingdom of Israel is passed over without notice, while particular attention is bestowed upon the condition and the fortunes of the worship of Jehovah (2 Chron. i.–xxxvi.) (3).

(2) The genealogies of Adam, Japhet, Shem, Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac (i. 1–34); the descendants of Esau, the kings and dukes of Edom (vers. 35–54); the sons of Jacob and the descendants of Judah down to David (ii. 1–54); the sons of David, and the royal posterity of Solomon, or the kings of Judah, and their posterity down to Zerubbabel's grandchildren (iii. 1–21), with a later genealogical fragment (vers. 21–24); fragments as to other posterity and families of Judah, with some ancient historical notices (iv. 1–23); genealogical registers of the tribes of Simeon, Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh [beyond Jordan], with an account of the places of abode, the deeds, and the fortunes of certain families of their number (iv. 24–v. 26); the sons of Levi and the descendants of Aaron, down to Jozadak, who was carried captive, with other fragments of Levitical genealogies and a list of the Levitical cities (v. 27–vi. 66); genealogical fragments as to the descendants of Issachar, Benjamin, Naphtali, Manasseh, Ephraim, and Asher, partly accompanied by an account of the number of their men fit for war, and by other historical notices (vii. 1–viii. 28); genealogies of Saul and his descendants through Jonathan (viii. 29–40); a list of certain families which dwelt earlier at Jerusalem (ix. 1–34); and a repetition of Saul's family register (vers. 35–44).

(3) The narrative of the death of Saul and Jonathan is prefixed to the history of David, by way of introduction (ch. x.). With the exception of the catalogue of the mighty men who betook themselves to David in Ziklag, and of the warriors who proclaimed him king at Hebron (ch. xi. xii.), the whole history of his persecutions by Saul, and of his reign for seven years at Hebron, is omitted [yet there is a direct reference in ch. xii., especially vers. 19, 21, to the history in 1 Sam. xxix. xxx.]. There is a similar omission, during his reign at Jerusalem, of the long series of humiliations and sufferings which flowed from his sin with Bathsheba [and of that sin itself], and from the rebellions of his sons (2 Sam. xi.–xx.); also of several other things which relate to his connection with Saul (2 Sam. ix., xxi. 1–14), or which are to be reckoned part of the king's private life (2 Sam. xxii., xxiii. 1–7). Instead of these, copious information is transmitted about David's preparations to facilitate the building of the temple, and about his final arrangements (1 Chron. xxii.–xxix.).—The history of Solomon is shortened very considerably, by passing over not only

those events which led to his accession and his establishment on the throne (1 Kings i. and ii.), but also other accounts relating to his wealth, his wisdom (1 Kings iii. 16–v. 14), his domestic life, his polygamy, and the idolatry into which in old age he was seduced by his wives (1 Kings iii. 1, vii. 1–12, xi. 1–40). On the other hand, the history of the kingdom of Judah is much enlarged, by the introduction of many important events which are not noticed in the books of Kings; comp. § 139, Note 4.

§ 139. *Relation of Chronicles to the other Historical Books.*

Individual parallels to the genealogical portion of Chronicles do occur in the other historical books of the Old Testament. Still we can trace the harmony with fulness and precision only in the genealogies earlier than Moses' time, compared with the accounts in the Pentateuch: for, of the remaining genealogical lists and fragments, only some isolated names are to be found here and there; but nowhere are there parallel lists, from which the chronicler can have drawn the information which he communicates (1).

(1) 1 Chron. i. 1–4 gathered from Gen. v.;
1 Chron. i. 5-23 agreeing with Gen. x. 2–4, 6–8, 13–18*a*, 22–29;
1 Chron. i. 24–27 gathered from Gen. xi. 10–26;
1 Chron. i. 29–31, 32, 33, agreeing with Gen. xxv. 13–15, 1–3*a*, 4;
1 Chron. i. 35–54 gathered (with deviations) from Gen. xxxvi. 10–43;
And finally, 1 Chron. ii. 1, 2, the names of the sons of Jacob, are found in Gen. xxxv. 23–26, and xlvi. 8 ff.

Only the following parallels are found for the other genealogies:—The sons of Pharez (ii. 5), in Gen. xlvi. 12; the descendants of the Hezronite Ram, down to Jesse (ii. 10–12), in Ruth iv. 19–22. The sons of David born in Hebron (iii. 1–4), in 2 Sam. iii. 2–5; and those born at Jerusalem (iii. 5–9), in 2 Sam. v. 14–16, and in 1 Chron. xiv. 3–7. The kings of Judah (iii. 10–16), in the books of Kings [and, of course, also in 2d Chronicles]. The sons of Simeon (iv. 24), in Num. xxvi. 12, 13; and the cities of the Simeonites (iv. 28–30, 32 [or iv. 28–32, except 31*b*]), in Josh. xix. 2–7. The sons of Reuben (v. 3), in Gen. xlvi. 9, Ex. vi. 14, and Num. xxvi. 5. The sons of Levi, Kohath, and Aaron (v. 27–29), in Gen. xlvi. 11, Ex. vi. 18, 23, and

xxviii. 1; the names of the high priests (v. 30–41), partly in the genealogy of Ezra, Ezra vii. 1–5; the sons of Kohath, Gershom, and Merari (vi. 2–4), in Ex. vi. 17–19; and the Levitical cities (vi. 39–66), with many deviations, in Josh. xxi. 10–39. The sons of Issachar (vii. 1), Benjamin (vii. 6), Naphtali (vii. 13), and Asher (vii. 30, 31), in Gen. xlvi. 13, 21, 24, 17, and partly in Num. xxvi. 23 ff.—Consequently no genealogies except the patriarchal ones can be drawn from the [canonical books of the] Old Testament. Even the lists of the cities of Simeon and Levi deviate in so many respects, in the order and in the names themselves, from those in the book of Joshua, that they cannot have been taken from it [or, at least, it is a very dubious assertion that they were taken from it in conjunction with other sources]. The same inference holds good in reference to the sons of David, and to the kings of Judah; which indeed occur in the books of Samuel and Kings, yet not as parts of genealogies, as they are given in Chronicles. Thus we infer that these lists and family registers also are drawn from ancient documents, instead of being hunted up from our historical books of the Old Testament, as *Gramberg* and *De Wette* maintain. Against that view, comp. *Bertholdt*, Einl. iii. p. 965 ff.; *Movers*, krit. Unterss. p. 65 ff.; *Häv.* Einl. ii. 1, p. 182; and my apol. Versuch, p. 159 ff.: also *Königsfeldt*, Annotatt. ad post. libr. Sam., etc., p. 4. That the chronicler did not compile from the historical books of the Old Testament, but much rather that he put together what he found before him in ancient genealogical and topographical lists among his contemporaries, is a direct inference from the two genealogies which he gives us of the family of Samuel, in descending and in ascending order, vi. 7–13 and 18–23; and of the family of Saul, viii. 29–38 and ix. 35–44; as well as from individual notices, unfortunately quite fragmentary, whose contents are historically important, iv. 18, 22, 23, 38–43, v. 10, 19–22, vii. 21, 22, 24.—The supposition also is fundamentally erroneous, that the list of families of Judah, of Benjamin, of Levites, and of priests, ix. 1–34, is *the same* original document, though greatly disfigured, which is given in Neh. xi. 3–36 (*De Wette*, *Gramberg*, *Movers*, pp. 27–8 and 233–4). For the list in Nehemiah is later than the exile: in vers. 3–19 it gives the families of Judah and Benjamin, as well as of the priests and Levites, who dwelt in Jerusalem; then, vers. 20, 21, it treats of those who dwelt in the country, especially of the Nethinim; in vers. 22, 23, of the overseers of the Levites and singers; in ver. 24, of an officer of the kings; and in vers. 25–36, of the inhabitants of the country towns,—all being of the time of Nehemiah. On the contrary, in Chronicles it is "the *first*," or earlier,

"inhabitants that dwelt in their possessions, in their cities" (ver. 2), of whom we have the list; not "those who dwelt in Jerusalem before it became peopled by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, Neh. xi. 1" (*Movers*): for they are by no means dwellers at Jerusalem who are meant, but persons contrasted with these, as the chronicler shows when he proceeds to say, ver. 3, "And in Jerusalem dwelt," etc. The "*first* inhabitants" are manifestly contrasted with those who were carried captive (*De Wette*, Einl. p. 239) [to which latter class allusion is made in ver. 1]; that is to say, they are the inhabitants of the land previous to the exile: and from among these people the families dwelling at Jerusalem are reckoned up, ver. 3 ff., as is acknowledged by *Ewald*, Geschichte, i. p. 240, against whom *Bertheau* (Chron. p. 96 ff.) labours in vain to expound this list as if it were of inhabitants of Jerusalem after the exile. The agreement of a number of names in the two lists does not justify us in identifying them; for it is completely outweighed by the greater differences, both of the names and of the contents and objects of the two lists. Of the sons of Pharez and of the Shilonites (Chronicles, vers. 4–6) not a single name agrees with those in Nehemiah (vers. 4–6). Of the sons of Benjamin, the name of *Sallu* the son of *Meshullam* is indeed the same (Chron. and Neh. ver. 7); but the ancestors are entirely different. Of the priests, the chronicler, ver. 10, names *Jedaiah*, *Jehoiarib*, and *Jachin*; ver. 11, *Azariah* the son of Hilkiah, etc.; and ver. 12, *Adaiah* the son of *Jeroham*, the son of *Pashur*, etc., and *Maasai* the son of *Adiel*, etc., a descendant of Immer; on the contrary, Nehemiah, ver. 10, names *Jedaiah the son of Joiarib*, Jachin; ver. 11, *Seraiah* the son of Hilkiah, etc.; ver. 12, *Adaiah* the son of *Jeroham, the son of Pelaliah, the son of Amzi, the son of Zechariah, the son of Pashur*; and in ver. 13, *Amashai* the son of *Azareel*, etc., a descendant of Immer. Of the Levites, the chronicler names, ver. 14, *Shemaiah*, with his ancestors back to *Hashabiah, of the sons of Merari*; ver. 15, *Mattaniah* the son of Micah, the son of *Zichri*, the son of Asaph; ver. 16, *Obadiah* the son of *Shemaiah*, the son of Galal, the son of Jeduthun: on the contrary, Nehemiah names, ver. 15, *Shemaiah*, with the same [two] ancestors as in Chronicles, back to *Hashabiah the son of Bunni*; ver. 17, Mattaniah the son of Micah, the son of *Zabdi*, the son of Asaph, and *Abda* the son of *Shammua*, the son of Galal, the son of Jeduthun. Finally, the porters in Chronicles (ver. 17) are "Shallum, Akkub, Talmon, Ahiman, and their brethren; Shallum was the chief:" in Nehemiah [ver. 19], "Akkub, Talmon, and their brethren that kept the gates, were an hundred seventy and two." From ver. 18 onward the chronicler gives only Levitical notices from

earlier times, partly going back so very far as to the age of Moses; Nehemiah, on the contrary, gives notices about the dwelling-places of the Levites and Nethinim.—A divergence so thoroughgoing cannot be explained either by carelessness in copying or by intentional alteration; whereas the agreement (so far as this really exists, and is not produced artificially and violently, by unjustifiably identifying names which have a similarity in sound, yet are entirely different, or by arbitrarily assuming interpolations, and the like,—means of which *Movers* makes use, p. 233) is to be explained by two considerations. First, after the exile naturally those very families went to Jerusalem which, or whose ancestors, had dwelt there in earlier times [besides which, since it was impossible to give more than a very few names, those connected with returning exiles would be preferred]. And secondly, the same names often reappear in a single family, as people liked the practice of naming children after their grandfathers, or other near relatives or renowned ancestors (comp. Tobit i. 9; Luke i. 59; *Winer*, bibl. Real-Wörterbuch, ii. p. 133; my apologet. Versuch, p. 192; and *Häv.* Einl. p. 179 f.); so that identity of names, even for two generations, is in itself not yet a proof of the persons being identical. Hence also the circumstance that the names of Akkub and Talmon occur among the porters named in 1 Chron. ix. 17 are names borne by porters in Nehemiah's days (Neh. xii. 25), cannot prove that both lists are the same, and that the one in Chronicles refers to times later than the exile [especially when we consider that in Ezra ii. 42 these two names of porters also occur at an intermediate date], because it is remarked of the porters, ver. 18, "who hitherto wait in the king's gate eastward; they are porters in the companies of the children of Levi" [taking the supplied verbs to be in the present tense, whereas in the English version they are taken in a past tense]; and in Neh. xii. 25, 26, "porters keeping the ward at the treasuries [as in the margin] of the gates, in the days of Joiakim . . . and Nehemiah." It is true that *Movers*, p. 28, and *Häv.* p. 267, seek to determine the date of the composition of Chronicles from these words. But not only are the names of the rest of the porters entirely different in the two passages: the place where they kept watch is also different; and the expression "hitherto" (עַד הֵנָּה) is as little available for determining the date of the composition of Chronicles, as the formula "unto this day" in 2 Chron. v. 9, viii. 8, x. 19, xxi. 10, since both of these occurred in those books which were the sources from which the chronicler drew, and were retained by him.—See remarks at greater length upon the whole of the genealogies in my apologet. Versuch, p. 159 ff.

In the history of David, Solomon, and the kings of Judah, the Chronicles have about forty sections in common with the books of Samuel and Kings, only here and there in a different order and sequence (2). But along with this, we find them passing over many occurrences related in those books, especially in the lives of David and Solomon (3); and instead of these, communicating a number of other matters which are wanting in them, and in particular, many facts bearing upon the subject of the worship, the priests, and the Levites (4).

(2) Table of parallel passages :—

1 Chron. x. 1-12,	1 Sam. xxxi.
... xi. 1-9,	2 Sam. v. 1-3, 6-10.
... xi. 10-47,	... xxiii. 8-39.
... xiii. 1-14,	... vi. 1-11.
... xiv. 1-7, 8-17,	... v. 11-16, 17-25.
... xv. and xvi.,	... vi. 12-23.
... xvii.,	... vii.
... xviii.,	... viii.
... xix.,	... x.
... xx. 1-3,	... xi. 1 and xii. 26-31.
... xx. 4-8,	... xxi. 18-22.
... xxi.,	... xxiv.
2 Chron. i. 2-13,	1 Kings iii. 4-15.
... i. 14-17,	... x. 26-29.
... ii.,	... v. 15-32.
... iii. 1-v. 1,	... vi. and vii. 13-51.
... v. 2-vii. 10,	... viii.
... vii. 11-22,	... ix. 1-9.
... viii.,	... ix. 10-28.
... ix. 1-12, 13-28,	... x. 1-13, 14-29.
... ix. 29-31,	... xi. 41-43.
... x. 1-xi. 4,	... xii. 1-24.
... xii. 2, 3, 9-16,	... xiv. 21-31.
... xiii. 1, 2, 22, 23,	... xv. 1, 2, 6-8.
... xiv. 1, 2, xv. 16-19,	... xv. 11-16.
... xvi. 1-6, 11-14,	... xv. 17-22, 23, 24.
... xviii. 2-34,	... xxii. 2-35.
... xx. 31-xxi. 1,	... xxii. 41-51.
... xxi. 5-10, and 20,	2 Kings viii. 17-24.
... xxii. 1-6, 7-9,	... viii. 25-29, ix. 16-28, x. 12-14.
... xxii. 10-xxiii. 21,	... xi.
... xxiv. 1-14, 23-27,	... xii. 1-17, and 18-22.
... xxv. 1-4, 11, 17-28,	... xiv. 1-14, 17-20.
... xxvi. 1-4, 21-23,	... xiv. 21, 22, xv. 2-7.
... xxvii. 1-3, 7-9,	... xv. 33-36, 38.
... xxviii. 1-4, 26, 27,	... xvi. 2-4, 19, 20.

2 Chron. xxix. 1, 2, . . .	2 Kings xviii. 2, 3.
... xxxii. 1-21, . . .	... xviii. 13-xix. 37.
... xxxii. 24, 25, 32, 33, .	... xx. 1, 2, 20, 21.
... xxxiii. 1-10, 20-25, . .	... xxi. 1-9, 18-24.
... xxxiv. 1, 2, 8-28, 29-32, .	... xxii. and xxiii. 1-3.
... xxxv. 1, 18-24, 26, 27, xxxvi. 1-4, . . .	... xxiii. 21-23, 28, 29-34.
... xxxvi. 5, 6, 8-12, . .	... xxiii. 36, 37, xxiv. 1, 5, 6, 8-19.
... xxxvi. 22, 23, . . .	Ezra i. 1, 2 [1-3].

The mutual relations of these parallel sections are discussed with minute precision in the theol. Quartalschrift, 1831, pp. 209–228.

(3) The following are omitted: — The family scene between David and Michal, 2 Sam. vi. 20–23. David's kind treatment of Abishai [Mephibosheth], 2 Sam. ix. David's adultery with Bathsheba, 2 Sam. xi. 2–xii. 25; Amnon's incest with Tamar, and the rebellion of Absalom, and its consequences, 2 Sam. xiv.–xix.; and the rebellion of Sheba, 2 Sam. xx. The surrender of certain descendants of Saul to the Gibeonites, as an atonement for his guilt in massacring them [and the honours paid to the remains of Saul and Jonathan, on occasion of the burial of these unhappy ones], 2 Sam. xxi. 1–14. A war with the Philistines, 2 Sam. xxi. 15–17, preceding 1 Chron. xx. 4. David's psalm of praise, and his last words, 2 Sam. xxii., xxiii. 1–7. Adonijah's attempt to usurp the throne, and the anointing of Solomon, 1 Kings i. David's last directions, 1 Kings ii. 1–9. The consolidation of Solomon's government by the punishment of the rebels, 1 Kings ii. 13–46. Solomon's marriage with the daughter of Pharaoh, 1 Kings iii. 1 [though with a distinct and full reference made to it in 2 Chron. viii. 11]. Solomon's wise judgment in the case of the two mothers, 1 Kings iii. 16–28. Solomon's officers, his great glory and wisdom, 1 Kings iv. 1–v. 1 [3?]; the building of his palaces, 1 Kings vii. 1–12 [with a reference, however, and a statement of the time spent upon his buildings, 2 Chron. viii. 1]; his strange wives and his idolatry [and its consequences], 1 Kings xi. 1–40. Finally, the whole history of the Ten Tribes is omitted.

(4) The following matters are taken up, which are not mentioned in the books of Samuel and Kings:—The list of mighty men who came to David at Ziklag, and that of the warriors who made him king at Hebron, 1 Chron. xii. David's preparations for building the temple, 1 Chron. xxii. The enumeration and arrangement of the Levites and priests, 1 Chron. xxiii.–xxvi. The arrangement of the army, and the officers of state, 1 Chron. xxvii. David's last arrangements, in the assembly of the people, shortly before his death, 1 Chron. xxviii. xxix. — Further, in 2d Chronicles, from the history of the

kingdom of Judah:—The accounts of Rehoboam's fortifications, of the reception in Judah of the Levites expelled from Israel, and of Rehoboam's wives and children, xi. 5–23. The war of Abijah with Jeroboam, xiii. 3–20. The notice about Abijah's wives and children, xiii. 21. Asa's energetic action in fortifying his kingdom, and his victory over Zerah the Ethiopian, xiv. 3–14; the address of the prophet Azariah [more precisely, of Azariah the son of Oded the prophet; see ver. 8], in consequence of which Asa put idolatry away, xv. 1–15; and the address of the prophet [seer] Hanani, xvi. 7–10. Jehoshaphat's efforts to confirm the worship of Jehovah in the land, his might, and his army, xvii. 2–xviii. 1; his arrangements for tribunals, ch. xix.; his victory over the allied Ammonites, Moabites, and other nations in the wilderness, xx. 1–30; and his provision for his [younger] sons, and the murder of them by his successor Jehoram, xxi. 2–4. Jehoram's idolatry, and its punishment, xxi. 11–19. The death of the high priest Jehoiada, and the apostasy of Jehoash from the Lord, xxiv. 15–22. Amaziah's military resources, xxv. 5–10; and his idolatry, xxv. 14–16. Uzziah's wars, victories, fortifications, and army, xxvi. 6–15. Jotham's fortifications, and his war with the Ammonites, xxvii. 4–6. Hezekiah's purification of the temple, celebration of the passover, and arrangements for the worship of Jehovah, xxix. 3–xxxi. 21; his riches, xxxii. 27–30. Manasseh's captivity in Babylon, his liberation, and his repentance, xxxiii. 11–17.

In the parallel passages, not only are the short and summary accounts in the books of Samuel and Kings completed and enlarged (5), but there are also manifold distinctions between the mode of narration in Chronicles and that in those more ancient books. Partly there is a variation in the orthography, and various linguistic alterations, chiefly such as accord with the manner of writing and speaking in use in later times (6); partly the expressions are made plainer (7); partly there is the omission of subsidiary circumstances, or some other abbreviations (8); and finally, there is sometimes the addition of explanatory and concluding remarks, as well as of exhortations and reflections deducing lessons from the history (9).

(5) The following short accounts in the books of Samuel and Kings are enlarged and completed:—The list of David's mighty men, 1 Chron. xi. 11–47, where the names in vers. 42–47 are wanting in 2 Sam. xxiii. 8 ff. The history of the ark of the covenant being carried to Jerusalem, with copious information as to the way in which

the priests and Levites were divided and arranged for this task, and as to the worship set up on Mount Zion at the tent erected for the ark, 1 Chron. xiii. 2 [2–4 ?], xv. 2–24, and xvi. 4–43, compare 2 Sam. vi. The description of the lights, the tables, and the courts, in connection with the building of the temple, 2 Chron. iv. 6–9, compare 1 Kings vii. 38, 39. The description of the brazen platform on which Solomon knelt and prayed, 2 Chron. vi. 12, 13, compare 1 Kings viii. 22; and the insertion of vers. 41, 42 from Ps. cxxxii. 8–10. The mention of the fire from heaven which consumed the burnt-offering, 2 Chron. vii. 1 ff.; and the enlargement of the divine promise, vers. 12–16, compare 1 Kings ix. 3. The history of the invasion of Judah by Shishak, with the account of the strength of his army, and the address of the prophet Shemaiah, 2 Chron. xii. 2–8, comp. 1 Kings xiv. 25. The victory of Amaziah over the Edomites enlarged by many details, xxv. 11–16, comp. 2 Kings xiv. 7. The leprosy of Uzziah, with the account of its cause, xxvi. 16–21, comp. 2 Kings xv. 5. Josiah's passover, with description of the service of the Levites and priests, xxxv. 2–19, comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 21, 22; whilst, on the other hand, the details of the extermination of idolatry throughout the land are abbreviated, xxxiv. 3–7, 33, comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 4–20. Smaller historical additions are found in 1 Chron. xi. 6, 8, that Joab was the first to scale the citadel of Zion, in consequence of which exploit he became commander-in-chief, and that he renovated the rest of the city; comp. 2 Sam. v. 8, 9. The account of the size of the Egyptian, 1 Chron. xi. 23, comp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 21. The casting by David [by Solomon] of the brazen pillars and vessels out of the brass which he had taken as spoil from Hadadezer [or Hadarezer], 1 Chron. xviii. 8, comp. 2 Sam. viii. 8. The smiting of the Edomites, in the valley of Salt, by *Abishai* the son of Zeruiah, 1 Chron. xviii. 12, comp. 2 Sam. viii. 13 [and also Ps. lx. 2]. The hiring of the Syrians by the Ammonites *for a thousand talents*, 1 Chron. xix. 6, 7, comp. 2 Sam. x. 6. Comp. further, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8, 9, 12–15, with 2 Kings xxii. 3, 4, 7; and other passages.

(6) To this class belong: A. The greater frequency of the *scriptio plena*. For instance, דָּוִיד, 1 Chron. ii. 15, iii. 1, 9, and often, though the *Yôdh* is wanting in Ruth iv. 17, 22, 1 Sam. xvi. 13, and often; יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, found only in 2 Chron. xxv. 1, xxxii. 9, written without *Yôdh* in 2 Kings xiv. 2, xviii. 17; רָאמוֹת, 1 Chron. vi. 65, but without either *Waw* or *Aleph* in Josh. xxi. 38; לְשָׁאוּל־לוֹ, 1 Chron. xviii. 10, but with *Qametz-hhatûph* in 2 Sam. viii. 10; אוֹנִיוֹת, 2 Chron. viii. 18 [*Kethîbh*], but with *Qametz-hhatûph* in 1 Kings ix. 27; and others besides. On the contrary, however, the *scriptio defectiva* does

sometimes stand in place of the *plena* in the parallel passage. For instance, שְׁלִשִׁי, 2 Chron. x. 12, though with *Yôdh* in 1 Kings xii. 12; וַיָּשֻׁבוּ, 2 Chron. xi. 4, though with *Shûreq* in 1 Kings xii. 24; וַיָּבֹא, 2 Chron. xviii. 14, though with *Waw* in 1 Kings xxii. 15; יָבֵשׁ, 1 Chron. x. 11, though with *Yôdh* in 1 Sam. xxxi. 11; and others besides. Comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 32 ff.—B. Spelling according to later pronunciation, generally as in Aramaic. For instance, *Hē* for *Aleph* in הֵיךְ, 1 Chron. xiii. 12; and in הֲרָרִי in 1 Chron. xi. 35, comp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 33; and in הֲדֹרָם in 2 Chron. x. 18, comp. 1 Kings xii. 18: *Aleph* prefixed in אִישַׁי, 1 Chron. ii. 13, though wanting in [ver. 12, and usually, as] Ruth iv. 22; *Aleph* final instead of *Hē*, סַבְתָּא, רַעְמָא, 1 Chron. i. 9, comp. Gen. x. 7, though the case is once reversed, with יְרוּשָׁה, 2 Chron. xxvii. 1, comp. 2 Kings xv. 33: *Daghesh-forte* resolved by means of *Rêsh*, דַּרְמֶשֶׂק, 1 Chron. xviii. 5, 6, 2 Chron. xvi. 2, comp. 2 Sam. viii. 5, 6, 1 Kings xv. 18.—Yet at times the Chronicles have preserved the regular and correct mode of spelling, instead of the irregular and incorrect mode in Samuel or Kings. Thus מֵבִיא, 1 Chron. xi. 2, while *Aleph* is lost in 2 Sam. v. 2; וַיָּבֹא, 2 Chron. x. 12, while *Waw* stands for *Aleph* in 1 Kings xii. 12; סוֹבֵב, 2 Chron. xxi. 9, while it is סֹבֵיב in 2 Kings viii. 21; מְלָכִים, 1 Chron. xx. 1, with a superfluous *Aleph* in 2 Sam. xi. 1; כִּסֵּא, 2 Chron. ix. 18, spelt with *Hē* in 1 Kings x. 19.—C. The use of more recent inflections and formations of words. For instance, מַלְכוּת, 1 Chron. xiv. 2, xvii. 11, and often, for מַמְלָכָה, 2 Sam. v. 12, vii. 12; אֲנִי (with the exception of the longer form in 1 Chron. xvii. 1) for אָנֹכִי, comp. 1 Chron. xvii. 16 with 2 Sam. vii. 18, 1 Chron. xxi. 10 with 2 Sam. xxiv. 12, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 27 with 2 Kings xxii. 19; תַּחֲנוּן [plural], 2 Chron. vi. 21, for תְּחִנָּה, 1 Kings viii. 30; עֵילוֹם, eternity, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7, for עוֹלָם, 2 Kings xxi. 7, which the chronicler himself uses elsewhere; הָיִיתָ, 1 Chron. xix. 12, for הָיְתָה, 2 Sam. x. 11; also נָפַלְתָּ, 2 Chron. xxv. 19, which has *Hē* final in 2 Kings xiv. 10: the omission of the final *Nûn* in the 2d and 3d pers. pl. imperfect,—for instance, יֵדְעוּ, 2 Chron. vi. 29, 33, comp. 1 Kings viii. 38, 43, etc.; and so of *Hē* in the imperative—הָפֵר, 2 Chron. xvi. 3, for הָפֵרָה, 1 Kings xv. 19, and מַהֵר, 2 Chron. xviii. 8, for מַהֲרָה, 1 Kings xxii. 9, etc.—D. Change of construction, by omitting the infinitive absolute which accompanies the finite verb: for instance, נָתַתִּי [with *Waw* of consecution], 1 Chron. xiv. 10, for נָתוֹן אֶתֵּן, 2 Sam. v. 19; comp. 2 Chron. vii. 19 with 1 Kings ix. 6, 2 Chron. xxv. 19 with 2 Kings xiv. 10, 2 Chron. vi. 2 with 1 Kings viii. 13 [though a certain emphasis is given in Chronicles by the insertion of other words]. Or a change by setting aside the unusual

construction of the singular feminine verb with names of countries, when these stand poetically for their inhabitants: for instance, וַיְהִי מוֹאָב, 1 Chron. xviii. 2, but וַתְּהִי in 2 Sam. viii. 2; וַיָּבֹא אֲרָם, 1 Chron. xviii. 5, but in 2 Sam. viii. 5 וַתָּבֹא, etc. Or a change by using the preposition אֶל, or the *Hē* local, with verbs of motion (such as coming, going, ascending), where the older writers use merely the accusative: as וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל־אֶרֶץ, 1 Chron. xix. 2, but without the preposition in 2 Sam. x. 2, comp. 2 Chron. xviii. 28 with 1 Kings xxii. 29; יָבֹאוּ הָעִירָה, 1 Chron. xix. 15, but without the *Hē* local in 2 Sam. x. 14, comp. 2 Chron. x. 1 with 1 Kings xii. 1, and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4 with 2 Kings xxiii. 34; and other cases.—The change is also often only a grammatical correction: for instance, the apocopate form of the imperfect for the full form, וַיִּתְּנוּ, 1 Chron. xi. 17, comp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 15; וַיִּדְּ, 2 Chron. xviii. 23, comp. 1 Kings xxii. 34; and other cases. Or the paragogic for the form without lengthening, נִתְחַזְּקָה, 1 Chron. xix. 13 and 2 Sam. x. 12; and the like. Comp. *Movers*, pp. 205–6.

(7) For the sake of distinctness, unusual and pregnant constructions are avoided: for instance, תִּשְׁמַע מִמָּקוֹם—מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם, 2 Chron. vi. 21, whereas in 1 Kings viii. 30 אֶל is used both times instead of מִן; תִּשְׁמַע מִן הַשׁ, 2 Chron. vi. 23, 25, 30, 33, 35, 39, whereas מִן is omitted in 1 Kings viii. 32, 34, 39, 43, 45, 49; comp. also 1 Chron. xvii. 17 and 21 with 2 Sam. vii. 19, 23.—Later or commoner words are used for those which are older and less common: for instance, גּוּפָה, 1 Chron. x. 12, for גְּוִיָּה, 1 Sam. xxxi. 12; מְרַקֵּד וּמְשַׂחֵק, 1 Chron. xv. 29, for מְפַזֵּז וּמְכַרְכֵּר, 2 Sam. vi. 16; כִּכַּר לֶחֶם, 1 Chron. xvi. 3, for חַלַּת לָחֶם, 2 Sam. vi. 19; אֲנִי נֹטָה, 1 Chron. xxi. 10, for אָנֹכִי נֹטֵל, 2 Sam. xxiv. 12; טָהוֹר applied to זָהָב, 2 Chron. ix. 17, instead of מוּפָז, 1 Kings x. 18; עָלָיו with וַיִּסַּבּוּ, 2 Chron. xviii. 31, instead of with וַיָּסֻרוּ in 1 Kings xxii. 32, "and they turned aside to fight against him."—Use is made of paraphrastic expressions: thus, וַיִּפָּשְׁטוּ בָּעֵמֶק, "and they spread themselves in the valley," 1 Chron. xiv. 9, 13, while in 2 Sam. v. 18, 22 the verb is וַיִּנָּטְשׁוּ, "and they poured themselves out in the valley" (so that it is not to be taken for an error in writing, as *Thenius* would have it); אָז תֵּצֵא בַּמִּלְחָמָה, "then thou shalt go out to the battle," 1 Chron. xiv. 15, instead of אָז תֶּחֱרַץ [2 Sam. v. 24], "then make speed," namely, to attack the Philistines (though *Häv.* takes it differently, Einl. i. 1, p. 245); וַיֵּצֵא לִפְנֵיהֶם, "and he went out against them," 1 Chron. xiv. 8, instead of the obscure words in 2 Sam. v. 17, וַיֵּרֶד אֶל־הַמְּצוּדָה; "because he had stretched out his hand against the ark" [עַל אֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח], 1 Chron. xiii. 10, instead of עַל הַשַּׁל, "on account of the transgression," 2 Sam. vi. 7; וַיֵּשֶׁב, 1 Chron. xxi. 20, instead of וַיִּשְׁקֹף, 2 Sam. xxiv. 20; כָּל־הַבָּא עַל לֵב, "all that came into

the heart," 2 Chron. vii. 11, instead of בְּלִ־חֵשֶׁק, "all the desire," 1 Kings ix. 1; וַיַּבְעֵר בָּאֵשׁ, 2 Chron. xxviii. 3, instead of הֶעֱבִיר בָּאֵשׁ, 2 Kings xvi. 3; לְהַסִּיר, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 8, instead of לְהָנִיד, 2 Kings xxi. 8.—Later geographical names are substituted for others which had become antiquated: as אָבֵל מַיִם, that is, "Abel on the waters (of Merom)," 2 Chron. xvi. 4, for *Abel-beth-maachah*, 1 Kings xv. 20; *Gezer*, 1 Chron. xx. 4, for *Gob*, 2 Sam. xxi. 18; *Aram-Naharaim*, 1 Chron. xix. 6, for *Beth-Rehob*, 2 Sam. x. 6; כַּת, 1 Chron. xviii. 8, for בֵּרֹתַי, 2 Sam. viii. 8 (comp. *Gesenius*, Geschichte d. hebr. Sprache, p. 40); בִּירָן, 1 Chron. xiii. 9, for נָכוֹן, 2 Sam. vi. 6. Additional examples—which need, however, to be sifted critically—are to be seen in *Movers*, pp. 211–213.

(8) For instance, the scoff of the Jebusites at David's assault upon their stronghold, which became a proverb, "The blind and the lame will take thee away," comp. 1 Chron. xi. 5, 6, with 2 Sam. v. 6, 8. The manner in which the Moabites were punished, comp. 1 Chron. xviii. 2 with 2 Sam. viii. 2; also the details of the taking of Rabbah, comp. 1 Chron. xx. 1, 2, with 2 Sam. xii. 27–29, though silence is not maintained there in reference to the barbarous chastisement of the Ammonites, as *Movers*, p. 220, erroneously asserts: nor does the remark that David remained at Jerusalem (v. 1, comp. 2 Sam. xi. 1), taken in connection with nothing being said of his coming afterwards to Rabbah at Joab's wish (2 Sam. xii. 29), justify the reproach of *Movers*, p. 217, and *De Wette*, Einl. p. 245, that what is narrated in 1 Chron. xx. 2 ff. *has the appearance* of happening at Jerusalem; for it is expressly said at the end (ver. 3), "and David and all the people returned to Jerusalem." The more particular description of the ten bases and their lavers, comp. 2 Chron. iv. 6 with 1 Kings vii. 27–39. The precise circumstances of the death of Ahaziah and his forty-two brethren, comp. 2 Chron. xxii. 7–9 with 2 Kings ix. 16–28 and x. 12–14: in this case the way in which the narrative is abridged has led to Samaria being apparently the place in which he was killed; and *Movers*, p. 92, has introduced an actual contradiction into the text by his ill-judged attempt at an emendation (see my Commentary on Kings, p. 402). The narrative at full length of Hezekiah's sickness and recovery, comp. 2 Chron. xxxii. 24–26 with 2 Kings xx. 1–19. The summary account of the warnings addressed by prophets to Manasseh, in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 10, comp. 2 Kings xxi. 10–16, etc.—Often there is the omission of minor subsidiary circumstances, as indicated by brackets in the following instances:—1 Chron. x. 12, comp. 1 Sam. xxxi. 12, "All the valiant men arose, {and went all night}, and took the body of Saul, and the

bodies of his sons {from the well of Bethshan}, and brought them" (in Samuel, "and came") "to Jabesh, and {burnt them there}; and their bones they {took and} buried under the tree" (הָאֵלָה instead of הָאֶשֶׁל, "the tamarisk") "at Jabesh." 1 Chron. xiii. 7, comp. 2 Sam. vi. 3, "And they made the ark of God ride upon a new cart, {and brought it} out of the house of Abinadab,"—thus avoiding the *hysteron-proton*. 1 Chron. xiv. 3, comp. 2 Sam. v. 13, "And David took him more {concubines and} wives." 1 Chron. xvii. 13 omits these words in the promise given to David in 2 Sam. vii. 14, "If he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men." 1 Chron. xix. 4, "Hanun took David's servants, and shaved them;" in 2 Sam. x. 4, "and shaved off the one half of their beards." 1 Chron. xx. 3, comp. 2 Sam. xii. 31, "And he brought forth the people that were therein, and put them under saws, and under harrows of iron, and under axes {of iron, and made them pass through the brick-kiln}." 2 Chron. v. 3, comp. 1 Kings viii. 2, "And all the men of Israel assembled themselves unto king Solomon, at the feast {in the month Ethanim}, which is the seventh month." 2 Chron. viii. 10, "And these were the chief of *king* Solomon's officers, even *two* hundred and fifty, that bare rule over the people;" instead of 1 Kings ix. 23, "These were the chief of the officers that were *over Solomon's work*, *five* hundred and fifty, which bare rule over the people that wrought in the work." 2 Chron. xvi. 2, comp. 1 Kings xv. 18, "Then took Asa all the silver and gold {that were left} in the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house, {and delivered them into the hands of his servants}; and {king Asa} sent them to Ben-hadad, {the son of Tabrimmon, the son of Hezion}, king of Syria." 2 Chron. xxi. 1, comp. 1 Kings xxii. 51, "And Jehoshaphat slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers, in the city of David {his father}." 2 Chron. xxxiii. 20, "And they buried him *in his own house*;" instead of 2 Kings xxi. 18, "And he was buried *in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza*." 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4, "And the king of Egypt made Eliakim *his brother* king *over Judah*;" instead of 2 Kings xxiii. 34, "Eliakim, *the son of Josiah*, king *in the room of Josiah his father*."—Unknown places and foreign names are also at times suppressed. 1 Chron. xix. 17, "And he came upon them," namely the Syrians; instead of 2 Sam. x. 17, "He came to *Helam*." 1 Chron. xxi. 4, "Joab . . . went throughout all Israel;" while in 2 Sam. xxiv. 4–8 the places through which he went are named: besides, this narrative in Chronicles has undergone other abbreviations. 2 Chron. xvi. 5, "And it came to pass, when Baasha heard it, that he left off building of Ramah,

and let his work cease;" instead of 1 Kings xv. 21, "He left off building of Ramah, and *dwelt in Tirzah.*" 2 Chron. xxi. 9, "Then Jehoram went forth *with his princes;*" instead of 2 Kings viii. 21, "So Joram went over *to Zair:*" unless, as *Dahler, l.c.* p. 107, thinks, there is here a later corruption in עִם שָׂרָיו from the wholly unknown צָעִירָה. *De Wette* is wrong, however, in also bringing under this class 1 Chron. xiv. 13, where the name "Rephaim" is omitted because it had been already named at ver. 9. Other instances, in which foreign names have been omitted, are 2 Chron. xxxii. 9 and 21, compared with 2 Kings xviii. 17 and xix. 37. Compare also my apol. Versuch, p. 275 ff.—Finally, the abbreviation is only in the expression, for instance by the omission of the superfluous אֲנָשִׁים, 1 Chron. x. 3, comp. 1 Sam. xxxi. 3; לֹא after a preceding אֵין, 2 Chron. ix. 20, comp. 1 Kings x. 21. Comp. also חֹרְשֵׁי קִיר, "wall-hewers," 1 Chron. xiv. 1, for "hewers of stones for walls," with the insertion of אֶבֶן in 2 Sam. v. 11; and עַבְדְּךָ לְהִתְפַּלֵּל מָצָא, 1 Chron. xvii. 25, while אֶת־לִבּוֹ is inserted in 2 Sam. vii. 27.

(9) Additions occur for the sake of plainness: אֶת־יָדוֹ, 1 Chron. xiii. 9, comp. 2 Sam. vi. 6; מַלְאָכִים, 1 Chron. xix. 2, 16, comp. 2 Sam. x. 2, 16; in the same chapters respectively, גַּם הֵם, ver. 15, comp. ver. 14; בָּהּ before אֶבֶן יִקָּרָה, 1 Chron. xx. 2, comp. 2 Sam. xii. 30; "all that came into Solomon's heart to make *in the house of the Lord, and in his own house,* he prosperously effected," 2 Chron. vii. 11, comp. "and all Solomon's desire which he was pleased to do," 1 Kings ix. 1; מַרְבִּית חֲכָמָתְךָ, 2 Chron. ix. 6, comp. 1 Kings x. 7; חֲפֻלָּה, 2 Chron. xxvi. 21, comp. 2 Kings xv. 5: "Also, at the same time, Solomon kept the feast seven days, and all Israel with him, a very great congregation, . . . and in the eighth day they made a solemn assembly (עֲצֶרֶת), for they kept the dedication of the altar seven days, and the feast seven days, and on the three and twentieth day of the seventh month he sent the people away," 2 Chron. vii. 8–10, instead of the brief and somewhat obscure statement, "And at that time Solomon held a feast, and all Israel with him, a great congregation, . . . seven days and seven days; on the eighth day he sent the people away," 1 Kings viii. 65, 66: in 2 Chron. viii. 13 the words, "in the feast of unleavened bread, and in the feast of weeks, and in the feast of tabernacles," comp. 1 Kings ix. 25; and other instances.—There are practical remarks in 1 Chron. x. 13, 14, on Saul's death being deserved, comp. 1 Sam. xxxi. 12; 1 Chron. xi. 3, "according to the word of the Lord by Samuel," comp. 2 Sam. v. 3; 2 Chron. xxi. 10, the statement of the reason of Libnah revolting from Judah, comp. 2 Kings viii. 22; 2 Chron. xviii. 31, "And Jehovah helped him, and God moved them

to depart from him," comp. 1 Kings xxii. 32. Comp. also 2 Chron. xxv. 20, 27, with 2 Kings xiv. 11, 19.—Reflections on the cause and the effect are 2 Chron. viii. 11, the reason why Solomon built a house specially for the daughter of Pharaoh, comp. 1 Kings ix. 24; and 2 Chron. xxii. 7, that the destruction of Ahaziah was of God, comp. 2 Kings viii. 29.—For instances of concluding remarks, see 1 Chron. xiv. 17, comp. 2 Sam. v. 25; 1 Chron. xxi. 28–30; and there are others.

§ 140. *The Object aimed at in the Books of Chronicles.*

From the relation between the contents of the books of Chronicles and the other historical books of the Old Testament, especially those of Samuel and Kings, it is plain that the chronicler pursued an object different from that of the other writers. He directed his eye not so much upon the promise that God would preserve "the sure mercies of David" inviolable, and fulfil them to the people (comp. § 56), but pre-eminently upon the temple worship and the Levitical divine service. And besides the genealogical lists, which may have been of great value for the civil and religious arrangements of his time, he transferred from the histories of an earlier period into his own work those facts especially which threw light upon the condition of the Mosaic worship from the times of David until the exile; so as to kindle among his contemporaries a more zealous and conscientious interest in the worship of Jehovah, by holding the times before the exile up to view in the mirror of history (1).

(1) The prominence given in the Chronicles to this point of view, looking to the worship of God, is shown at once by the copious descriptions of David's endeavours to found and to establish a well-arranged public worship, and of his preparations for building the temple (1 Chron. xiii., xv.–xvii., xxii.–xxvi., xxviii., xxix.), when compared with the short summary narrative of his other acts; and further, by the history of Solomon, in which this wise king is delineated chiefly as the builder of the temple (*Häv.* Einl. ii. 1, p. 195); then, in the history of the kings of Judah, the accounts of Jehoshaphat's efforts to spread the knowledge of the law among his people (2 Chron. xvii. 7 ff.), the detailed delineations of the passovers under Hezekiah (xxx. and xxxi.) and Josiah (xxxv.), and many other matters. Finally, the same thing appears from the fact that the work concludes with the edict of Cyrus for the rebuilding of the temple (2 Chron. xxxvi. [22] 23), corresponding to the conclusion of

the second book of Kings (xxv. 27–30; comp. above, § 56, Note 3) which refers us back to 2 Sam. vii. 12–16.—Accordingly, the Chronicles furnish a contribution of much importance towards completing the historical picture of the theocracy. "Just as we should make quite a different representation of the effects from the operation of the Mosaic law, if we did not possess the Psalms along with the historical Scriptures, since these show that religion had taken root in the heart of the nation, and had borne fruit; so, without the Chronicles, we should make no right representation to ourselves of the extent to which divine worship was practised. This book is the first to show us that, amid all the transgressions of the law, and the greatly abounding idolatry, the worship of Jehovah was still kept up on the whole as the Pentateuch prescribed, in spite of occasional brief periods in which it was almost entirely neglected." Comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 266 ff., and *Bertheau*, d. Chron. p. xxv. ff.

§ 141. *The Sources of the Chronicles.*

The genealogies in the first part are not drawn from the Old Testament, unless the list of the patriarchal families (1 Chron. i. 1–ii. 2); but are fragments of the old genealogical, topographical, and statistical lists which were preserved at the overthrow of the kingdom and in the exile (1). In like manner also, in the historical narratives which are common to the Chronicles and the books of Samuel and Kings, these canonical books cannot have been employed. For in the parallel passages the Chronicles furnish a multitude of historical statements for which we seek in vain in those books; and they also differ often and in many ways from the parallel accounts as regards the arrangement and successive order of the individual points of importance, and also follow thoroughly a course of their own, both as to what they communicate and as to what they pass over. This is so largely the case, that the mutual relation of the parallel accounts becomes intelligible only on the assumption that they are independent extracts from common sources, each made from a point of view peculiar to itself (2).

(1) See above, § 139, Note 1, and *Bertheau*, Chron. p. xxx. ff. As a proof that the chronicler, or those on whom he relied, had taken the historical books of the Old Testament into account, and had made use of them, *De Wette*, Einl. p. 239, urges the following considera-

tions:—A. "The remark upon Er, ii. 3, is taken word for word from Gen. xxxviii. 7; that upon Achar (Achan), ver. 7, refers to Josh. vii. The division of David's sons into those born at Hebron and those born at Jerusalem, iii. 1–6, refers to 2 Sam. iii. 2–5, v. 14–16." But the remark upon Er proves nothing, because he belongs to the patriarchal age, of which there can scarcely have been genealogies in existence, apart from Genesis and independent of it, at the time when the lists were prepared which were the basis of those in Chronicles. The remark on Achar does not necessarily refer to Josh. vii., but only to the crime of Achan, which is recorded there. And the chronicler's division of the sons of David according to their place of birth is at once seen to be by no possibility drawn from 2 Sam. iii. and v., in consequence of these two facts: first, that he presents variations in the names, giving Daniel for Chileab, ver. 1 and 2 Sam. iii. 2; Shimea for Shammuah, ver. 5 and 2 Sam. v. 14; Elishama for Elishua, ver. 7 and 2 Sam. v. 15: and second, that he has two additional names, Eliphelet and Nogah, vers. 7, 8. Comp. my apol. Versuch, pp. 163 ff., 170 f.—B. "The genealogy of the kings, iii. 11–15, is borrowed from the books of Kings, as is proved by the more ancient termination of proper names in יהו, which occurs elsewhere only in vi. 24" (*Movers*). [There must be some error here. The longer form occurs in the genealogical chapters, not only at vi. 24, but also at iv. 41, v. 7. Then it is found afterwards, xi. 24, xii. 5 *bis*, 13, in ch. xv. often, xvi. 5, 6, xviii. 17, xxiii. 19, often in ch. xxiv.–xxvii.; then in 2 Chron. x. 15, xi. 2, xiii. 2, 21, xv. 1, xvii. 7, 8, *quinquies*, and again very often to the end of the book: the frequency and rarity are due to other causes.] But in the historical accounts in 2d Chronicles this older form of names is used constantly; whereas in the books of Kings the contracted form יה often stands side by side with the older one: for instance, Ahaziah, 2 Kings ix. 16, 27, 29; Amaziah, 2 Kings xii. 22, xiv. 8 [xv. 1]; Hezekiah, 2 Kings xviii. 1, 14–16: then, along with Azariah, 2 Kings xiv. 21, xv. 1, and often (like 1 Chron. iii. 12), Azariahu also occurs, 2 Kings xv. 6, 8; and Uzziah, 2 Kings xv. 13, 30, instead of Uzziahu, 2 Chron. xxvi. 1, 3, 8, 9, 11, 18, 19, 21, 22: finally, *Abijah*, 1 Chron. iii. 10, 2 Chron. xii. 16, xiii. 1–4, 17, 19, 22, 23, or Abijahu, ver. 21, is always called *Abijam* in 1 Kings xiv. 31, xv. 1, 7, 8.—C. "There is a false combination, 1 Kings v. 11, in ii. 6: 'The sons of Zerah—namely, Zimri, and Ethan, and Heman, and Calcol, and Dara'—are probably the same as those who occur in 1 Kings v. 11 [iv. 31, Eng. version]." But there is no Zimri in 1 Kings v. 11; and in place of Dara there is Darda: besides, these four are there called בְּנֵי מָחוֹל. And even if the Ezrahite

Ethan, and Heman, and Calcol, and Darda are identical with the sons of Zerah mentioned in 1 Chron. ii. 6 (these Levitical masters of song under David being brought forward among the descendants of Zerah the son of Judah, because incorporated civilly with them, according to the view of *Hengstb.* Psalmen, iii. pp. 490-1), still the names in Chronicles are not taken from the passage in Kings, and it is out of the question to speak of a false combination.—D. "Ch. vi. 7 is wrongly borrowed from Ex. vi. 23; comp. ver. 23" (*Movers*). This is an entirely unfounded assertion. For there is no reason to identify Amminadab the brother-in-law of Aaron (Ex. vi. 23) with Amminadab in 1 Chron. vi. 7 [ver. 22, Eng. version], who according to ver. 23 is one and the same with Izhar the son of Kohath, Ex. vi. 18; or to identify Korah's *grandson and great-grandson*, Elkanah and Ebiasaph, with the *sons* of Korah, Elkanah and Ebiasaph (Ex. vi. 24): as if it were impossible for similar names to occur in related families, though *Movers* himself, pp. 158–9, allows that this took place.

(2) The longer and shorter historical additions in Chronicles to the parallel narratives in Samuel and Kings, adduced in § 139, Note 5, point directly and decidedly to this relation. But it is placed beyond all doubt when we compare the individual parallel sections more narrowly, as the difference of the two plans and the two selections then becomes particularly prominent. Thus, in the narrative of Saul's war with the Philistines, and his death, 1 Chron. x. and 1 Sam. xxxi., where there is agreement in other respects, almost word for word. Yet at vers. 9, 10 the chronicler relates, "*And when they had stripped him, they took his head, and* his armour; . . . and they put his armour in the house *of their gods, and fastened his head in the temple of Dagon:*" while it is written in Samuel, vers. 9, 10, "*And they cut off his head, and stripped off his armour;* . . . and they put his armour in the house *of Ashtaroth, and they fastened his body to the wall of Beth-shan.*" Here the chronicler relates more precisely what was done with Saul's head, passing over what was done with his body or trunk; on the other hand, the book of Samuel relates what was done with the body, and omits to mention what came of the head which had been cut off.—Further, in the account of the league between Solomon and Hiram king of Tyre (2 Chron. ii. and 1 Kings v. 15–32 [ch. v. in the Eng. version]), in Chronicles at the beginning, ver. 1 [yet it is repeated at the end, vers. 16, 17, also], but in Kings at the end, ver. 29 ff., it is related that Solomon sent into Lebanon 70,000 burden-bearers, and 80,000 hewers, and 3600 overseers. The chronicler also omits to say that it was Hiram who first sent to Solomon (Kings, ver. 15): but he tells that Solomon's messengers

asked Hiram not merely for cedars (as told in Kings, ver. 20), but first for a skilled artificer, and then for cedars (vers. 6, 7); adding the promise that Solomon would give the workers 20,000 cors of wheat, 20,000 cors of barley, 20,000 baths of wine, and 20,000 baths of oil (ver. 9). According to both accounts, Hiram grants the request. But in Chronicles he promises to send the skilled artificer Huram (who is named only incidentally in Kings, ch. vii. 13), and to have wood felled, if Solomon will but give his people these provisions as he has engaged to do (vers. 11–15): on the other hand, according to the book of Kings, he promises merely to have the wood delivered as desired; and the remark is subjoined, that Hiram sent Solomon the cedars and cypresses he wished, and that for these Solomon sent him 20,000 cors of wheat and 20 cors of fine oil every year for his household. No proof is needed to show that there is no contradiction here; nothing more than variations arising out of the incompleteness of extracts made independently from common sources: comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 216 ff.—There is the same result from a comparison of the parallel accounts of Solomon's mercantile transactions along with Hiram, the service which he imposed, his building cities, his sacrifices, and his navigation, in 2 Chron. viii. and in 1 Kings ix. 10–28; and so with the accounts of Sennacherib's expedition against Hezekiah, in 2 Chron. xxxii. and 2 Kings xviii. and Isa. xxxvi.–xxxviii.; of which the particulars may be seen in my apol. Versuch, pp. 221–235.—Once more, the comparison of the two descriptions of Solomon's temple, in 2 Chron. iii. and iv. and in 1 Kings vi. and vii., is particularly instructive. The chronicler begins by giving the measurements of the temple (iii. 3), then describes the porch (ver. 4), and then the temple proper: namely, first, the holy place with its internal decoration (vers. 5–7); secondly, the most holy place, its size, its decoration, the cherubim, and the veil in front of it (vers. 8–14); thirdly, the brazen pillars before the porch (vers. 15–17), the altar of burnt-offering (iv. 1), the brazen sea (vers. 2–5), the brazen lavers, the golden candlesticks, the table for the shew-bread, and the golden basons (vers. 6–8), and the courts in front (ver. 9); and he concludes by giving a summary of the different vessels of the temple (vers. 10–22). The description in Kings begins with the building of the temple itself, its size, the manner in which it was erected, both externally and internally, and its materials (vi. 1–10): on this there follows the promise made by God to Solomon while he was building (vers. 11–14), then the more particular description of the way in which it was built and adorned within (vers. 15–36); and then the time spent in building is stated (vers. 37, 38):

next, the building of the royal palace is described (vii. 1–12); then, for the first time, the works done in metal by the Tyrian artificer, the brazen pillars (vers. 13–22), the brazen sea (vers. 23–26), the ten bases and their lavers (vers. 27–39); and lastly, there is a summary of the different vessels of the temple (vers. 40–50, like 2 Chron. iv. 10–22), in which, however, the description is omitted of the inner veil, of the golden candlesticks, of the table for the shew-bread, and of the courts in front, whereas the chronicler has passed over nothing but the description of the ten bases. Comp. my Commentary on Kings, p. 70 ff.

In spite of these obvious facts, *De Wette*, Einl. p. 192, *a*, and *Movers*, p. 95 ff., will have it that the accounts in Chronicles which are parallel to those in Samuel and Kings are borrowed from them. In favour of this view they allege as follows:—A. "The natural connection in which the earlier accounts stand to those which are omitted in Chronicles: as 1 Sam. xxxi. to xxviii.–xxx.; 2 Sam. v. 1 to ii. 1; 2 Sam. v. 13 to iii. 2–5; and others." But this [at the utmost] merely shows that the writers of those earlier accounts (in Samuel and Kings) proceeded with greater historical skilfulness than the chronicler (comp. *Dahler*, p. 9), but not that he has made extracts from these earlier books. For "in the same manner in which the chronicler is alleged, *ex hypothesi*, to have dealt with the books of (Samuel and) Kings, he may as well have acted with any other source of information from which the authors of those books have communicated to us more than he has done in individual cases" (*Welte* on *Herbst*, Einl. ii. 1, p. 188). There are indeed in Chronicles references back to narratives not found in the work itself, but which are found in the books of Kings: for instance, 2 Chron. x. 15, comp. 1 Kings xii. 15, referring to a passage which is awanting in Chronicles, 1 Kings xi. 29 ff.; 2 Chron. viii. 1, comp. 1 Kings ix. 1, referring to 1 Kings vii. 1 ff. Still, even these do not prove the dependence of the Chronicles upon our books of Kings: for, first, there are such references back to events not mentioned in Kings any more than in Chronicles,—for instance, 2 Chron. xxxv. 3, xxxiii. 18; and next, similar cases occur in the books of Kings themselves,—for instance, 2 Kings xiv. 25. From this it evidently results that the chronicler has made extracts, not from our books of Kings, but from a source common to them and to him; from which he omitted to take many things, without however erasing the later references in that authority of his to preceding events: and he has acted thus, because he nowhere conceals the fact that he only gives extracts from larger works; nay, he refers his readers again continually to these for "the rest of the

acts" of the several kings: comp. *Häv.* ii. 1, pp. 202–3.—B. "The originality of these accounts, in comparison with those in Chronicles," neither has been nor can be proved. For the books of Samuel and Kings are also mere extracts: the latter, in particular, are very meagre and fragmentary extracts from larger annals and other sources, and especially in the history of the kingdom of Judah they are much more meagre than the extracts in Chronicles. So that it is only their language and their theocratic style of connecting causes and effects which prove them to be of a higher antiquity than the Chronicles; but this is no proof of the dependence of the latter upon them.—C. Nor does "the certainty that the chronicler must have known the earlier books" prove that he used them as authorities, since more copious and more original authorities were at his command: comp. my Commentary on Kings, p. xxiv., note. A hypothesis has been defended in the theol. Quartalschrift, by *De Wette, Movers,* and also by *Ewald,* Geschichte, i. p. 238, that the chronicler used the canonical books of Samuel and Kings as his primary authorities in those sections which he has in common with these books; and besides, that he also made extracts of certain notices and verses from other sources, which he interwove with his extracts made from Samuel and Kings. But this assumes such a strange rambling about without a plan, that we cannot even make a reasonable statement of the hypothesis to ourselves, as *Häv.* p. 203 ff. has already shown by some examples. Comp. also *Bertheau,* Chron. p. xl. f. [See *Bleek's* views in the additions to Note 3.]

Our view on this point becomes absolutely certain when we look at the quotation of authorities in the Chronicles [see also § 54, and there Note 2]. For the history of David there are quoted, *the words* (דִּבְרֵי) *of Samuel the seer* (רֹאֶה), *of Nathan the prophet, and of Gad the seer* (חוֹזֶה), 1 Chron. xxix. 29; for the history of Solomon, *the words of Nathan the prophet, the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and the visions of the seer* (חוֹזֶה) *Jehdi* [Iddo in the *Qrî,* followed by Eng. version], *against Jeroboam the son of Nebat,* 2 Chron. ix. 29. By these "words," prophecies, and visions of the five prophets here named, we are to understand neither our books of Samuel and Kings, nor yet historical annals of the kingdom, such as the book of the acts [דִּבְרֵי] of Solomon, 1 Kings xi. 41 (3); but only prophetical writings, or collections of prophetical discourses or utterances by the persons named, with many historical statements interwoven. This interpreta-

tion is demanded by the *usus loquendi*, compared with the superscriptions of our prophetical books,—for instance, Amos i. 1, Jer. i. 1. It also appears from this, that for each of these two reigns we are referred to two different writings, besides the work of Nathan, which is common to both; and if we may judge from the great agreement between the narratives of Solomon's reign in Chronicles and in 1st Kings, there subsisted a close affinity between the contents of those works and those of the historical work referred to in 1 Kings xi. 41, and the chronicles of king David mentioned in 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, since these historical works and annals were also composed by prophets (§ 54 and 59). Still there are many lists, which would scarcely be noted down in prophetical writings like these: such are the catalogues of David's mighty men and his warriors, 1 Chron. xi. 10 ff., xii.; the accounts of the priests and Levites and their arrangements, of the leaders of David's hosts, and of his officers of state, 1 Chron. xxiii.–xxvii.; of Solomon's cavalry, riches, and trade, 2 Chron. i. 14–17, viii.; and other matters of this kind. So that we must assume that, besides these writings to which he refers, the author of the Chronicles must have used the annals which were compiled by prophets, and which lie at the basis of the books of Samuel and Kings (4).

(3) As *De Wette*, *Gramberg*, *Movers*, p. 100 ff., and *Ewald*, Geschichte, i. p. 262, still assert, following *Michaelis* and *Eichhorn*. Against them, comp. *Kleinert*, Echtheit der jesajan. Weissagg. i. p. 83 ff.; my apol. Versuch, p. 249 ff.; *Hāv.* ii. 1, p. 121 ff.; *Welte* on *Herbst's* Einl. ii. 1, p. 192 ff.; and *Bertheau*, Chron. p. xlv.—*Movers*, p. 178, propounds the hypothesis, that in 1 Chron. xxix. 29, the words of Samuel, of Nathan, and of Gad designate respectively the first, the second, and the third parts of our books of Samuel; and that in 2 Chron. ix. 29 the words of Nathan and the prophecy of Ahijah designate the former and the latter part of the history of Solomon in 1 Kings i.–xi.: because in the books of Samuel the prophets Samuel, Nathan, and Gad (2 Sam. xxiv.) appear as actors in the history; and because in 1 Kings i. Nathan is mentioned, and in 1 Kings xi. 29 ff. a prophecy of Ahijah's is communicated to us. This hypothesis, however, is refuted at once by the circumstance that in our books of Kings there is not a syllable to be found about the visions of Jehdi against Jeroboam. [*Bleek*, p. 396, seems inclined to follow *De Wette*, § 192, *a*, whose opinion has been examined and refuted in the latter part of Note 2; at all events, he goes the length of the hypothesis mentioned

at the end of that note, that the books of Samuel and Kings, being known to the chronicler as canonical, were used by him as primary authorities. At p. 367 he says: "Moreover, it might be that the chronicler was acquainted with our books, not only in the form in which they are found in the Canon, namely our books of Samuel, but also in the earlier shape and in the full extent in which they were as they lay before the author of the books of Kings, in which shape they also still contained the history of Solomon; and that this work was meant by 'the words of Nathan.' Yet nothing can be determined about this matter in any decided way." This is the statement with which he concludes some remarks upon the views of *Gramberg*, *Movers*, and *De Wette*, which are combated by *Keil* in this note, and which he himself pronounces "certainly untrue." Yet he goes on to say: "On the other hand, as has been already remarked, p. 152, it is very doubtful whether, as *Häv.* and others think, the quotations in Chronicles refer to writings by the prophets themselves who are named,—these prophecies at the same time containing historical descriptions, and also forming a primary authority for the writer of our books of Samuel; or whether the title merely refers to the persons whose history forms a principal part of the contents of the books in question. The expression דִּבְרֵי שְׁמוּאֵל, etc., certainly admits of the former way of understanding it; but it can equally designate a work that treated of Samuel, as is shown in those passages in Chronicles, by the expressions, 'the matters of David,' 'the matters of Solomon,' and so in many other passages. With greater probability, we may certainly suppose that, as the chronicler undoubtedly knew our books of Samuel—and this in their present shape and by their present name in the Hebrew Canon, 'Samuel'—he may have meant them by 'the words (or matters) of Samuel:' the two other quotations, 'of the words of Nathan' and 'the words of Gad,' must then refer to other works which are now lost to us." At pp. 151–2 of his own work, to which he here refers back, he had rejected the hypothesis of *Movers* and *De Wette* as "utterly unnatural," and propounded as "very probable" the view which is given in the last sentence quoted from him. He goes on to say: "But it is purely arbitrary in *De Wette* (Einl. § 192, *b*) to refer 'the words of Nathan the prophet' named in 2 Chron. ix. 29 to a work different from that which is cited by the same title in 1 Chron. xxix. 29. Nor is there anything to justify us in supposing, with *Bertheau*, Chron., Einl. § 3, following *Ewald*, Geschichte Israel, i. 247, that not independent works are meant by this title, but sections of a great work—'the history of the times of the kings of Judah and Israel.'" He also expresses the doubt, as in the passage

already quoted from p. 367, whether "the words (matters) of Nathan," "the words (matters) of Gad," were writings *by* them or writings *about* them; but at p. 158 he gives an opinion pretty much in conformity with *Keil's*, that the former interpretation "in most cases has the predominance of probability," both from the *usus loquendi*, and from its being an improbability that works should be written about persons so little known and of so little historical importance as some of these prophets. And thus, p. 152, he has no doubt that "the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite," and "the vision of the seer Jehdai," or Iddo (for he unhesitatingly identifies this person with the seer Iddo in 2 Chron. xii. 15, and the prophet Iddo in 2 Chron. xiii. 22, whose name, however, is differently spelt even from that in the *Qrî* here), were prophetical utterances or visions, which also contained historical matter.]

(4) Comp. my apol. Versuch, pp. 250–1; *Häv.* p. 193 ff.—[As for the chronicles of king David, 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, alluded to above by *Keil*, *Bleek*, p. 157, says it seems to have been a historical work relating to David's reign, but that nothing further is known to us about it.]

For the history of the kingdom of Judah, reference is made to the following works:—I. *A pretty large historical work*, a *book of the kings of Judah and Israel*, under different titles, סֵפֶר הַמְּלָכִים לִיהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל, 2 Chron. xvi. 11; or סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי יה' ויש', 2 Chron. xxv. 26, xxviii. 26, xxxii. 32; or סֵפֶר מ' יש' ויה, 2 Chron. xxvii. 7, xxxv. 27, xxxvi. 8; or ס' מ' יִשְׂרָאֵל, 2 Chron. xx. 34; or דִּבְרֵי מַלְכֵי יש', 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18; or מִדְרַשׁ סֵפֶר הַמְּלָכִים, 2 Chron. xxiv. 27. There can be no reasonable doubt that the first five titles are only variations in the designation of one and the same work: for *Israel*, in the last two places referred to, designates the entire Israelite people in the wider sense of the word; and דִּבְרֵי, in place of סֵפֶר (xxxiii. 18), presents merely another abbreviated form of quotation (5). This work must have contained essentially the same thing as did those annals or chronicles of the kings of Judah and Israel which are referred to in the books of Kings; because the extracts from the one authority in the books of Kings agree so thoroughly with the extracts in the books of Chronicles from theirs. But while the author of the books of Kings quotes the annals of the two kingdoms as two separate works, the chronicler, on the contrary, has used a work in which the history

of the two kingdoms is wrought up together: consequently he has referred to his "book of the kings of Judah and Israel," or "of the kings of Israel," even for the history of such kings of Judah as had nothing to do with the kingdom of Israel [that is, of the Ten Tribes], like Jotham and Hezekiah (xxvii. 7 and xxxii. 32), and even at times subsequent to the overthrow of the kingdom of Israel, 2 Chron. xxxv. 27, xxxvi. 8, and xxxiii. 18. But as this work was the chronicles of the two kingdoms wrought up anew, it might be also named a *Midrash of the book of the Kings*, 2 Chron. xxiv. 27. For it appears unequivocally from the history of Joash, that this *Midrash* was not a different book from "the book of the kings of Judah and Israel," but was identical with it; since that history, for which the Chronicles refer to this *Midrash*, agrees as thoroughly with 2 Kings xi. and xii., as the history of those kings harmonizes in the books of Chronicles and the books of Kings, in the case of whom the Chronicles refer to "the book of the kings of Judah and Israel," and the books of Kings refer to the chronicles of the kings of Judah and of Israel (6).—II. *A biography of king Uzziah* ["the acts of Uzziah, first and last"], composed by the prophet *Isaiah*, 2 Chron. xxvi. 22. Also various prophetic writings: such as *the words of Shemaiah the prophet* [some of whose words are given in the chapter to be named immediately, as *Bleek* notices], and of *Iddo the seer*, for the history of Rehoboam, 2 Chron. xii. 15; a *Midrash of the prophet Iddo*, for the history of Abijah, 2 Chron. xiii. 22; *the words of Jehu the prophet* [the language is, "the words of Jehu the son of Hanani;" but we read in 1 Kings xvi. 7 of "Jehu the son of Hanani the prophet"], for the history of Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. xx. 34; *a collection of oracles* (חִזָּיוֹן) *of Isaiah the prophet*, for the history of Hezekiah, xxxii. 32; and *the words of Hozai*, for the history of Manasseh, xxxiii. 19. Of two of these works, *the words of Jehu* and *the collection of Isaiah's oracles*, it is expressly remarked [although not appearing in the English version, owing to a mistranslation and an unauthorized supplement], that they were adopted into the book of the kings of Israel, or the book of the kings of Judah and Israel, xx. 34 and xxxii. 32. From this two inferences may be drawn. The first is, that the rest of these prophetic writings, or monographs, on which no such remark is made, still remained apart, and in this condition lay before the chronicler.

The second is, that the book of the kings of Israel and Judah which the chronicler used (as well as the chronicles of the kings to which the author of our books of Kings refers) was wrought up not only from the public annals and other contemporary historical writings, but also, along with these, from prophetical writings and predictions then extant; an inference which we might also draw directly from observing that the books of Chronicles often agree word for word with the books of Kings, where they refer to these special prophetic works; for instance, 2 Chron. x.–xi. 4 compared with 1 Kings xii. 1–24, and 2 Chron. xii. 2–11 with 1 Kings xiv. 25–28 (7).

(5) We see clearly how much the later biblical writers vary in the designation of one and the same work, by the references to the annals of the Medes and Persians in Esth. x. 2, vi. 1, Ezra iv. 15. Comp. my Comm. on Kings, p. xxiv. f., note. Besides, the identity of these different designations is acknowledged by *De Wette*, Einl. p. 252; by *Movers;* by *Ewald*, Geschichte, i. p. 245; and by *Welte*, *ibid.* p. 194. Comp. also *Häv.* p. 196 ff. [For the sentiments of *Bleek*, see additions to the following note.]

(6) Comp. *Häv.* p. 197 ff.; *Welte*, p. 196; and *Ewald*, *ibid.* *Ewald* translates מִדְרַשׁ סֵפֶר "Schriftbuch." [*Bleek*, pp. 153–5, seems to agree with *Keil's* views as to the great work quoted in the Chronicles and in the books of Kings: "We cannot doubt that the work quoted in Chronicles for the history of the Jewish kings, under these variously modified titles, is one and the same with the work quoted in our books of Kings for the history of the same kings, 'The book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah.'" And as for the Midrash in 2 Chron. xxiv. 27: "In spite of the peculiar title, it is in the highest degree probable that this also is nothing else than 'the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah' to which reference is made in the parallel passage, 2 Kings xii. 20." There is probably one difference between him and *Keil*,—namely this, that he does not seem to think that two separate works are quoted in our books of Kings more than in our books of Chronicles. "By comparing passages in the Chronicles, we may also infer with great probability that what is quoted in the books of Kings as 'the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel,' and what again is quoted as 'the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah,' were not two independent works, but just a single work, though it treated of each kingdom by itself." And so he says, p. 396: "The work most often quoted by him (the chronicler) . . . was without doubt the same work as the book of the chronicles

of the kings of Judah and of the kings of Israel, which is quoted in our books of Kings, and not a different work, as has been to some extent supposed, and is supposed even yet by *Bertheau*; *Dillman* (in *Herzog's* Encycl., art. Chronik), and others."]

(7) Against the opinion that all these works also are only single sections, partly of our books of Kings and partly of the Midrash Sepher Hammelachim (*Movers*), or sections of the great book of the kings of Judah and Israel (*Bertheau*, p. xxxiv. ff.), comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 257 ff., and *Welte*, p. 196 ff. Even *De Wette*, Einl. pp. 256–7, concedes that there might still be sundry writings extant in the chronicler's time, which had not been taken into the Canon; and he no longer gives out that the references to books in the Chronicles are pure inventions or a piece of literary ostentation, as he had formerly sought to do (Einl. p. 243, 4th ed.), like *Gramberg*. Yet he still seeks to cast suspicion on them, in spite of his concession: for he explains 2 Chron. xxxv. 25 as "a false quotation, resting on the erroneous view that the Lamentations of Jeremiah had the death of Josiah for their subject;" and he suggests the doubt "whether the prophet Jehu, who appears under the Israelite king Baasha, 1 Kings xvi. 1, 7, can have been at work under Jehoshaphat the Jewish king fully thirty years later, 2 Chron. xix. 2, on which account his 'words' are quoted, ch. xx. 34." But this doubt is quite unreasonable, since Isaiah was engaged in prophetic work at least fifty years, [and Hosea some sixty-five years]; and the assertion that 2 Chron. xxxv. 25 contains a false quotation is itself based upon an erroneous assumption, that Jeremiah can have composed no other lamentations than those which are preserved to us in the Canon. Comp. also *Welte*, pp. 220–1. [*Bleek*, p. 156, says, of course, Isaiah's account of Uzziah is a work now lost: that the parallel passage, 2 Kings xv. 6, again refers to the book of the chronicles of the kings; yet that from this we cannot conclude, either that the treatise had been inserted into that work, or that it was not known to the chronicler as a work existing in a separate form. Of "the words of Shemaiah the prophet, and of Iddo the seer," he says, p. 153, it is impossible to determine whether two separate compositions are intended, or one work in which both were united, though the former explanation is the more probable. While he makes no pretence of explaining the word that is subjoined, לְהִתְיַחֵשׂ, which was utterly obscure even so long ago as to the ancients, and the only natural translation of which (if we might coin a word, "genealogizing") suggests an idea which does not accord well with the character of the work, as we should imagine; he adds that it might be understood to characterize both the works,

if there be two.—"The Midrash of the prophet Iddo," he thinks, p. 153, was probably "a more extended study (*commentarium*) of the history" of king Abijah.—"The חָזוֹן of the prophet Isaiah," he says, pp. 155–6, is an expression occurring in the superscription of the canonical book of Isaiah; but neither this book as a whole, nor its historical details in ch. xxxvi.-xxxix., can be meant here: it must have been some work, containing prophetic utterances along with fuller accounts of Hezekiah's life and reign. He says, pp. 156–7, that the reference for Manasseh's history must be to "the words of *Hozai*," as *Jerome* understood it, and also the Targum; and not "the words of the seers," as it is understood by the Septuagint, and by *Movers* (Chron. p. 81), *De Wette* (§ 192, *b*), and *Bertheau* (Chron., Einl. p. xxxv.): for this rendering implies corruption of the text such as would not be easily made, and gives a meaning which does not seem in itself natural in the connection.—Of the insertion of the words of Jehu in the book of the kings of Israel, he observes, p. 155, that in the parallel passage, 1 Kings xxii. 46, the reference is simply to the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah; from which, however, it would not follow that the author of our books of Kings was ignorant of this insertion.—And again, he observes, p. 156, of Isaiah's work on Hezekiah, in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel, that in the parallel passage, 2 Kings xx. 20, the reference is simply to the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah.]

§ 142. *The Date and the Author of the Chronicles.*

As the Chronicles terminate with the account of the permission to the Jewish exiles to return to their own land—a permission granted by Cyrus in the first year of his reign (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23)—and as it traces the family-tree of Zerubbabel down to his grandchildren (1 Chron. iii. 19–21), it cannot well have been composed before the time of Ezra (1). In harmony with this is the resemblance in the conclusion of the Chronicles and the commencement of the book of Ezra (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23; Ezra i. 1–3*a*). In this commencement of Ezra, too, the remarkable opening words, "*And in the first year*," etc., and also two readings which have been made easier than they are in Chronicles, show that the beginning of the book of Ezra has been taken from the termination of the Chronicles; which is decisive as a proof that the composition of Chronicles was earlier than that of the book of Ezra (2). We are led to the same date by the reckoning

in the Persian gold coin, the *daric* (1 Chron. xxix. 7), and by the later style of spelling and language in the book. On the other hand, that reckoning by darics, and the designation of the temple by the word בִּירָה (1 Chron. xxix. 1, 19), definitively exclude the notion that it was composed in the Macedonian or Seleucide period (3).

(1) From 1 Chron. iii. 19–24, *De Wette*, *Zunz* (die gottesdienstl. Vorträge d. Juden, p. 31), and others, inferred that the family-tree of Zerubbabel was carried down to the time of Alexander the Great, or to B.C. 270 (*Zunz*); for, without any justification, they reckoned the names onward from "the sons of Rephaiah" in ver. 21, as being the names of direct descendants of that grandson of Zerubbabel who had been mentioned. But these names may just as reasonably be held to be a genealogy of returned exiles which runs parallel to the preceding one (*Häv.* pp. 266–7; *Movers*, p. 30), or as another fragment of some genealogy which has been added later. This it is impossible to decide, since in the text there is no connection of "the sons of Rephaiah" with the preceding context; and so, in any case, there is a corruption, as was already acknowledged by *Vitringa*, *Heidegger*, *Carpzov*, and others. Comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 43 ff. On this account, all attempts to determine the progressive line of descent from Zerubbabel to Hodujahu, ver. 24 [Hodaiah in Eng. version], down to the latest, by *Ewald*, Geschichte, i. p. 229, and *Bertheau*, Chron. pp. 33–4, rest upon critical caprice. To begin with the names in vers. 21–24, how little can be made of them is shown by the contradictory conjectures of *De Wette*, Einl. p. 242, that Shemaiah the son of Shechaniah (ver. 22) might be Nehemiah's contemporary (Neh. iii. 29); and of *Movers*, p. 30, that Hattush, the son of this Shemaiah (ver. 23), might be that Hattush, a descendant of David, who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezra viii. 2). For if Hattush returned from Babylon with Ezra, *being at the time the head of a family*, then his father Shemaiah must have died in exile, and cannot have been living on in the time of Nehemiah, taking part in building the wall (Neh. xii. 2, comp. iii. 10). [Neh. xii. 2, however, speaks of Hattush a *priest*, and therefore not a descendant of David. *Bleek*, p. 395, thinks it "not improbable" that the descendant of David is meant, "who came up under Ezra from Babylon to Judea. Now, as the grandsons of a younger brother of Hattush are brought before us in Chronicles in the following verses (vers. 23, 24), we are conducted to at least the year B.C. 400 as the earliest time [?] at which this can have been written; and if perhaps some intermediate links after Hattush have fallen out, then to a still later time." But he himself

(*ibid.*) reckons six generations after Zerubbabel, as most probably the meaning of the obscure passage, in which he adheres to the Hebrew text in preference to the Septuagint, following *Bertheau* in this. Allowing thirty years to each generation, and supposing that no links have been omitted, this would bring the date of composition down at least to about the end of the Persian monarchy.—See, however, the remarks upon a passage in Nehemiah, to which similar arguments apply for bringing its date of composition to the end of the Persian period, in § 149, Note 7.]

(2) Not the reverse, as *De Wette*, i. p. 47, *Bertheau*, and *Gramberg* have asserted. Against them, comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 90 ff.; *Häv.* pp. 268–9; *Movers*, p. 11 ff.; *Welte*, *ibid.* pp. 175–6.

(3) About the origin of darics, comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 11 ff. Persian money was used by the Jews only under the Persian monarchy. After Alexander's time, Greek money came into Asia along with Greek manners and style of life: comp. *Movers*, pp. 26–7; *Häv.* p. 265. [*Bleek* thinks this by no means a conclusive argument: Persian money, once diffused throughout the countries belonging to the empire, might still be current for a considerable time after the fall of the dynasty by which it had been coined.]—The temple would scarcely have received the name בִּירָה from a writer living later than Nehemiah, when Jerusalem had obtained a בירה of its own, after the analogy of Persian cities,—namely, the castle built already by Nehemiah (Neh. ii. 8, vii. 2), afterwards named *Βάρις*, or *arx Antonia*. Comp. *Häv.* p. 265.—The other grounds on which *De Wette* (Beitrr.), *Bertholdt*, *Gramberg*, and others rest, when maintaining that the book was composed in the Macedonian or Seleucide period, are refuted in my apol. Versuch, p. 17 ff., and by *Häv.* p. 274 ff.; and at a later time they were for the most part given up by *De Wette* himself. [*Bleek*, p. 395, says there is nothing to justify *Gramberg*, preceded by *Spinoza*, in assigning it to the Maccabean age.]

The identity of the conclusion of Chronicles with the commencement of the book of Ezra leads us to think it probable that Ezra was the author of Chronicles (4). The great affinity in language (5); the frequent references made to the law in similar formulas (6); the predilection for extended descriptions of the proceedings at acts of worship, along with the temple music and the songs of praise by the Levites, in standing liturgical formulas (7); also the predilection for genealogies and public registers (8),—all which are common to the

two works,—elevate this probability of common authorship into a certainty (9). Nevertheless, it by no means follows from this, that the two books formed originally one work, and were cut up into two only at a later time; for the Chronicles have a conclusion which is in perfect harmony with their own plan (10).

(4) According to the opinion adopted already by many Rabbins, Fathers, and earlier theologians (see *Carpzov*, i. pp. 285–7) [*Bleek*, p. 399, says this opinion is held by the writers of the Talmud, and by most of the Rabbins; and not less by *Theodoret*, and by most of the later Christian theologians, as, in particular, by *Carpzov*, later by *Eichhorn*, and still in very recent times by *Häv.*, *Keil*, *Welte*, etc.]: later by *Pareau*, instit. interpr. Vet. Test. p. 418 sq.; *Eichhorn*, Einl. iii. p. 597; and others.

(5) "Quod peculiare est in dictione utriusque libri Chronicorum, id etiam in dictione libri, qui Ezræ tribuitur auctori ejusque nomen præ se fert, animadvertitur, quatenus lingua Hebraica conscriptus est" (*Pareau*, p. 419). Compare no more than כִּפּוֹר, bowl, 1 Chron. xxviii. 17, Ezra i. 10, viii. 27; עַד־לְמַרְחוֹק (with three prepositions [of which there is also an example in 1 Chron. xv. 13]), 2 Chron. xxvi. 15, Ezra iii. 13; פְּלֻגָּה, of the divisions of the Levites, 2 Chron. xxxv. 5, Ezra vi. 18; הִתְנַדֵּב, offering gifts to God willingly, 1 Chron. xxix. 5, 6, 9, 14, 17, Ezra i. 6, iii. 5, ii. 68; the infinitive *Hophal* הוּסַד, of the founding of the temple, 2 Chron. iii. 3, Ezra iii. 11; נִקְבוּ בְשֵׁמוֹת, 1 Chron. xii. 31, xvi. 41, 2 Chron. xxviii. 15, xxxi. 19, and Ezra viii. 20, all on the model of Num. i. 17; הֵכִין לְבָבוֹ לִדְרוֹשׁ וגו׳, 2 Chron. xii. 14, xix. 3, xxx. 19, and Ezra vii. 10. On the other hand, עַמֵּי אֲרָצוֹת and נְתִינִים, *in Häv.* p. 270, occur frequently in Nehemiah also, and therefore are not convincing.

(6) Less convincing is the formula adduced by *Movers*, pp. 18 and 21, and by *Häv.* p. 271, בְּכָתוּב בַּתּוֹרָה, because it is frequent in other writings also; comp. [not always the very words, but substantially the same] Josh. i. 8, viii. 31, 34, xxiii. 6, 1 Kings ii. 3, 2 Kings xiv. 6, xxii. 13, 23 [xxiii. 3 ?], xxiii. 21, Neh. viii. 15, x. 35, 37. There is more force in כְּמִשְׁפָּט, as in meaning equivalent to "according to the law of Moses," 1 Chron. xxiii. 31, 2 Chron. xxxv. 13, xxx. 16, Ezra iii. 4; yet also in Neh. viii. 18.

(7) Comp. especially 2 Chron. xxx. and xxxv. with Ezra iii. and vi. 19–22; 1 Chron. xvi. 40, 2 Chron. xiii. 11, viii. 18 [13 ?], xxxi. 3, with Ezra iii. 2–5; and formulas like עַל יְדֵי־דָוִיד [or עַל יְדֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ], 1 Chron. xxv. 2, 6, 2 Chron. xxiii. 18, xxix. 27, and Ezra iii. 10; the standing expression בְּשִׂמְחָה [varied by omitting the preposition or

using the verb], in 1 Chron. xii. 40, xxix. 9, 17, 22, 2 Chron. xv. 15, xx. 27, [xxiii. 18], xxix. 30, 36, xxx. 21, 23, 26, and often, and Ezra iii. 12; הוֹדוּ וְהַלְלוּ לַיהוָה, 1 Chron. xvi. 4, xxiii. 30, xxv. 3, and often, and Ezra iii. 11 [the instances happen all to have the infinitive instead of the imperative]; the phrase "for Jehovah is good, and His mercy endureth for ever," 1 Chron. xvi. 34, 41, 2 Chron. v. 13, and Ezra iii. 11. Comp. *Movers*, p. 17 ff.; *Bertheau*, Chron. p. xvi. f.

(8) Comp. Ezra vii. 1–5 and 1 Chron. v. 30–41; and the catalogues in Ezra ii., viii., x. 20 ff., with the many lists in Chronicles. Yet Nehemiah also is rich in these; comp. Neh. vii. 6 ff., x. 1 ff., xi., and xii.

(9) The proofs advanced by *Jahn*, Einl. ii. p. 246, to show that the two books had not the same author, are entirely unimportant. The variation in Ezra's genealogy, 1 Chron. v. 30 ff. and Ezra vii. 1 ff., consists merely of abbreviations, some intermediate links being omitted. Comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 145 ff., and *Häv.* pp. 273–4.

(10) The last verses, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23, stand in the closest connection with the preceding, vers. 20 and 21. The desolation of the land had lasted seventy years, as Jeremiah had prophesied (vers. 20, 21); but in the first year after they had expired, in order to fulfil the word spoken by Jeremiah, Jehovah stirred up Cyrus to issue a decree, that all who belonged to the people of God were to go up and build a house in Jerusalem for Jehovah the God of heaven.—Had the two books originally formed one work, it would never have occurred to any one afterwards to tear them asunder in such a way as to break off the Chronicles in the middle of Ezra i. 3, or to repeat the last two verses of Chronicles at the beginning of the book of Ezra. [*Bleek*, pp. 400–1, expresses a certain liking for the hypothesis that one large work was subsequently broken up into our present books of Chronicles and Ezra, probably including Nehemiah also,—a hypothesis which is to be mentioned immediately; but he admits that he cannot acquiesce in it, since the very difficulty here urged by *Keil* renders the alleged procedure inconceivable to him. Yet he continues: "Certainly it seems to me very probable that the author of Chronicles is the same as the last editor of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. But I believe the fact to be, that he had previously edited the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, so as to make them a continuation of the narrative of events in the historical works which were found already in the Canon, and more immediately a continuation of the books of Kings to be annexed to them; and that then, at a later time, he wrote the Chronicles, to which work he transferred, by way of conclusion, the opening verses of that other work of his. To a

Jewish author, living at the end of the Persian or the beginning of the Grecian monarchy, it might also readily appear a pressing necessity to give a connected sketch of the history after the exile, as a continuation of those books of Kings which already were invested with canonical authority, as it were collecting supplements to those books which gave the history down to the exile." With *Ewald* and *Bertholdt*, he thinks it highly probable that the author was a Levite master of song, certainly a Levite at Jerusalem. It is superfluous to remark how purely conjectural this style of writing is: and the inaccuracy is very serious, when he calls the books of Ezra and Nehemiah a connected sketch of the history after the exile; though there is a sense in which *Keil* thinks himself justified in applying this epithet to Ezra; on which, see at § 146, Note 3, addition.] Comp. also *Häv.* p. 272, and *De Wette*, Einl. § 196, *b*, Note *c*.—As to the hypothesis of *Movers*, p. 14 ff., that the Chronicles and Ezra originally formed one connected work, and that of *Zunz*, *Ewald*, and *Bertheau*, which associates Nehemiah with them, see below, § 146, Note 4, and § 149, Note 8.

§ 143. *Historical Character of the Chronicles in those Sections in which they are parallel with the Books of Samuel and Kings.*

A careful and unprejudiced comparison of the accounts in the Chronicles with those presented in the parallel passages of the books of Samuel and Kings, leads to the conclusion that the author of the Chronicles has neither distorted historical truth, nor has falsified the history of earlier times; whether this were to be charged upon him on account of misunderstandings or want of information, of inexactness or exaggerations, of a peculiar dogmatico-mythological way of thinking, of a predilection for the Levitical mode of worship or a partiality for pious kings who were devoted to that worship and to the law of Moses, or of hatred towards the Ten Tribes of Israel. The accusations of this sort which have been in recent times brought forward against the credibility of the Chronicles, have proceeded from an interested motive in those who wished to undermine the genuineness of the Pentateuch and of the Mosaic legislation; and along with this, to undermine faith in the divine origin of the Old Testament dispensation, with its miracles and doings of God (1). And such accusations cannot even *seem* to be supported, except by making the assumptions that the entire Mosaic legislation was a pro-

duct of the age of the exile; that the chronicler drew his information from our books of Samuel and Kings, being in possession of no other credible sources of information; and that the authors of the books of Samuel and Kings, having in view the same object as the author of the Chronicles, wished to furnish a complete history of the kings in the manner of a chronicle, with a detailed narrative of all individual events and actions (2).

(1) After *C. L. Oeder* (freie Untersuchungen über einige BB. des Alten Test., published by *G. L. Vogel*, Halle 1771, p. 139 ff.) had first of all spoken of many corruptions in the books of Chronicles, *De Wette* (Beitrr. vol. i.) made a violent attack upon their historical character. He sought to show that the chronicler had distorted and falsified true history, by his want of precision, his carelessness and his manner of compilation, his eagerness for miracles, his "Levitism," or partiality for the tribe of Levi, his vindications and embellishments of the Jewish mode of worship, and finally, his predilection for Judah and his hatred of Israel. *Gramberg*, in his above-named work, has with senseless daring carried out all these reproaches further, to the length of asserting that the chronicler has systematically falsified the history in a manner the most audacious possible, by inventing long lists of names, titles of books, and the like.—On the contrary, the credibility of the Chronicles was defended by *Dahler* in the book already referred to; in the Tübinger theol. Quartalschrift, by *Drey*, *Herbst*, and *Hirscher*, 1831, ii. p. 201 ff.; in my apolog. Versuch; by *Movers* in his krit. Untersuchungen,—a work which presents many admirable discussions, but also, alongside of these, very important and manifest weak points, and many instances of arbitrary criticism, as, in particular, it has thrown the relation of the Chronicles to the books of Samuel and Kings into greater confusion instead of throwing light upon it; by *Häv.* and by *Welte* in their Introductions to the Old Testament; and lastly, by *Bertheau* in his Commentary.—That the opponents of the credibility of the Chronicles have been guided by this dogmatic interest, is confessed by *De Wette*, Beitrr. i. p. 135, with tolerable plainness, in these words: "As the entire Jewish history, on its most interesting and important side—namely, that of religion and the manner of observing the worship of God, *after the accounts in the Chronicles have been put out of the way*— . . . assumes quite a different shape: so also the investigations about the Pentateuch take quite a different turn all at once; *a multitude of troublesome proofs, difficult to put out of the way, that the Mosaic books were in*

existence at an earlier time, vanish," etc. Further, the same thing appears from the way and manner of the investigation, in which two assumptions are from the first, pp. 5, 6, declared to be false: namely, the assumption that the Mosaic writings are genuine, or at least that their so-called Mosaic legislation is genuine; and also the opinion that the authors of the books of Samuel and Kings did not shape their course from the point of view which looks at the worship of God, or did not relate everything that had reference to the temple and its system of worship.

(2) The reproaches which *De Wette* has still reiterated in the newest edition of his Introduction, § 190, *a*, *b*, *c*, fall into two classes: namely, unintentional deviations from the older narrative, and alterations of it; and again, intentional alterations and falsifications.

I. *Without deliberate intention.*—He alleges the following alterations:—

A. *From misunderstanding or ignorance.*—(*a*) "אֳנִיּוֹת הֹלְכוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ, ships going to Tarshish, 2 Chron. ix. 21, xx. 36, 37, instead of אֳנִי תַרְשִׁישׁ, in the Tarshish-ship, 1 Kings x. 22, xxii. 49." But אֳנִי is *fleet*, and not *ship*; comp. *Gesenius*, Thesaurus, *sub voce* [and it is the feminine plural word which occurs in 1 Kings xxii. 49 as well as in Chronicles]. And 1 Kings x. 22 does not treat of navigation to Ophir, which is spoken of in 1 Kings ix. 26 ff., 2 Chron. viii. 17 ff. (as *De Wette* and others assume), but of the fleet going to Tarshish: accordingly the chronicler has given a correct explanation of the words in question. Comp. my Commentary on 1 Kings x. 22, and *Häv.* Einl. ii. 1, p. 236. It is true that in ch. xx. 36, 37, the chronicler has given a wrong meaning [?] to the expression Tarshish-ships, by his words, "to go to Tarshish," since the fleet built by Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah was destined for the voyage to Ophir (1 Kings xxii. 49). But such a misapprehension, in his effort to explain an expression which in his time had become unintelligible, affords not the slightest foundation for the reproach of historical and geographical ignorance in general; for in the time of the chronicler Tarshish had long ceased to be a place of Phœnician traffic: comp. *Häv.* p. 237. Formerly, in my apologet. Versuch, p. 308, on the navigation of Hiram and Solomon, pp. 21–2, and once more in my commentary on 1 Kings xxii. 49, I defended the supposition that Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah had twice attempted together to build a trading fleet. But on repeated examination of the matters, this no longer appears to me to be tenable, on account of Ahaziah's reign lasting too short a time; nor does it remove all the differences on both sides in the narratives, which have been produced by the meagreness

of the extract upon the subject which we have in 1 Kings xxii. 49, 50. [This is the only instance on which *Bleek* condescends, p. 398; though he thinks that there are some other things erroneous, as representing that worship to be ancient which only dates from a time later than the composition of Deuteronomy,—a book which he attributes to a comparatively recent writer.—*Keil's* earlier supposition might have better been retained—as, at all events, a fair enough hypothetical solution of difficulties—in preference to the course which he here follows, of charging an error upon the writer of the Chronicles. It has also been suggested as a possible explanation, that in later times Tarshish may have assumed a somewhat indefinite meaning, and been applied to places as different as our East and West Indies: that is to say, whatever looseness or inaccuracy there may be in this passage belongs not to the chronicler, but to the *usus loquendi*. But our knowledge of the matters in question is so slight and fragmentary, that it would be more becoming to charge ignorance and mistake upon ourselves rather than upon a writer in the fifth century before Christ, who had access to a number of ancient historical works to which he refers.]—(*b*) "'Besides that which she brought unto the king,' 2 Chron. ix. 12, instead of 'besides that which Solomon gave her of his royal bounty,'" 1 Kings x. 13, is meaningless. This reproach is based upon a mere misunderstanding of the two passages. The passage in Kings means, "besides the other presents which he made to her, according to Solomon's royal practice," that is, besides the presents which he gave as an equivalent for those brought to him, according to the custom of oriental rulers. And this meaning has been expressed in the Chronicles, the words in which have been already rightly elucidated by the Targum, "præter id quod reddidit ei *mutua munera* pro eis quæ attulit illa regi." Comp. my comm. on 1 Kings x. 13.—(*c*) "מַלְכֵי עֲרָב, kings of *Arabia*, 2 Chron. ix. 14, instead of מַלְכֵי הָעֵרֶב, kings of the *allied nations*" [1 Kings x. 15], is quite correctly explained. For the expression in the book of Kings does not mean "kings of the allied nations," but "kings over the *mingled races*;" and in fact, according to Jer. xxv. 24 in particular, it does mean certain races in desert Arabia. Also עֲרָב is a designation not for the whole Arabian peninsula, but only for that region of desert Arabia bordering on Palestine, the population of which became tributary to Solomon. Comp. my comm. on 1 Kings x. 14.

B. *Alterations which distort the sense and the facts* are said to be contained in the following passages:—(*a*) 1 Chron. x. 6, that *all* Saul's house died, instead of "his armour-bearer and all his men," 1 Sam. xxxi. 6. This is no distortion; for כָּל־בֵּיתוֹ *in this connection*

cannot be the designation for all his family, but only for all his servants who were with the king at the war (comp. *Gesenius*, Thesaur. *sub voce*, for this meaning), as has been shown in my apol. Versuch, p. 279.—(*b*) 1 Chron. xix. 3, "for to search, and to overthrow, and to spy out the *land*," instead of "to search the *city*, and to spy it out, and to overthrow it," 2 Sam. x. 3. This is a thoroughly unimportant modification of the thought.—(*c*) 2 Chron. ii. 7, comp. 1 Kings v. 20, "the senselessness of making Hiram send sandal-wood [algum trees] out of Lebanon." This creates a difficulty only to that ill-feeling which, in order to put an unfavourable interpretation upon an inexact expression arising from brevity, overlooks the passage ix. 10, according to which the chronicler knew perfectly well that sandal-wood was brought from Ophir.—In ver. 6 of the same chapter of Chronicles there is no distortion, but a completion of the incomplete account in 1 Kings v. 20; and vers. 2–5 in Chronicles is no "edifying elaboration" of vers. 16–19 in Kings, for this plain reason, that both reports are taken from a third source (comp. § 141, Note 2).—(*d*) The "remarkable contradiction between 2 Chron. xiii. 23, and xv. 19, 1 Kings xv. 32," which *Movers*, pp. 255–6, despaired of solving, has been already satisfactorily solved by older interpreters (comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 291); though, on the other hand, unsatisfactorily by *Häv.* pp. 233–4, owing to his neglect of בָּל־יְמֵיהֶם, 1 Kings xv. 32.

C. "*Confusion;*" particularly so in the genealogies. For instance, 1 Chron. iii. 15: against this, comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 171 ff.; *Movers*, p. 157 ff.; and *Häv.* p. 185. 1 Chron. iii. 19, comp. Ezra iii. 2: where the difference is accounted for by supposing a brother-in-law's marriage; see *Movers*, p. 229, *Häv.* p. 185. Other instances of confusion in the genealogical accounts, admitted even by *Movers*, p. 235 ff., rest simply upon precipitate conclusions that persons are the same because their names are the same, or nearly so; see *Häv.* p. 179 ff.

D. "*Cases of want of exactness.*"—(*a*) By "inserting 1 Chron. xiv., comp. 2 Sam. v. 11–25; thus giving rise, 1 Chron. xv. 1, to the appearance of David's having built houses in three months." This insertion is owing to the internal material connection between the erection on Mount Sion of the tent for the ark of the covenant (which in 2 Sam. vi. falls between vers. 11 and 12), and the building of the palace, for which Hiram sent cedars and builders from Tyre to David; and it causes no "apparent" error, since the building of the houses is not said to have been first commenced and also already completed in this interval. [Not improbably the order of time has been more distinctly exhibited by the chronicler.]—(*b*) The "anticipatory statement, 2 Chron. i. 14–17, comp. 1 Kings x. 26–29, 2 Chron. ix. 25," is intro-

duced owing to the chronicler's wish to give immediate proof from facts that the divine promise was true, "Riches, and wealth, and honour I will give thee" (i. 12).

E. *Exaggerations* are said to show themselves particularly in "magnifying the numbers." "1 Chron. xxi. 5 has 1,100,000, for 800,000 in 2 Sam. xxiv. 9; and at ver. 25 it has 600 shekels of gold, for 50 of silver in 2 Sam. xxiv. 24; and other examples. And yet there are also instances of the numbers being smaller." Consequently all bounds of moderation are overleaped when people speak in such general terms of "magnifying," and do not produce even unfounded instances in proof of the reproach. For, according to 1 Chron. xxi. 5, there were found in Israel 1,100,000 men fit for bearing arms, and in Judah 470,000; according to 2 Sam. xxiv. 9, there were 800,000 in Israel, but in Judah 500,000: according to 1st Chronicles, ver. 25, David gave to Ornan 600 shekels of gold for the *place* (that is, for Mount Moriah); but according to 2d Samuel, ver. 24, he bought *the threshing-floor and the oxen* for 50 shekels of silver. The two passages, therefore, treat of different matters; this point being taken up by the one writer from his authority, and that point being taken by the other, while each has left another point unnoticed. [There might also be something connected with the purchase till the year of jubilee, and the purchase absolutely for God's service for ever.] There is a similar relation between 1 Chron. xix. 6, 7, and 2 Sam. x. 6. But in other places there are corruptions, which have arisen from blunders of the copyists in transcription, and by the resolution of the numerical statements, the numbers having been denoted by letters of the alphabet. Such clearly are 1 Chron. xviii. 4, comp. 2 Sam. viii. 4; 2 Chron. iii. 15 and iv. 5, comp. 1 Kings vii. 15 and 26; 2 Chron. xiii. 3, 17, xvii. 14 ff.: in all these passages in Chronicles the numbers are too great. And such are also 1 Chron. xi. 11, comp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 8; and 1 Chron. xxi. 12, comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 13; and 2 Chron. ix. 25, comp. 1 Kings v. 6: in which the Chronicles have smaller numbers than the parallel accounts. Comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 321 ff.; *Movers*, p. 55 ff.; and *Häv.* p. 243 ff. [Of some of these numbers an explanation or defence might also be suggested.]—Nor yet does 1 Chron. xii. contain exaggerations such as betray an idealizing historian (*Movers*, p. 270, and *Tholuck*, litt. Anzeiger, 1847, p. 235): for in its catalogue it represents the brave men who sided with David as being 32 [23] Benjamites, who were "armed with bows, and could use both the right hand and the left in hurling stones and shooting arrows out of a bow," who "came to David to Ziklag" (vers. 1–7); and Gadites, who "separated them-

selves unto David, into the hold, to the wilderness," 11 brave heroes, "men of might, and men of war fit for the battle, that could handle shield and buckler, whose faces were like the faces of lions, and were as swift as roes upon the mountains," "captains of the host, one of the least was over a hundred, and the greatest over a thousand" (vers. 8–15); and some of the children of Benjamin and Judah, with Amasai the chief of the captains (שָׁלִישִׁים), whom he placed at the head of his band (vers. 16–18); and finally, when David was going with the Philistines to the battle against Saul, of Manassites seven heads of families [thousands] in Manasseh, who helped him against the band of Amalekite rovers, "for they were all mighty men of valour, and were captains in the host" (vers. 19–21). But in all these statements there is nothing which contradicts the statement in 1 Sam. xxii. 2, that when David became a fugitive from Saul, "every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him; and he became a captain over them: and there were with him about four hundred men." No doubt Saul sneered at this troop, ver. 7; yet with his whole army he never was able to lay hold of them or annihilate them; and at a later time they increased to six hundred, 1 Sam. [xxv. 13,] xxvii. 2. Nor yet is it an idealizing exaggeration; for, according to 1 Sam. xxvii. and xxx. also, this band performed bold deeds of heroism. Nor, again, is there any exaggeration in 1 Chron. xii. 22, "For at that time, day by day, there came to David to help him, until it was a great host, like the host of God:" we have only to reflect that this remark forms the transition to the following catalogue of mighty men [ver. 23 ff.] who came after Saul's death to Hebron to David, in order to anoint him as their king; by which means what had hitherto been his warrior-band became immediately a great host, like a host of God, which no enemy could longer withstand.

II. *Alterations with a certain amount of intention, and falsifications*, are alleged to be found of the following kinds:—

A. "*The dogmatico-mythological alterations and additions:*" namely, (*a*) 1 Chron. xxi. 1, "And Satan stood up against Israel;" ver. 16, "And David lifted up his eyes, and saw the angel of Jehovah stand between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem;" ver. 27, "And Jehovah commanded the angel, and he put up his sword again into the sheath thereof." Instead of this, 2 Sam. xxiv. 1 runs, "And again the anger of Jehovah was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them," etc.; and ver. 17, "And David spake unto Jehovah, when he saw the angel that smote the people," etc. But the first variation merely

tells with more precision who the immediate author of David's temptation was, this being left indeterminate in Samuel. And the second variation amounts to no more than this, that the chronicler describes pictorially the element of violence in this terrible operating force. The visible manifestation of the destroying angel is related by both of the writers in the very same words, "And the angel of Jehovah was by the threshing-place of Araunah the Jebusite" (Sam. ver. 16, and Chron. ver. 15) [the former using the perfect of the verb "was," and the latter using the more pictorial participle of another verb, "standing;" but both writers declaring in the next verse that David *saw* him], where he was seen hovering between heaven and earth.—(*b*) 2 Chron. xxxii. 31, "Howbeit in the business of the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon, who sent unto him to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land, God left him to try him, that He might know all that was in his heart." The chronicler has compressed into these few words the account of two important events—namely, the miracle on the sun-dial of Ahaz (2 Kings xx. 8–11), and the arrival of the Babylonian ambassadors sent to Hezekiah (vers. 12–19); but certainly he has done this from no eagerness for miracles, or desire to falsify the history.—(*c*) In 2 Chron. vii. 1, and in 1 Chron. xxi. 26, it is related that fire fell from heaven and consumed the sacrifice,—a circumstance which is not mentioned in the parallel passages, 1 Kings viii. and 2 Sam. xxiv. Yet there is confirmation of the truth of this in the other marvellous characteristics of both events (even as related in Samuel and Kings), as also in the analogies of Lev. ix. 24, Judg. vi. 21, and 1 Kings xviii. 38; comp. *Häv.* pp. 242–3. Nor can any one suitably claim it as a mythological addition, since the chronicler had access to other sources of information besides 1 Kings viii. and 2 Sam. xxiv.

B. The "*alterations owing to a predilection for the Levitical system of worship, and for the tribe of Levi,*" are said to consist of the following classes:—

(*a*) "*Amplifications and embellishments:*" "2 Chron. v. 11–13 [11–14], comp. 1 Kings viii. 10, 11; 2 Chron. vii. 5–10, comp. 1 Kings viii. 63–65; 2 Chron. viii. 12, 13, comp. 1 Kings ix. 25; 2 Chron. xxiii. 17–20, comp. 2 Kings xi. 18, 19; and 2 Chron. xxxv. 1–19, comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 21–23." But it is unsuitable to speak of any of these narratives as embellished; for the whole of them just give precise and detailed descriptions of the Levitical functions in the temple and the system of worship, which the author of the books of Kings, in accordance with his plan, thought it unnecessary to narrate at full length. In the first passage, the account of the consecration

of the temple, the co-operation of the Levitical singers and musicians is to be understood as a mere matter of course, without needing to be mentioned. In the second and third passages, the Chronicles have done no more than name the precise days of the feasts and Solomon's times of offering yearly, to which the book of Kings only alludes very shortly, as they were known already from the law of Moses (comp. § 139, Note 9). In the fourth passage, the Chronicles have named the individual things included under פְּקֻדַּת עַל־בֵּית יְהוָה (2 Kings xi. 18). In the fifth passage they have given at full length a description of the passover under Josiah on the side of its liturgical services; whereas the author of the books of Kings has contented himself with remarking, "And the king commanded all the people, saying, 'Keep the passover unto Jehovah your God, *as it is written in the book of this covenant*' (namely, the Pentateuch)," etc., 2 Kings xxiii. 21. Upon all these passages, comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 396 ff.

(*b*) "*Omitting or softening down unpleasant accounts of idolatry*, and the like:" namely, (*a*) In 2 Chron. xii. 1 it is said that Rehoboam "forsook the law of Jehovah, and all Israel with him;" but in 1 Kings xiv. 22–24, that Judah did evil in the sight of Jehovah, built themselves high places and memorial pillars, with wooden idols, etc. But, in point of fact, the chronicler's judgment as to the apostasy of the king and the people does not by any means sound milder (comp. further, vers. 2, 5, and 14), although *here* he does not describe the particulars of it; for which he makes up afterwards when narrating how Asa put idolatry away, xiv. 2 [2–4].—(*β*) In 2 Chron. xiii. 2 there is no judgment pronounced upon Abijah's religious character: "he walked in all the sins of his father," etc., 1 Kings xv. 3–5. [This is so far implied in the above-mentioned account of idolatry being put away only by Asa, who even found it necessary to remove the queen-mother, and after all met with some insurmountable difficulties, 2 Chron. xv. 8, 16, 17.]—(γ) In the case of four kings, Joash (2 Chron. xxiv. 2, 3), Amaziah (xxv. 2, 3), Uzziah (xxvi. 4), and Jotham (xxvii. 2), the standing formula is awanting, "Howbeit the high places were not taken away, the people still sacrificed and burned incense in the high places," 2 Kings xii. 4, xiv. 4, xv. 4, 35. However, there is proof that this omission was not made in order to suppress unpleasant accounts of idolatry; for the following information is communicated about all these kings, of which there is nothing in the books of Kings. There is the narrative of Joash apostatizing into idolatry in 2 Chron. xxiv. 17–22. There is another account of Amaziah introducing the worship of the gods of Edom, xxv. 14 [to which his later misfortunes are attributed, ver. 20, and

of his silencing the prophet who remonstrated with him, vers. 15, 16]. Further, it is remarked of Uzziah, that "he did that which was right in the sight of Jehovah, *according to all that his father Amaziah did*" [coupled with the statement, ver. 5, "and he sought God in the days of Zechariah, who had understanding in the visions of God; and *as long as he sought Jehovah*, God made him to prosper,"—a description not unlike that of the apostate Joash, xxiv. 2, "Joash did that which was right in the sight of Jehovah all the days of Jehoiada the priest," followed by the account of his apostasy after the death of his godly counsellor, ver. 17]; and that "when he was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for he transgressed against Jehovah his God, and went into the temple of Jehovah to burn incense," etc., ver. 16 ff. And finally, of Jotham it is said, xxvii. 2, [that he did right "*according to all that his father Uzziah did;* howbeit he entered not into the temple of Jehovah:" and under his reign,] that "the people did yet corruptly."—(δ) In 2 Chron. xxix. 3 ff., the notice is awanting that Hezekiah broke in pieces the brazen serpent of Moses, to which the people had paid idolatrous honours, 2 Kings xviii. 4. But, on the other hand, there is no silence as to the removal of much worse things, and of pollutions from the temple, ver. 5 ff., and of idolatrous altars from Jerusalem (xxx. 14), and also from all Judah (xxxi. 1); of all which we read nothing in the books of Kings.—(ε) The removal of idolatrous worship by Josiah is related only in a summary way, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 33; whilst, on the contrary, this is narrated at very great length in 2 Kings xxiii. 4–20. But then in Chronicles the principal things had been already mentioned, vers. 3–7, [and part of it relates to the purification of the land of the Ten Tribes, whose history lies outside the province of this book.]—(ζ) 2 Chron. xxviii. 23 touches only with brevity upon Ahaz sacrificing to the gods of Damascus; whereas in 2 Kings xvi. 10 ff. this idolatrous service is described circumstantially. But, on the other hand, his other idolatries are delineated more minutely in Chronicles, vers. 1–4, than in Kings, vers. 2–4.—After this survey, we must pronounce the suspicion entirely unjust, which has been thrown upon these passages, as if they softened down unpleasant accounts of idolatry. Comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 381 ff.

(*c*) Of the "*allegations of the very contrary, and self-contradictions,*" the like is to be said. In 2 Chron. xiv. 2 and xvii. 6 it is said of Asa and Jehoshaphat, that they did away with the high places, בָּמוֹת; but in xv. 17 (comp. 1 Kings xv. 14), "but the high places were not taken away out of Israel, nevertheless the heart of Asa was perfect all his days;" and in xx. 33 (comp. 1 Kings xxii. 44), "how-

beit the high places were not taken away, for as yet the people had not prepared their hearts unto the God of their fathers." The alleged contradiction explains itself. The former passages relate what the kings themselves did; the latter relate that they did not prevail with the people in their efforts to do away with the high places. Comp. my apol. Versuch, pp. 290–1. The solution of *Movers*, p. 257, *Häv.* p. 233, and others, which distinguishes between high places consecrated to false gods, and others consecrated (against the law) to Jehovah, is inadmissible; because this double meaning of "high places" is never hinted by anything, and is indeed in contradiction to the context.

(*d*) "*Alterations of this kind in the information given.*"—(*a*) Instead of, "The sons of David were כֹּהֲנִים," that is, confidential counsellors of the king, 2 Sam. viii. 18 (comp. 1 Kings iv. 5, where the word is explained by רֵעַ הַמֶּלֶךְ), in 1 Chron. xviii. 17 this word, which had become obsolete in this meaning, is paraphrased by the words liable to no misapprehension, "the first at the hand (or side) of the king." Also, in 2 Sam. xx. 26, כֹּהֵן does not mean "priest:" comp. *Thenius* on the passage, and on 2 Sam. viii. 18; and *Movers*, p. 302 ff.—(*β*) Instead of, "The king went to Gibeon to sacrifice there; for that was *the great high place:* a thousand burnt-offerings did Solomon offer upon that altar" (1 Kings iii. 4), it is said in 2 Chron. i. 3, "Solomon went to *the* high place that was at Gibeon; for there was the tabernacle of the congregation of God," etc. In order to make out here a falsification of history in favour of the Levitical system of worship, *De Wette*, in spite of all historical testimonies (see my apol. Versuch, p. 392 ff.; *Movers*, p. 291 ff.; *Ewald*, Geschichte, ii. pp. 424–5; *Winer*, bibl. Real-Wörterbuch, *ii.* 533), denies that the old Mosaic tabernacle of the congregation ever was at Gibeon, on the ground that Gibeon is reckoned among the illicit high places at 1 Kings iii. 4: an assertion unproved, and incapable of proof; comp. *Thenius* on the passage. And at the same time he rejects the statement in 2 Sam. viii. 17 and xx. 25, that under David there were two high priests, Zadok and Abiathar, and that Zadok succeeded to Abiathar [in this sense, that, reverting to the original line of succession, Zadok was left the sole high priest when Abiathar was set aside without any appointment of a successor in his own family] (1 Kings ii. 35), which statement seems to be confirmed by Zadok's appointment to occupy the station at Gibeon (1 Chron. xvi. 39); for he objects that a double high-priesthood does not agree *well* with the twenty-four classes of priests in 1 Chron. xxiv. We ask, Why does it not? The division of the priests into twenty-four classes—in which proceeding, moreover,

two high priests took part, Zadok and Ahimelech (the latter being either another name for Abiathar, or an error in writing: comp. *Winer*, bibl. Real-Wörterbuch, i. 39; *Königsfeldt*, Annotatt. in 2 Sam. et 1 Chron. p. 80 [unless, indeed, we suppose that Abiathar was at times unable to act, from illness or other causes, and was represented by his son Ahimelech, 2 Sam. viii. 17, called *Abimelech* 1 Chron. xviii. 16]) —was appointed for the temple which Solomon was about to build; in connection with which, this wrong state of matters, introduced by the necessities of the period—namely, the existence of two sanctuaries—was to cease.—(γ) The accounts in 1 Chron. xxi. 29–xxii. 1 are alleged to have proceeded from an apologetic interest, to justify David's sacrifice upon the threshing-floor of Araunah. But a justification of it was utterly needless; for David sacrificed at this place in obedience to the express command of God, revealed to him by the prophet Gad, as is related both in 2 Sam. xxiv. 18 and in 1 Chron. xxi. 18.—(δ) 1 Chron. xiii.–xvi., "a Levitical re-touching of the account in 2 Sam. vi., with an unsuitable insertion from 2 Sam. v. 11–25." This is an unfounded assertion, since it has not been shown that the chronicler took his narrative from 2 Sam. vi. Equally unfounded, and introduced merely by distortion of the correct mutual relation of the parts of the narrative, are the "alterations in favour of the Levites." When the priests are introduced in 1 Chron. xvi. 2 [xv. 2 ?], this is not against 2 Sam. vi. 1: for David assembled to this religious solemnity *all* the chosen men of Israel, 30,000 men, not excluding the priests, who were specially concerned in the matter, 2 Sam. vi. 1, 2, compared with 1 Chron. xiii. 5, 6.—The motive leading to the second attempt to bring up the ark, 2 Sam. vi. 12, is not suppressed in 1 Chron. xv. 2; but much rather, it is expressly stated in *neither* of the accounts—it is only hinted: namely, the blessing bestowed by God upon the house of Obed-edom for the sake of the ark, 1 Chron. xiii. 14, 2 Sam. vi. 11 and 12. The narrative in Samuel is a mere extract from an account at greater length, confined to the points of essential moment; and its sole object is to throw light upon the genuinely theocratic deportment and procedure of David in the course of this transaction: whereas the chronicler communicates the full account from his authorities, especially with reference to the distribution of the priests and Levites to their several departments in the solemn procession. Comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 354 ff., and *Ilāv.* pp. 251–2. [And though the priests are not mentioned here, yet they are in the similar account of the dedication of the temple, 1 Kings viii. 1–11.]—(ε) Much the same is to be said of the variations in the two accounts of the downfall of

Athaliah and the elevation of Joash to the throne, 2 Chron. xxiii. 1–11, and 2 Kings xi. 4–12. The author of the books of Kings confines himself to relating how this female tyrant, Athaliah, was deposed, and how the legitimate offspring of David was placed upon the throne of his fathers; while the chronicler depicts every feature of the objects which his eye has taken in—the image of the venerable high priest Jehoiada, and the co-operation of the priests and Levites in this task. The particulars of the mutual relations of these two narratives, whose brevity makes them obscure and hard to understand, has not been so much cleared up as rather involved in deeper confusion by *Movers*, p. 310; but see them in my apol. Versuch, p. 361 ff., and in my comm. on 2 Kings xi. 4.—(ζ) In 2 Chron. xxiv. 4–14, it is alleged, "the accusation of the priests for embezzling the money collected, which is tacitly presented in 2 Kings xii. 5–17, is softened down so much, that the king upbraids them with nothing worse than slackness in gathering the money, vers. 5 and 6." But according to the narrative in 2d Kings, the king did *not* entertain any suspicion against the priests, as if they had embezzled; nor did he on *this* account declare his mind to them, "Why repair ye not the breaches of the house?" (ver. 8), and hit upon the expedient of placing a chest for contributions (ver. 10). This is undoubtedly to be inferred from his asking the consent of the priests to this new measure, [implied in what is said], "and the priests consented," etc., ver. 9; as well as from his arrangement about the chest, that the people who came into the temple did not place their subscriptions for repairing it in the chest with their own hands, but gave the money to the priests who kept the door, and it was they who put it into the chest, ver. 10. The *only* thing blamed is the slackness of the priests in urging forward the repairs of the temple; and this is mentioned in both accounts, 2 Kings xii. 7, 8, and 2 Chron. xxiv. 5. For anything more, comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 372, and my comm. on 2 Kings xii. 7.—(η) "A Levitical motive also underlies the interpolation, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8–14, comp. 2 Kings xxii. 3–8; namely, the appointment of the Levites mentioned in vers. 12, 13. Such a motive comes out less clearly in the interpolation of 2 Sam. xxiv. 3–9 in 1 Chron. xxi. 3–6." But it is impossible to speak of interpolation in either case, for this simple reason, that the chronicler has drawn his information, not from our books of Samuel and Kings, but from other sources. With regard to the reproaches cast upon 2 Chron. xxxiv., comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 279 ff.; and as to the variations of 1 Chron. xxi. from 2 Sam. xxiv., comp. *ibid.* p. 348 ff. *De Wette* asserts that Joab's speech is a forgery; but this is not true. For,

according to 2d Samuel also, ver. 3, Joab made counter representations to the king, from which we see that he was opposed to the proceeding, and feared it might turn לְאָשְׁמָה to Israel [which is the expression in Chronicles, ver. 3], as the king's project had sprung from sinful vanity (comp. *Hengstb.* comm. on Ps. xxx. introd.): and again, ver. 10, Joab made no great haste in carrying out the king's command, so that the king came to the knowledge of his sin, and the plague broke out as a punishment from God, before the numbering of the people had been completed; hence Judah and Benjamin remained unnumbered (1 Chron. xxi. 6), and the entire census was never entered in the chronicles of the kingdom, 1 Chron. xxvii. 24.

C. "*Apologetical omissions and alterations, additions in favour of the devout kings so as to surround them with glory,*" are said to be found in the following instances:—(*a*) "*Omissions:* 1 Chron. xiv. 3 omits 'concubines,' comp. 2 Sam. v. 13; 1 Chron. xvii. 13 omits what is said about chastisement, comp. 2 Sam. vii. 14, 15. Comp. also 1 Chron. xviii. 2 with 2 Sam. viii. 2; 1 Chron. xx. 3 with 2 Sam. xii. 31. In this way the omission of larger portions is also to be explained: David's adultery, 2 Sam. xi. 2–xii. 26; the mode in which the revenge of the Gibeonites was satiated, 2 Sam. xxi. 1–11; Solomon's strange wives and his idolatry, 1 Kings xi.; and the information given in 2 Sam. xiii.–xx." Here we find very various matters thrown together, so as to lend some colour to the accusation. But although we may be unable to determine with certainty the proper and precise reason for the omission in each of these cases, yet we may say of all of them, that it is impossible to suppose it to have been that an effort was made to avoid mentioning any evil and sinful action of pious kings: for in other passages there is no suppression of such things—for instance, of the barbarous chastisement of the Ammonites (1 Chron. xx. 3), although it was quite as barbarous as that which was appointed for the Moabites [2 Sam. viii. 2. The absurdity of the objection is sufficiently obvious on these two grounds: First, that emphatically on the assumption of the objectors, it was vain to attempt hiding such things, which were recorded in the books from which they say the chronicler drew his information, these books being then known to every Jew, and invested with canonical authority: of course, without agreeing to this assumption of theirs, we also hold that the existence of those canonical books would make concealment impossible. And secondly, that allusion is made to some of them by the chronicler, as to matters sufficiently well known to his readers, though it had not come within the plan of his work to narrate them: comp. the refusal of the Syrians to help the Ammonites any more,

after a single defeat, 1 Chron. xix. 19, and the non-appearance of their next neighbours and closest allies, the Moabites, the obvious explanation of which is David's terrible severity towards these Moabites; the making Solomon king the *second* time, and anointing him, 1 Chron. xxix. 22, implying a knowledge of the first hasty transaction, and of the circumstances of Adonijah's revolt, which was its cause; that revolt again carrying back the memory of the reader to that of which it was a copy, the earlier attempt of Absalom, and to all the connected history; the matrimonial alliance of Solomon with those arch-idolaters, the royal house of Egypt, on account of which he felt that this Egyptian wife could not dwell in any place which the ark had sanctified by its presence, 2 Chron. viii. 11, after which, of course, there was no reason of the nature now urged why his other idolatrous wives should not be mentioned—accordingly, the mention that Rehoboam's mother was an Ammonitess, in juxtaposition with his unprepared heart, 2 Chron. xii. 13, 14; the mention of Jeroboam, and of his having fled into Egypt, 2 Chron. x. 2, which seems to take for granted the notoriety of the facts in 1 Kings xi.; so also the message of the prophet to Rehoboam to abandon the attempt to bring back the Ten Tribes by force to loyalty and obedience, because this revolt was a thing done by or proceeding from God, 2 Chron. xi. 2–4, implying that the readers knew the sin of Solomon and its predicted punishment in the blasting of the earthly promises to the house of David,—in fact the prophecy of Ahijah to Jeroboam is mentioned, x. 15; the praise given to Jehoshaphat's piety, and the prosperity with which it was rewarded, "because he walked in the *first* ways of his father David," 2 Chron. xvii. 3, showing that David's sad fall in later life, and its bitter consequences, were perfectly well known. Those of the objectors who look upon Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah as forming properly and originally but a single work (see § 142, end of Note 10), may find also a very direct statement as to Solomon's miserable polygamy and idolatry in Neh. xiii. 26; where at the same time the reference to the unparalleled love which God bore to him plainly carries the reader back to his descriptive name, 2 Sam. xii. 24, 25, in the history of David's sin with Bathsheba]. Further, in the case of David and Solomon, almost all the notices are omitted which bear upon private and family relations, even the most praiseworthy, like David's magnanimity towards the house of Saul, 2 Sam. ix. [and his displeasure at those who murdered Abner and Ishbosheth, and his punishing them so far as he was able, 2 Sam. iii. 22–iv. 12; while, on the other hand, the chastisement of barrenness inflicted by God upon Saul's daughter Michal, 2 Sam. vi. 23, is passed over in silence]. And, on the other hand,

the chronicler makes David himself say, that Jehovah had not permitted him to build the temple, because he had been a man of war and had shed much blood, 1 Chron. xxviii. 3 [and xxii. 8]; and he omits the pictures drawn of Solomon's wisdom and great glory, 1 Kings iii. 16 ff., iv., and other things. See above, § 139, Note 3.—(*b*) *Alterations:* "1 Chron. xiv. 12, burning the idols, instead of taking them away, 2 Sam. v. 21." But then why has the apologetic interest made an attempt on this passage alone, and not on many others which offered occasions of the same kind; for instance, 2 Chron. xiv. 2, xxxi. 1, xxxiv. 7?—(*c*) "*Additions in order to glorify men:* 2 Chron. xxxii. 27–29, 33, comp. 2 Kings xx. 21; 2 Chron. xxxv. 24, 25, comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 30." But it was impossible for the chronicler to glorify Hezekiah's *piety* by communicating information, awanting in the books of Kings, about his treasuries for gold and silver, and his magazines for his riches; since the king was not to multiply to himself silver and gold, according to the law in Deut. xvii. 17. Also the remark about the honour done to Hezekiah when he died (2 Chron. xxxii. 33), and that other about the general mourning when Josiah died (xxxv. 24, 25), contain nothing that might not be called a matter of course with such kings; and in the case of Josiah we meet with confirmation in Zech. xii. 11. Comp. *Hav.* p. 228.

D. "*Hatred against Israel* (which also shows itself many a time in those accounts that are peculiar to the Chronicles) lies at the foundation of the contradiction between 2 Chron. xx. 35 ff. and 1 Kings xxii. 49, 50." This accusation is all the more unjust, because after the refutation (comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 443 ff.) of the arguments previously advanced by *De Wette* in support of this assertion, he did not consider it advisable to name this passage any more; and the mutual relation of the two passages is such, that one might rather draw the opposite conclusion from them. For, according to 1st Kings (ver. 50), Jehoshaphat refuses the partnership in trade and navigation proposed to him by Ahaziah the king of Israel: on the contrary, according to 2d Chronicles (ver. 36), he joins himself to Ahaziah in shipbuilding, on account of which act a prophet announces to him a punishment from God—namely, that the ships should be broken to pieces; and this breaking of the ships is recorded, besides, in 1st Kings (ver. 49). Comp. above, Note 2.

§ 144. *The Historical Character of the Chronicles in the Narratives which are peculiar to them.*

The favourable result for the credibility of the Chronicles, arising out of a comparison between their accounts and others which are parallel, is strengthened in an important manner by those accounts which are peculiar to this work. For many striking confirmations of these are preserved in the other Old Testament Scriptures; and even those which cannot be so confirmed, owing to the want of information from other sources, bear such a stamp of authenticity, that it is impossible to render them suspected by alleging "improbabilities and exaggerations" (1).

(1) Comp. *Movers*, p. 108 ff., and *Häv.* § 177, p. 207 ff.—(*a*) *De Wette* (§ 191) casts suspicion upon the authenticity of the accounts about the Levites taking part in the removal of the ark, 1 Chron. xv. 16 ff. and xvi. 4 ff., remarking that probably (?) Obed-edom, who was appointed a porter, xv. 18, 21, 24, xvi. 38, and again at the end of David's life, xxvi. 15, was changed into a Levite arbitrarily, since in 2 Sam. vi. 10 he is called a Gittite; and again, that since his father Jeduthun (comp. xvi. 38, 41 f.) was a master of the music under David, xxv. 3, and since his sons are represented as Levites of David's in xxvi. 4, 5, as his grandsons also are in ver. 6, it would follow that four generations at once had served under David (*Movers*, pp. 238–9). But Obed-edom is called a Gittite because he belonged to the Levitical city Gath-rimmon (Josh. xxi. 24); so that it was quite unnecessary for the chronicler to turn him into a Levite. And as for the other cause of doubt, it does not follow from xxvi. 6, 7 (though *Movers* asserts it, and *De Wette* copies him), that the grandsons of Obed-edom, that is, the six sons of his first-born Shemaiah, who are named in ver. 7, should have discharged the office of porter under David; but only that they were born in the course of his forty years of reigning and his seventy years of life, and that they were entered in the registers accordingly. Only Obed-edom and his sons are named as actually doing service under David (xxvi. 15, xvi. 38, 42); and this agrees perfectly well with the appointment of Jeduthun his father, in the first years of David's reign at Jerusalem, to preside over a choir of singers at the service of the tabernacle, xvi. 41. If he was then fifty years old, the age of his son Obed-edom might be twenty-eight or thirty; then from thirty to thirty-three years later, when Obed-edom was about sixty, he might have

six grandsons by his eldest son, who might be registered along with their father and their grandfather for a Levitical division as porters. [Observe also that there are *two* Obed-edoms in xvi. 38.]

(*b*) The list of the Levites in 1 Chron. xxiii. certainly deviates thus far from that in vi. 2, that Gershom's first son *Libni* is here called *Laadan*, according to a known custom of the ancient Israelites, to assume new names from certain qualities or events, which often supplanted the old names altogether; but there is no other difference. For when Jahath is named as a son of Libni, vi. 5, and his line of descent is carried down to Samuel [no, this is an oversight; to Asaph, vers. 24–28], obviously this does not contradict what follows, when the names are given of Libni's descendants who lived under David, and were numbered then—Jehiel, Zetham, and Joel, xxiii. 8; nor does it contradict the statement that two of Jehiel's sons bore the names of their uncles, Zetham and Joel, and were set over the treasures of the sanctuary, xxvi. 22. (These accounts are presented in a distorted form by *Movers*, p. 238, and by *Häv.* p. 179; and on this error of theirs *De Wette* builds contradictions.)—Further, in xxiii. 15–17 the following are named as descendants of Gershom and Eliezer, the sons of Moses (Ex. xviii. 3, 4), in the time of, David: of Gershom, *Shebuel*, who was appointed over the treasures of the house of Jehovah, xxvi. 24; and of Eliezer, *Rehabiah* [his only son], whose sons were very numerous, xxiii. 17, and whose descendants are counted in four successive steps to Shelomith, who [with his brethren] was over all the treasures of the dedicated things (ver. 26). But obviously there is no contradiction between this and xxiii. 17, as if it said that Rehabiah and Shebuel were contemporaries of the same age; though *Movers*, on the contrary, p. 238, makes Eliezer a "brother" of Shebuel, and burdens the Chronicles with the absurdity of counting Shebuel and Shelomith, who [on his hypothesis] stood at a distance of six generations from one another, among David's officials at one and the same time.—Moreover, we have evidence that the authentic information communicated in 1 Chron. xxiii. ff., as to the divisions which David made of the priests and Levites for certain definite functions, contain historical truth. For the books of Ezra and Nehemiah mention these arrangements as being very ancient, made by David, Ezra ii. 41, 62, iii. 10, Neh. xii. 24, 36, 45, 46; and David is proved to be the founder of the institutions of sacred music, by his Psalms with their musical superscriptions, and by other historical testimonies, Amos vi. 5, Isa. xxx. 29. [This last is indeterminate, but see about it under (*d*) γ.] Comp. *Movers*, p. 109 ff.; *Häv.* p. 211 ff. —Also the distribution of the host into twelve divisions, each of

24,000 men, each being appointed to a month's service every year (1 Chron. xxvii.), cannot be rendered suspected, but on the contrary is confirmed, by the fact that the twelve chiefs of these divisions are found in the list of David's heroes, 1 Chron. xi. 10 ff.; for it was natural that none but brave heroes should be made commanders. Nor does it conflict, even in the remotest degree, with the statement in 2 Sam. xv. 18, that a body-guard of 600 men remained true to king David when Absalom rebelled, unless we change the entire standing army (1 Chron. xxvii.) into a royal body-guard, as *Movers* (p. 235) and *De Wette* do, but without any right to do it.

(*c*) The statements as to David's preparations for building the temple, 1 Chron. xxii., xxviii., xxix., are pronounced by *De Wette* to be fictitious, (*α*) because they stand connected with a representation of Solomon's being brought forward as his successor in an assembly of the people, in which assembly he was also anointed king (1 Chron. xxix. 22); and this last circumstance manifestly contradicts the authentic narrative in 1 Kings i.: (*β*) because they present certain fictitious features—for instance, the pattern of the temple received from God (xxviii. 11–19), the gold from Ophir (xxix. 4), and the edifying discourses with a reminiscence of Ps. xxxix. 13: and (*γ*) in respect of the preparations said to have been made, the numbers are manifestly exaggerated (xxii. 14); and the discourse, ver. 8 ff., contradicts the earlier representation in 2 Sam. vii. 5 ff., 1 Chron. xvii. 4 ff., as the whole statements contradict the more trustworthy ones in 1 Kings v. 17, 20, 27–31. But in reply to all this, the statement in 1 Kings i. cannot possibly contradict that in Chronicles, which latter assumes the fact that this first anointing of Solomon was hurried on by Adonijah's rebellion: for it narrates the completed anointing, as it took place in the solemn assembly of the whole people in the estates of the realm, where that first anointing was announced, and the estates did homage to the new king; "And they made Solomon the son of David king *the second time*, and anointed him unto Jehovah to be the chief governor," 1 Chron. xxix. 22. And besides, the thing itself is shown to have been considered a necessary requisite to the public acknowledgment of the king on the part of the nation, in virtue of the earlier analogies in 1 Sam. xi. and 2 Sam. v. 1–3. Comp. my comm. on 1st Kings, ii. p. 19.—Nor is it difficult to justify the other features which are held forth as being suspicious. The pattern of the temple obtained from God is connected closely with the appointment of the temple as the place for revealing the real presence of the Lord. The gold of Ophir may either have been actually brought from Ophir, since Solomon's arrangements for voyages to this place

do not exclude a previous acquaintance with its wealth in gold; or just as well, it may be simply a designation for the best gold. The reminiscence from Ps. xxxix. 13 serves only to confirm the genuineness of the words of David; comp. *Hengstb.* comm. on this passage in the psalm. The alleged exaggeration in the sums bestowed by David and his principal people for the building of the temple is more easily asserted than proved; for we are as little able to reckon up the amount of the treasures comprised in the spoil which David had taken in the course of his many wars (comp. my apol. Versuch, pp. 234–5), as to prove that there may not be errors in the numbers, of which we have undeniable instances in other passages. Finally, it is simply impossible that David's speech, xxii. 8 ff., should contain any contradiction of 2 Sam. vii. 5 ff., in the way of giving a different reason for his not building the temple, because this latter passage gives no reason whatever for it. Moreover, 1 Kings v. 17 directly assumes that there were negotiations between *David* and Hiram about building the temple, and so also preparations for it; just as the mention of Adoniram's [or Adoram's] being set over the tribute, in 2 Sam. xx. 24 and 1 Kings iv. 6, strikingly confirms the statements about the bond-service of the labourers whom David had already appointed for building the temple, as stated in 1 Chron. xxii. 2, 2 Chron. ii. 17. Comp. further my apol. Versuch, p. 404 ff., and *Häv.* p. 213 ff.

(*d*) *De Wette* casts suspicions upon the statements about the cleansing of the temple and the passover held in the reign of Hezekiah, for the following reasons:—(*α*) He imputes to the Chronicles that they speak of a passover feast for *fourteen* days; against their own express statement that the people kept the passover feast *seven* days with great joy, ch. xxx. 21, 22, and merely spent seven other days in rejoicing, ver. 23 ff. (*β*) He continually repeats the allegation of a contradiction which is pretended to exist between this account and 2 Kings xxiii. 22, 2 Chron. xxxv. 18; ignoring the reply that has been often given, that this passover was not celebrated *entirely* according to the ceremonial law, 2 Chron. xxx. 3 and 18. (*γ*) He adduces certain names which also occur at an earlier time. Along with all this, he leaves wholly out of consideration the testimony borne to this feast in Isa. xxx. 29, on which passage comp. *Hitzig.*— In addition, the statement in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3–7, that Josiah began his reformation of the worship so early as the twelfth year of his reign, receives an indirect confirmation from what is recorded in 2 Kings xxii. of the passover which was celebrated by him in perfect conformity with the law, in the eighteenth year of his reign, after he had already completed the purification of the temple from idolatrous

abominations (comp. *Movers*, pp. 334–5); and there is no force in the objection, which does not admit of proof, that the eighteenth year of the king's reign is not to be reckoned from the same date as the civil year.—In like manner, the war between Abijam and Jeroboam, which is narrated at full length in 2 Chron xiii., is alluded to in 1 Kings xv. 7; and that special report of it in Chronicles is not rendered suspicious by the circumstances, that Abijam in his address to the Israelites gives the name of rebellion to the falling away of the Ten Tribes from the house of David, and reckons it important in his own favour that his people had maintained among them the worship of Jehovah according to the law; and that both the armies are made too large by errors in the numbers. Comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 444.

(*e*) The narrative of Asa's victory over the Ethiopians under Zerah, 2 Chron. xiv. 9 ff., is shown to be real history by its agreement with the historical relations of Egypt, and by the precision of its geographical and historical details; comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 332 ff., and *Movers*, pp. 326–7. The narrative in 2 Chron. xx. of the miraculous victory of Jehoshaphat over the Moabites and other races of the wilderness, obtains still more striking confirmation from Ps. xlviii. and Joel iv. 16: comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 241 ff.; *Movers*, p. 111 ff.; and *Häv.* p. 216. So do the accounts in 2 Chron. xxi. 16–19 of the incursions of the Philistines and the Arabs into Judah and Jerusalem, from Joel iv. 5, 6, and Amos i. 6 ff.: comp. *Movers*, p. 121 ff., and *Häv.* p. 217. [That is, on the supposition that *Keil* is right in his chronology when he places Joel so very early.] So do the wars of Uzziah and Ahaz with the Philistines, 2 Chron. xxvi. 6 and xxviii. 18, from Amos vi. 2 and Isa. xiv. 28 ff.; and the accounts of Uzziah's and Jotham's buildings, and of their might, 2 Chron. xxvi. 6, 9, xxvii. 4, from Hos. viii. 14 and Isa. ii.–iv.: comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 420. So do Hezekiah's defensive measures to secure Jerusalem against Sennacherib, 2 Chron. xxxii. 2 ff., from Isa. xxii. 9–11; comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 234. So does the account of Ahaz being utterly defeated by Rezin king of Syria, and being distressed by the Assyrians, 2 Chron. xxviii. 5–21, from Isa. vii. 2, 15, 17 ff., viii. 7. To this *De Wette's* reply is unfounded, that no son of Ahaz could have been killed, since Ahaz at that time had no son fit for war; this is obvious, because the Chronicles know nothing of a son "fit for war:" comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 420 ff., and my comm. on 2 Kings xv. 5 ff.; and *Häv.* p. 218 f. And the correctness of the statement in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11 ff., that Manasseh was carried away to *Babylon* by Assyrian generals, is certified by profane history, according to which precisely under Esar-haddon,

the successor of Sennacherib, Babylon was in subjection to the sovereignty of Assyria: comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 425 ff., and *Häv.* p. 222 ff. And thus *De Wette* himself saw that he was compelled to grant that "credible information occurs even in those narratives which are peculiar to Chronicles;" whilst, when critical light is thrown upon all the passages in Chronicles which have been pronounced suspicious, we arrive at this result, that historical truth cannot be shown to have been distorted intentionally, or falsified, in one single instance.

THE BOOK OF EZRA (עֶזְרָא).

Commentaries:—*Sanctius, Brentius, V. Strigel, Clericus, Maurer,* Comm.; see § 224 and 225. *J. H. Michaelis,* Annotatt. in lib. Esr., in Uberior. Annotatt. vol. iii. *Schirmer,* observatt. exeg. crit. in lib. Esdræ, Bresl. 1820. [*Ernst Bertheau* on Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, in the kurzgefasst. exeg. Handbuch, Leipzig 1862.]

For Introduction:—*Kleinert,* üb. die Entstehung, die Bestandtheile, u. das Alter der BB. Ezra u. Nehemia, in the Beitrr. zu d. theol. Wissenschaften v. den Proff. der Theol. zu Dorpat, Hamburg 1832, 1 Bändchen, pp. 1–304; also my discussion of the integrity of the book of Ezra, in my apol. Versuch üb. d. Chron. pp. 93–143.

§ 145. *Contents and Component Parts of the Book.*

The book of Ezra relates the most memorable events in the history of the Jews after the exile, from their return under Zerubbabel and Joshua till Ezra's arrival in Jerusalem, and Ezra's own arrangements for reformation in the new colony; all recorded according to the reigns of the Persian kings (1). It falls into *two* divisions: ch. i.–vi. is the history of the first return of the exiles, in the first year of Cyrus, and of their settlement in Jerusalem and Judea, till the new temple was completed and consecrated in the sixth year of Darius Hystaspis; and ch. vii.–x. gives the accounts of Ezra's immigration in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, together with the separation of the strange women from the colony as effected by him (2).

(1) The following Persian kings are named: *Koresh* (i. 1, iv. 5, that is, Cyrus); *Daryawesh* (iv. 5, 24, v. 5, and often, that is, Darius Hystaspis); *Ahashwerosh* (iv. 6, that is, Xerxes; comp. § 150, Note

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1); *Artahshashta* (written אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׁתְּא, iv. 7–23, vi. 14 [however, without the final vowel, I think, except in iv. 7], or אַרְתַּחְשַׁסְתְּא, vii. 1, 11 ff.), that is, Artaxerxes Longimanus, not Xerxes, as *Michaelis*, *Jahn*, and others have thought, following Josephus: against whom, comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 103 ff.; *Gesenius*, Thesaurus, *sub voce*; *Winer*, Real-Wörterbuch, i. 90, and others.—Also the pretty common opinion hitherto, shared still by *Ewald*, Geschichte, iv. p. 119 ff., that Cambyses is to be understood by Ahashwerosh in iv. 6, and Smerdis by Artahshashta in iv. 7–23, seems to be no longer tenable. [According to *Bleek*, p. 380, "this pretty common opinion" is that of *Gesenius*, in his Thesaurus; *Winer*, in his Real-Wörterbuch; *Häv.*; *Hitzig*, in the Theol. Studien u. Kritiken, 1837, 4, p. 933: whereas *Bleek* himself agrees with the view of *Kleinert*, about to be stated, although he couples this with a suspicion that the writer has fallen into a historical mistake, as shall be noticed in § 146, Note 1, addition.] As nothing is said in iv. 6–23 of the building of the temple, but the whole is about the building up of the city and its walls (iv. 13), we must look upon this section as inserted, owing to resemblance in subject-matter, immediately after the observation on the manner in which the Samaritans checked the progress of the building of the temple (iv. 5), so as to set down in order the continued hostile attempts of these adversaries of the Jews under Xerxes and in the first years of Artaxerxes. So *Kleinert*, *ibid.* p. 31 ff.; *Fr. W. Schulz*, in the Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1853, p. 686 ff.; *Vaihinger*, *ibid.* 1857, p. 87 ff.; *Auberlen*, Daniel, pp. 134–5; and others.

(2) The first part contains a pretty long section written in Chaldee; in this are narrated the hostile attempts of the Samaritans, which hindered the building of the temple for a long time, together with the continuation and completion of that work, and the dedication of the new temple, iv. 8–vi. 18. In addition to this, the book furnishes many authentic documents. Thus, in the Chaldean section there are the letters of the adversaries of the Jews to the Persian kings Artahshashta and Darius, together with the answers by these kings, iv. 11–16 and 17–22, v. 7–17, and vi. 2–12. And in the parts composed in Hebrew there are: the edict of Cyrus, i. 2–4; the catalogue of the exiles who went back with Zerubbabel, ch. ii., which Nehemiah found still lying in a separate shape, and adopted into his book, Neh. vii. 5 ff.; the royal letter giving authority to Ezra to return to Judah, in the Chaldee language, vii. 12–26; the catalogue of those who returned along with him, viii. 1–14; and the list of the priests and Levites [and others] who had taken foreign women to be their wives, x. 18–43.

§ 146. *Unity and Independence of the Book of Ezra.*

The use of the Chaldee language in iv. 8–vi. 18, combined with the use of the first person in v. 4, favour the supposition that the Chaldee section in the first part has been composed by an older writer, a contemporary of Zerubbabel and Joshua. Yet there is nothing which stands in the way of the assumption that the author of the rest of the book incorporated this section, unchanged, with his own book (1), and so combined it with this narrative of his, that not only the first part of the book (2), but also the entire book as it at present stands, forms one whole: for the second part is closely connected with the first by that formula of transition, "*And* after these things," vii. 1; and it not only carries the history forward and exhibits it connectedly, but it is also free from any variety of style which could throw doubt upon the unity of composition in the two parts (3).

(1) If the use of the Chaldee language began with the copy of the letter from the adversaries of the Jews to Artahshashta, we might think that to communicate this letter in the original was the occasion of bringing in the Chaldee, after the analogy of Dan. ii. 4. But the facts are somewhat different: already the introduction to this letter is written in Chaldee, iv. 8; and not only is the subsequent narrative continued in Chaldee, but besides, in v. 4, the narrator lets it be known that he took part in the building of the temple under Darius. Hence the Chaldee section must have been found already in its completed form by the author of our book, and it must have been adopted without alteration. Comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 115 ff.; *Movers*, üb. d. bibl. Chron. p. 15, though he arbitrarily and violently tears vi. 16–18 away from it; and *Häv.* p. 291 ff. [*Bleek*, pp. 386–8, observes that this theory is also that of *Eichhorn*, and of *De Wette*, § 196, *a;* but he refuses for himself to concur in it, since "the contents of this section are not rounded off in such a way as to make it credible that it ever existed as a separate document." He explains the use of the Chaldee language in the manner which *Keil* rejects; yet he agrees with him as to the main point: "In itself it seems most natural, especially in accordance with that connection at vii. 1, to attribute the composition of this first part also to Ezra; and one might suppose that to his own history, and that of his time, he had prefixed a narrative of the earlier events since the return of the first caravan of exiles." But his great difficulty is about that passage, iv. 6–24, which has been noticed already in § 145, Note 1. He feels strongly that

there is no connection between the building of the temple and the building of the city and its walls, except that hindrances were thrown by neighbouring enemies in the way of both, particularly by exciting the jealousy of the Persian kings. He notices that the difficulty might be avoided if this passage were treated as an interpolation by a later hand; but the advantages to be derived from such a conjecture would be counterbalanced by the difficulty of accounting for the Chaldee language coming in at v. 1 ff. And his resource finally is, to suppose that the writer made a mistake (!), and understood these letters as referring to the building of the temple, when they really referred to the building of the walls,—a view which he confirms by making iv. 23 and 24 refer to the same event; whereas the other interpreters make the parenthetical statement about the building of the walls end at ver. 23. *Bleek* admits, however, that such a mistake as he imagines could not have been made by Ezra, or by a contemporary or an earlier writer; but if it proceeded from some one who lived considerably later, he might then add the connecting words in vii. 1, so as to unite the first and second parts. On the other hand, he admits that "there is no sufficient reason for attributing the last editing of the book, and the connecting of the two parts, to any writer later than the author of the first part;" which conclusion would therefore incline him not to attribute any of the first six chapters to Ezra himself. Once more, pp. 388–391, he denies that Ezra was their author; and he charges the writer with gross ignorance of Persian history in iv. 24, to the extent of not knowing that Artaxerxes was preceded by Darius, unless it were that he confused Darius Hystaspis with Darius Nothus. The chief value of such a mass of crude and irreverent speculation is the view it gives us of "the higher criticism." *Bleek* mixes this up with his notion that Ezra and Nehemiah have a common origin; of which, see more in § 149, Note 8.]—The mention of Artahshashta in vi. 14 cannot decide anything against its being composed by an eye-witness of the building of the temple, as this name has manifestly been inserted by Ezra, out of gratitude on account of the great gifts presented by Artaxerxes to the temple; comp. vii. 15 ff. Comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 118, and *Häv.* p. 293. [Instead of supposing that there have been such insertions, it remains a fair question whether Ezra did not write the whole, and use the first person in v. 4, so as to identify himself with those builders: comp. Ps. lxvi. 6. But there is something obscure in the passage.]

(2) Though ch. ii. contains a document which Nehemiah found existing still in a separate shape, this fact can furnish no disproof of the unity of the composition of the first part (comp. my apol. Versuch,

p. 137 ff., and *Häv.* p. 297 ff., for a refutation of the objections of *Kleinert*, and of *Zunz*, die gottesdienstl. Vorträge, pp. 20–1). Just as little does the expression "king of *Assyria*," instead of "king of Persia," vi. 22, justify any one, with *Bertholdt*, in bringing down vers. 19–22 to the age of the Ptolemies and the Seleucides, on account of the "want of information" which is manifested in them: for already in 2 Kings xxiii. 29 and Lam. v. 6, the ancient designation *Assyria* is given to the Babylonian empire, which had come to fill the place of Assyria. Comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 119 ff., and *Häv.* p. 287 ff.

(3) [It does seem inexact and inappropriate to speak of this book carrying the history forward, and exhibiting it *connectedly;* certainly, in using such language, if it is to be tolerated at all, one must keep clearly in view the nature of theocratic history, which passes over long periods, and even over many events which are important in themselves, because they do not bear in any very direct manner upon the progress or maintenance of the kingdom of God upon earth. See the statement of this principle, as exemplified in the plan of the Pentateuch, in § 22.] Against the unity of ch. vii.–x., and in favour of the later addition of vii. 1–26 and of ch. x. to the section vii. 27–ix. 15 (in which Ezra makes use of the *first* person), there has been weight attached to the use of the *third* person when he is mentioned in those passages: so *Bertholdt*, pp. 1000, 1003; *Herbst*, Einl. ii. p. 242. But then, in the first seven verses of ch. vii., if Ezra wished to narrate his own arrival, he could not help speaking objectively in the third person, because neither is he named at the beginning as the author, nor was he present at Jerusalem during the occurrence of the events narrated in ch. i.–vi.: add to which, that vers. 1–11 give a thoroughly objective introduction to the state of matters when the king issued that edict which is communicated to us in ver. 12 ff.; and that, for this purpose, the third person is as suitable as the first person is for the subjective expression of his feelings of gratitude toward God and the king, ver. 27.—Also, the third person is the most suitable for ch. x., in so far as Ezra here comes forward, in the public assembly of the people, in the objective personality of his official position; and in agreement with this, the proceedings are no longer presented in the subjective form. We meet with the same change of person, for the same reason, in the prophetic writings: for instance, Isa. vii. 1–16, comp. viii. 1 ff.; Jer. xx. 1–6, comp. ver. 7 ff.; xxviii. 1, 2, comp. ver. 5, etc. Comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 121 ff.; *Häv.* pp. 280–1, 284–5.—And there is another reason, on account of which ch. vii. 1–11 and ch. x. cannot have been placed before and after Ezra's own work by a later editor: namely, that without these verses it would form an enigmatical frag-

ment, without an intelligible beginning, and without any conclusion whatever. Comp. my apol. Versuch, pp. 126–7 and 142; *Häv.* pp. 283–4. [*Bleek*, p. 384, agrees with this opinion, as the most probable on internal grounds; though he says that vii. 1–10, or 1–11, may have been worked up into its present shape, perhaps the genealogy inserted; and certainly (!) the description of Ezra as "a ready scribe in the law of Moses," ver. 6, has been from another hand than his own.]

Against the unity of the composition of the two parts of the book, *De Wette*, p. 261, urges differences in the style. Such are "king of Persia, vii. 1, ix. 9;" but this is found also in i. 1, 8, iv. 5, vi. 14. "Narration in the first person, vii. 27 ff.;" but this is impossible in the first part, owing to the nature of its contents. "As the hand of Jehovah my God was upon me, vii. [6], 28, comp. viii. 18, 22, 31, different from v. 5 ['the *eye* of their God was upon the elders of the Jews'];" which proves nothing, since v. 5 belongs to the Chaldee section. "'The males,' in viii. 3 ff., and the whole list as compared with ch. ii.;" which is a difference that still proves nothing, because Ezra himself prepared the list in ch. viii., while, on the contrary, ch. ii. is adopted into the book as an older document of the age of Zerubbabel. "Never 'the law of Moses,' as iii. 2, vi. 18 ['book of Moses'] (only vii. 6); but 'the law, the commandments of God' (vii. 12, 14, 21, 22 [23 ?], 25, 26, vii. 11 ['of Jehovah'], x. 3), and as given by the prophets (ix. 11)." This also proves nothing, because it rests on a distortion of the real circumstances of the case. On the one hand, vii. 12–26 belongs to the letter of Artaxerxes; and since he was ignorant of the giving of the law to Moses at Sinai, he could not speak of the law of Moses, though he well could speak of the God of Israel, just as Cyrus did in his edict, giving him honour as the God of heaven, whose dwelling was in Jerusalem: comp. vii. 12, 15, 19, 21, 23, with i. 2, 3. On the other hand, the expression "law of Moses" occurs only twice in the first part, and it is found also in the second part once: and in the first part it is not the constant expression, but it alternates with "as it is written," iii. 4; just like "the law of Moses" and "the law of Jehovah" in vii. 6 and 10, and as "the law" stands along with "the commandment of our God" in x. 3.—On the contrary, there is as great an affinity of expression in the two parts as we could expect, considering the small compass of the entire book. Comp. נָשָׂא in the sense of *assisting*, i. 4 and viii. 36; "the children of the captivity," iv. 1, vi. 19, 20, viii. 35, x. 7, 16; גִּזְבָּר, a treasurer or receiver of tribute, i. 8 and vii. 21 [Chaldee] (never elsewhere); הַבָּאִים מֵהַשְּׁבִי,

ii. 62 [? iii. 8] and viii. 35; נִשְׁתְּוָן, a letter, iv. 7 and vii. 11, probably taken from the Chaldee document, iv. 18, 23, v. 5; and so פִּרְשֶׁגֶן, vii. 11, after iv. 11, 23, for which פַּתְשֶׁגֶן is written in Esth. iii. 14, iv. 8. Comp. my apol. Versuch, pp. 139 f., 143.

Also the claim of the book of Ezra must be sustained, to be a work with a character of independence, definite and complete within itself. For neither the circumstance that it begins as the Chronicles end, nor the apparently abrupt manner in which it ends, justifies the hypothesis that originally it formed a part or fragment of a greater work (4).

(4) The sameness of Ezra i. 1–3 and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23, which is almost word for word, yet not wholly so, proves only that the two works had the same author, but not that they were originally combined into one work (*Movers*, p. 14 ff.). Had some later person torn them asunder (a notion for which no reason can be suggested; comp. § 142, Note 10), and had he repeated the closing verses of Chronicles at the beginning of the book of Ezra, he would not have undertaken to make such changes in the text as "*from* the mouth of Jeremiah," Ezra i. 1, for "*by* the mouth of Jeremiah," Chron. ver. 22, and the insertion of יְהֹוָה in Ezra i. 3: add to which, that the Chronicles have a conclusion of their own, which corresponds to the plan of the whole work (§ 142). Nor yet does the book of Ezra break off, as *Häv.* p. 278 says it does, in the middle of the history of Ezra's annulling the marriages with foreign women; it informs us of his proceedings on to their completion: comp. x. 17, "And they made an end (of the investigation) with all the men that had taken strange wives, by the first day of the first month." It is certainly true that this was not the close of Ezra's work generally; but the aim of the book was to narrate his work, not till he died, but till Nehemiah arrived in Jerusalem. Finally, the fact that the Jews count the books of Ezra and Nehemiah as one [a fact on which *Bleek* seems to lay some weight, pp. 373, 381, as he notices that this is done by *Josephus*, the Talmud, and the catalogues of *Origen* and of the Council of Laodicea, by *Hilary*, and by *Jerome*], is far outweighed by another fact, that the book of Nehemiah has a title of its own, by which it is distinguished from the book of Ezra. Still less can their original oneness be inferred from the apocryphal [also named the first or the third] book of Esdras. Comp. *E. Nägelsbach* in *Herzog's* Realencycl. iv. p. 165 ff.

§ 147. *Author and Credibility of the Book.*

It follows from the internal unity of the book, that not only the section from vii. 12 or 27 on to ix. 15, in which Ezra speaks of his work in the first person, but the whole book in the form in which it now lies before us, was composed by the learned scribe *Ezra*. For there is nothing to be found in this work that either marks a later time or eulogizes Ezra unduly (1).

(1) The tradition of the Jews holds that Ezra was the author; comp. *Carpzov*, i. p. 286.—The genuineness of the book has been rejected by *Spinoza*, tract. theol. pol. c. x., where he brings it down to the age of the Maccabees; by *Oeder*, freie Untersuchungen, p. 247 ff.; by *Bertholdt*, p. 1004; by *Zunz*, p. 19 ff.; by *Hertzfeld*, Geschichte, i. p. 302 ff.; and by others. Their reasons are partly those already mentioned in opposition to the unity of the composition: partly the words in vii. 6, 10, "He was a ready scribe in the law of Moses;" "Ezra had prepared his heart to seek the law of Jehovah, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments:" for these are said to contain "idle vainglory." But this remark, in its own context, belongs to the completeness of the narrative; and it contains a simple truth, as appears even from the characteristics attributed to Ezra in the letter of Artaxerxes—"the perfect scribe of the law of the God of heaven," ver. 12, comp. vers. 11, 21. Comp. my apol. Versuch, p. 124 ff.

Since Ezra extracted his account of those events which occurred before his arrival in Palestine from original documents and contemporary records, and in the latter part relates proceedings in which he himself had a share; and since no part of the book contains anything incredible, or even at all improbable, it follows that there is no reason for [even the most sceptical] doubting its credibility (2).

(2) The objections of *Zunz*, p. 21, that the narrative in ch. i. is an extract from Ezra v. 13–16 and vi. 3–5, and that the numbers in i. 9–11, which give the account of the multitude of costly vessels, are exaggerated, are unfounded imaginations and utterances merely on his own authority. The assertion, *ibid.* p. 24, that Ezra is said in x. 6 to have gone into the chamber of Johanan the son of Eliashib, although this high priest lived long after the time of Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 22, 23), falls to the ground along with the false assumption that this Johanan was the high priest of that name; whereas he is much

rather to be considered a son of the Eliashib named in Neh. xiii. 4, 7. —Moreover, *Zunz* himself concedes, p. 28, that the greater part of the book contains well-attested history, and consists of official documents and of reports from Ezra's own hand: although his whole hypothesis, as to the way in which the book originated, is untenable; comp. § 149.

THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH (נחמיה).

Commentaries:—*Sanctius, Brentius, V. Strigel, Clericus, Maurer*, Comm.; see § 224 and 225. *J. Jac. Rambach*, Annotatt. in libr. Nehem., in Uberior. Annotatt. in Hagiogr. vol. iii. [*E. Bertheau;* see under Ezra.]

§ 148. *Contents and Component Parts of the Book.*

The book with the inscription, "The words, or matters, of Nehemiah" (i. 1), relates how the king's cup-bearer Nehemiah, who lived at the court of Artaxerxes Longimanus, in the twentieth year of this king found a motive for returning to his mother-country, and obtained leave to do so; and how, after his return to Jerusalem, he carried out his project of rebuilding the city walls and restoring its gates, in spite of all the hindrances which the Samaritans placed in his way; and how he restrained usury among the Jews, eluded a plan for murdering him, and resolved to augment the population of Jerusalem (i.–vii. 5). On this occasion he found a register of the exiles who had returned with Zerubbabel, which he has inserted, vii. 6–73 (1). —After this comes a description of the solemn reading of the law by Ezra at the feast of tabernacles, and of the renewal of the covenant which was connected with it (viii.–x.); then there is the account of the way in which the population of Jerusalem was augmented, and the catalogue of the families who dwelt in it and in the rest of the country (xi.); and after the insertion of some priestly and Levitical lists (xii. 1–26), there is the account of the dedication of the city walls (xii. 27–47); and once more, the account of Nehemiah's return to Jerusalem after the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, and his extirpation of the abuses which had crept in and prevailed during his absence (xiii.).

Accordingly, the book falls into three divisions. In ch. i.–vii. Nehemiah describes his labours with a view to fortifying Jerusalem

and augmenting its population. Ch. viii.–x. is the description of the solemn divine service, conducted by Ezra the priest, at which Nehemiah appears simply as the governor at the head of the listening people, and is the first to sign the roll of the covenant in virtue of being their civil head. Ch. xi.–xiii. furnish various lists, and an account of the rest of Nehemiah's acts.

(1) This register is of the same tenor as that in Ezra ii., varied only in the last verses, vers. 70–72, [and with some small variations in names and numbers].

§ 149. *Genuineness, Integrity, and Credibility.*

The first section, ch. i.–vii., shows itself to be Nehemiah's own composition, partly by the narrative of his acts being in the first person (i. 1, 2, etc., on to vii. 5), and partly by certain peculiar favourite turns of expression (ii. 8, comp. ver. 18; ii. 12, comp. vii. 5; ii. 19, comp. iii. 33; iii. 36, 37, comp. v. 13; v. 19, comp. vi. 14) (1). In regard to the date of composition, it follows from a comparison of v. 14 with xiii. 6, that it cannot have been written before the thirty-eighth [thirty-third?] year of Artaxerxes I. (2). Nor can the genealogical list, vii. 6–23, be separated from this section; since Nehemiah's own words are, that he found it and copied it, ver. 5 (3).

(1) Comp. *Kleinert*, in the Dorpater theol. Beitrr. i. p. 114 f.
(2) *Pareau*, institut. interpr. Vet. Test. p. 421; *Häv.* ii. 1, p. 304.
(3) See *Kleinert*, p. 116 ff.; *Herzfeld*, i. pp. 306–7.

The following section, from vii. 73 [*b*], "And when the seventh month came," etc., to x. 40, is distinguished from the foregoing by the absence of Nehemiah's peculiar turns of expression, and by his retiring personally into the background; yet these differences are sufficiently explained by the peculiar contents of this part of the book, and they do not justify us in denying that it is genuine, or that Nehemiah wrote it (4).

(4) It is assumed by *Kleinert*, p. 131 ff., and *Häv.* p. 305 ff., on account of the striking agreement between this section and the books of Ezra and Chronicles in their mode of representation, that Ezra, the leader in the solemn transactions connected with the acts of divine worship here described, had sketched this section, which Nehemiah then adopted unchanged into his book. On the contrary,

Bertholdt, pp. 1022–3; *Zunz*, *ib.* p. 24; and *De Wette*, Einl. § 197, *a*, call it an interpolation in the spirit of the chronicler: and they ascribe it either to the last editor of the book, or, as *Zunz* and *Ewald* will have it, to the chronicler as the last person who worked up the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Comp. with this, the utterances of *J. D. Michaelis* and *Schulz* (Schol.) on these chapters; *Gesenius*, Comm. üb. d. Jesai. i. p. 22; and the very complicated and unnatural hypothesis of *Hertzfeld*, i. p. 307 ff. [*Bleek* also, pp. 382–3, thinks that the differences above named prevent us from attributing this portion of the book to Nehemiah; and as he thinks *Hävernick's* view unnatural, that Nehemiah should have inserted this composition of another person without giving any notice or explanation, especially considering that it interrupts the connection of the first and the third sections of the book, he attributes it to a later writer, probably the person by whom he supposes that the concluding chapters were thrown into their present shape.]

De Wette comprises the reasons for this hypothesis in the following observations:—(*a*) "The style of writing is different. (*a*) Nehemiah does not come forward in person: 'Nehemiah, which is the Tirshatha,' viii. 9, x. 2; elsewhere styled פֶּחָה, v. 14, 15, 18." But the simple reason of this is, that Nehemiah was the civil ruler under the Persian king, and in this capacity was not entitled to conduct that solemn divine service which we have here narrated; for this right belonged only to Ezra, the priest and learned scribe. Nehemiah could do no more than appear beside Ezra as the foremost member of the congregation of Israel (viii. 9), and stand at the head of those representatives of the people who signed and sealed the document relating to the renewal of the covenant (x. 2). Nor need we be surprised that Nehemiah receives only here the title of Tirshatha, whilst he names himself פֶּחָה when speaking of his own conduct as governor. We have only to consider that this latter word was the common designation of all the prefects set over the smaller provinces of the Assyrian, Chaldean, and Persian empires, and expressed merely their official position; but that Tirshatha was the official *title* of the Persian governor of Judea (comp. Ezra ii. 63 [with which Nehemiah was himself familiar, Neh. vii. 65, 70]), which seems thoroughly suitable to this official act, but very unsuitable to the passage, v. 14–18, "From the time that I was appointed to be their governor," etc.—(*β*) "The names *Jehovah*, *Adonai*, and *Elohim* are used promiscuously, viii. 1, 6, 8, 9, 10, 14, 16, and elsewhere; whereas, except i. 5, 11, iv. 8, in Nehemiah *Elohim* is predominant, especially 'God of heaven,' i. 4, ii. 4, 20 (*Kleinert*, pp. 132–3)." This is given

much too inexactly, and in part incorrectly. In i.–vii. Nehemiah changes his appellations of God in many ways. In prayer he says, i. 5, "*Jehovah*, God of heaven, Thou great and terrible God," etc. [*Pusey*, on Daniel, p. 341, note, observes that the word here used last is אֵל, as again almost the same form in the prayer, ix. 32; the expression being taken from the Pentateuch]: in ver. 11, *Adonai;* and similarly at iv. 8, "Remember *Adonai*, who is great and terrible;" and v. 13, "they praised *Jehovah*." At other times, ii. 4, 20, *the God of heaven* = the Almighty God [*Pusey* says it is used in relation to those who were not Jews]. In ii. 8, 12, 18, v. 19, vi. 14, vii. 5, *my God*, אֱלֹהַי; and in speaking before others, or with others, *our God*, iii. 36, iv. 3, 14, v. 10, 16 [apparently an error for v. 9, vi. 16: it occurs also in the Levite's prayer, ix. 32, as *Pusey*, *ibid.*, notices; adding אֲדֹנֵיהֶם, iii. 5, *their Lord* (*Adonai*), while *our Lord* occurs viii. 10 and x. 30]. Finally, there is *Ha-elohim*, iv. 9, v. 13, vi. 10 ("house of"), vii. 2; and *Elohim*, v. 15, vi. 12. In ch. xi.–xiii. there occur only, *the house of God*, xi. 11, 16, 22, xii. 40, xiii. 7, 9, 11; *the man of God*, xii. 24, 36; *the congregation of God*, xiii. 1; *the house of our God*, xiii. 4; *the house of my God*, xiii. 14; *Ha-elohim*, xii. 45; *my God* (in the vocative), xiii. 14, 22, 29, 31, just as v. 19; *our God*, xii. 45, xiii. 2, 18; and *Elohim* with other suffixes and prepositions, xii. 45, 46, xiii. 25, 26. Thus Elohim predominates: it is only in solemn discourse or in prayer that we find Jehovah, Adonai, with other epithets of God. But also in ch. viii.–x. Elohim predominates in simple narration: comp. *the law of God*, viii. 8, 18, x. 29, 30, along with which there is *the law which Jehovah commanded*, viii. 1, 14; and *the house of God*, viii. 16, and *the house of our God*, x. 33–40, no less than eight times, along with which *the house of Jehovah* occurs only once, x. 36; and [both together] "*the altar of Jehovah our God*," x. 35. It is only in the account of Ezra's solemn calling upon God, viii. 6, in the solemn address to the people assembled to hear the law, viii. 9, 10, in the solemn confession of sin by the people, ix. 3, and in the solemn prayer of the Levites, ix. 4–37—a prayer which is wholly founded upon the law and the psalms—that the name Jehovah prevails, along with the other epithets of God taken from the liturgical language of the Pentateuch and the Psalms. So that the whole difference in the use of the divine names is perfectly explained by the nature of the subject-matter. And, in particular, we have a security for the truthfulness of the report, according to which the Levites (ch. ix.) prayed differently from Nehemiah (ch. i.): and Nehemiah himself, when narrating acts of public worship, is more reminded of the language of the older sacred Scriptures, and

cannot so much bring in his own peculiar turns of expression, as where he tells about his own civil arrangements.—(γ) This also gives us the explanation of the fact involved in the objection, that "the words סְגָנִים, חֹרִים, ii. 16, iv. 8, 13, v. 7, 17, vi. 17, vii. 5, xii. 40, xiii. 11, do not occur in ch. viii.–x., but רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת in viii. 13," [an expression which occurs also in vii. 70, 71, xii. 22; but perhaps these may also be pronounced spurious]. For it was impossible to use those titles when naming persons in connection with the priests and Levites: they are simply named "the heads of the fathers," as they were the representatives of the people.—[On the other hand, there are certain linguistic affinities between the first and third sections and this second one: אֲדִירִים, in iii. 5 and x. 30; the peculiar vowel in קָרְבָּן, x. 35 and xiii. 31; and מְזֻמָּן, which seems to occur only in these two verses, and in Ezra x. 14.]

Besides, *De Wette* attaches value to the following arguments, as against the genuineness of this section, and even against its composition by Ezra or any contemporary of Nehemiah. (*b*) "The public reading of the law, viii. 1 ff., *seems* here to have taken place for the first time; and at ver. 14 the feast of tabernacles (which had already been celebrated, Ezra iii. 4) is marked as something which people had then first learned out of the law to know about; and at ver. 17 the celebration of it is pointed out as being the first since the time of Joshua." But this is neither correct nor convincing. There is not a syllable which hints that the public reading of the law in viii. 1 ff. took place for the first time after Ezra's return from the exile. Rather the contrary is shown, that Ezra had done the like already, by this circumstance of the people turning to Ezra and requesting him to read the law to them, at the time that they had received a new token of God's grace, when the rebuilding of the walls of their city had been successfully completed. Nor did the people then learn from the law about the feast of tabernacles for the first time: they were merely reminded by the law that they ought to dwell in booths in the feast of the seventh month. Even the formula, "For since the days of Joshua the son of Nun, unto that day, had not the children of Israel done so," does not exclude the former celebration of the feast of tabernacles under Ezra [? Zerubbabel], Ezra iii. 4, any more than that under Solomon, 1 Kings viii. 65, 2 Chron. vii. 9; for the particle *so* (כֵּן) merely signifies, "tanta cum lætitia tantoque pietatis studio, ut per singulos dies festi lex prælecta et explicata fuerit:" comp. *Rambach* on this passage. Also x. 31, where the people swear not to marry strange women, does not conflict with Ezra's inducing the people, some fifteen years before, to vow and swear to separate

from their strange wives; nor yet with Nehemiah's finding Jews again who had married Ashdodite, Ammonite, and Moabite wives, when he returned a second time from Babel [at least from the Persian court, which perhaps was there at the time; see ch. xiii. 6], xiii. 23, when he also needed to interpose in resistance to the desecration of the Sabbath, xiii. 15: though *De Wette* thinks them mutually inconsistent.—(*c*) "The verbal affinity of the commencement with Ezra iii. 1, and the connection with the document, ch. vii. = Ezra ii., which is interpolated at the end, betray the fact that this passage is an interpolation." By no means. The resemblance between the two sections in their commencement, so far as it actually exists in the words, is explained by the resemblance of the matter in both; and their connection with the register of the exiles who returned under Zerubbabel is wholly external. The difference between them is seen in this: that in Ezra iii. the building of the altar in the seventh month is narrated immediately after; but in Neh. viii. it is the reading of the law, at the desire of the people, which follows immediately on the completion of the building of the city walls in the sixth month (vi. 15). This happened just at the time when Nehemiah, being busy with his plan for augmenting the population of Jerusalem, fell in with that document belonging to the age of Zerubbabel, which he incorporated with his book because he regarded it as a document of importance for his plan. The matter in each of these books offers a sufficient motive for their adopting this document and placing it where it stands. Nor yet does the difference between Ezra ii. 68, 69, and Neh. vii. 70–72 betray an interpolation in Nehemiah: it consists simply in the more precise enumeration of the gifts presented by different persons, the Tirshatha, the heads of fathers' houses, and the rest of the people; instead of which Ezra gives simply the sum of the gifts of the heads of the houses.—(*d*) "Ch. x. has certainly the look of a contemporary document (it runs in the first person, vers. 1, 31, 33, 40; there is the list of those who sealed, ver. 2); but the spuriousness of many names furnishes evidence that it is a thing made up at a later time." But there is no proof of this "spuriousness:" there is merely an arbitrary inference drawn from the circumstance that some of those who sealed bear the same name as contemporaries of Ezra.—After all this, there is seen to be no valid ground for denying that Nehemiah wrote ch. viii.–x., and for ascribing them to Ezra; and still less for casting suspicion on them, as if they were a later interpolation in the spirit of the chronicler, [who is by the critics pronounced to be a very late writer indeed; see § 142. Against the present supposition, *Pusey*, Daniel, pp. 342–3, and Note, calls

attention to the fact that there are differences from the expressions in Chronicles, alongside of other points in which there is agreement in the style]. More than this, there is confirmation of the genuineness, and of Nehemiah's authorship. On the one hand, the position of these chapters, where they stand in the book at present, on the supposition that they are genuine, arises quite simply and artlessly out of the course of events (comp. *Kleinert, ibid.* p. 291); but it remains inconceivable on the contrary assumption. On the other hand, there is the use of the first person, x. 1, 30–40, combined with the circumstance, that among those who make the covenant and sign it, Nehemiah stands at the head; but Ezra's name, on the contrary, is awanting, for no other reason than this, that he could not subscribe, because he occupied the position of μεσίτης between the people and their God.

In the last section of the book, ch. xi.–xiii., the beginning of ch. xi. stands closely connected with what preceded, informing us how that resolution was carried out to which Nehemiah had come, vii. 5; and to this, again, is closely attached the register of the inhabitants of Jerusalem and of the rest of the country (5). On the contrary, there seems but a loose connection for the register of the heads of the priests and the Levites, as this is given in xii. 1–26; yet what actually has led to it has been the important part which the Levites played at the dedication of the city walls, the narrative of which follows immediately (6). This solemnity, then, gives occasion for regulating the incomes of the sanctuary and of the Levites, xii. 44–47, and for separating the foreigners from Israel, xiii. 1–3; to which, finally, and most suitably, there is linked the narrative of Nehemiah's latest reforms, vers. 4–31. The last part of this section, from xii. 27 and onward, not only bears decidedly the peculiar stamp of Nehemiah's style, but also in its matter is connected with the earlier part of the book, in such a way that its genuineness is not and cannot be doubted; and the ethnographic and genealogical lists, which occupy the intermediate position, contain nothing which could bring suspicion on their genuineness, at least beyond one or two verses, as to which it is a question whether Nehemiah wrote them (7). On the contrary, the adoption of such lists, after the manner of vii. 6 ff., quite corresponds with Nehemiah's way. Consequently we have no reason for doubting as to the genuineness of these portions, or (after what has been already observed) as to the integrity of the whole book. Along

with this, its historical character also is immediately established firmly, since all objections to it rest upon misunderstandings or unfounded assumptions (8).

(5) It has been proved in § 139, Note 1, that this register must not be identified with that contained in 1 Chron. ix., which is the register of the inhabitants of Jerusalem before the exile.

(6) Comp. *Häv.* Einl. ii. 1, p. 317.

(7) Even *De Wette*, § 197, *b*, says of ch. xi. that it "may have been composed by Nehemiah—it belongs at least to his age." But he makes xii. 1-26 not proceed from him, but probably be extracted from that book of the chronicles to which reference is made in ver. 23, because these lists of priests and Levites come down to *Jaddua* the high priest, who was contemporary with Alexander the Great (*Josephus*, Antiqq. xi. 7 and 8), at vers. 11 and 22. [*Bleek*, p. 383, also thinks that xii. 1–26 must have been either written or else altered by a later hand, especially on account of ver. 10 f., ver. 26, ver. 23; besides, he has a difficulty, which need not detain us, about Nehemiah's name appearing as it does in ver. 47, whether he objects to its being in the third person, or to its occupying so prominent a position as to give his name to the age in which he lived, much as ver. 26 does.] But there is nothing like certain evidence that Jaddua was contemporary with Alexander the Great, for the representation of Josephus teems with historical and chronological errors; comp. *Kleinert*, pp. 162 ff., 204 ff., and my apol. Versuch, p. 104. Besides, the list of priests and Levites which we are discussing does not, as a whole, come down to the times of Jaddua. But it contains, in vers. 1–9, the priests and Levites who returned from the exile with Zerubbabel and Jeshua; then, in vers. 12–21, the heads of the priestly houses in the days of Joiakim, and in vers. 24–26 the heads of the Levites "in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua . . . and in the days of Nehemiah the governor, and of Ezra the priest, the scribe." Between these stands, in vers. 10, 11, the genealogy of Jeshua down to Jaddua; and in vers. 22, 23 there is the notice, "The Levites, in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and Johanan and Jaddua, were recorded chief of the fathers: also the priests, to the reign of Darius the Persian. The sons of Levi, the chief of the fathers, were written in the book of the chronicles, even until the days of Johanan the son of Eliashib." Even such old and strict believing critics of the Bible as *Vitringa*, observv. ss. 1, vi. p. 337, and *Rambach*, on this passage, felt so much that these verses interrupt the connection, and have such a look of being out of place in this list, and foreign to it, that they explained

them as marginal remarks, which had come at a later time to be added to the text. Yet if they are genuine, Nehemiah may still have quite well written them, for anything which they contain. For, since Eliashib was already high priest in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, at the time of Nehemiah's arrival in Jerusalem (iii. 1, 20, 21), and one of his sons [no, one of his *grandsons*, a son of his son Joiada] had allied himself by marriage with Sanballat the Horonite, and was therefore chased away by Nehemiah (xiii. 28),—a fact which *Josephus*, *l.c.*, has erroneously transferred to the time of Alexander the Great,—it is quite possible that Eliashib's eldest son might be already married and be the father of Joiada in that twentieth year of Artaxerxes. [There has been some slip of the pen here: Joiada was that eldest son of Eliashib; and his son, the father of Jaddua, was Jonathan, ver. 11, who is thought by some to be the same as Johanan in ver. 22; or, who might be his brother.] But we are not entitled to suppose Nehemiah more than from thirty to forty years old at the time he came to Jerusalem (comp. *Häv.* p. 320 ff.), or to assume that he died during the reign of Artaxerxes. Consequently he might perfectly well write, ver. 11, "Joiada begat Jonathan, and Jonathan begat Jaddua;" as he might remark, in vers. 22, 23, "The Levites in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and Johanan and Jaddua, were recorded chief of the fathers; also the priests, to the reign of Darius the Persian;" [and, of course, all the more easily he might write what follows: "The sons of Levi, the chief of the fathers, were written in the book of the chronicles, even until the days of Johanan the son of Eliashib"]. For the most obvious sense of the words leads us to understand by these four names four persons living at one and the same time—father, son, grandson, and great-grandson; and it does not easily permit us to think of four different enumerations under four high priests. [Nor is it difficult to suggest a reason which might lead to the naming of these four men. Nehemiah had had a difficult and very painful act of discipline to perform, amidst which he tells us how his principles and sentiments had been exposed to severe shocks, as he saw the covenant of the priesthood polluted by the heathenish marriage of a son of the high priest's son Joiada, who afterwards succeeded his father, xiii. 28, 29. That grandson, as is commonly believed (by *Keil* in this very page, though at the expense of charging a grave chronological error upon Josephus), was the founder of the schismatical worship at the temple on Mount Gerizim, in which he acted as the first high priest. There might have been many anxious thoughts in the minds of pious Israelites who were zealous for the law, as to

the risk of the high-priestly line becoming still more deeply polluted, or becoming unsettled. And Nehemiah mentioned the careful numbering and recording in the chronicles of the Levitical and priestly genealogies at that time: and he noted a special providence of God, securing the stability of the high-priestly line itself; since, at the time of this enumeration, there was this rare occurrence, four successive generations of that line alive at once.] Nor is there any reason for supposing "Darius the Persian" to be Darius Codomannus: far rather, and much more naturally, we are to think of Darius Nothus, the son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, who ascended the throne twenty-two years after Nehemiah [first] came to Jerusalem, that is, B.C. 423. But the book does not contain the slightest hint that "Jaddua had already been high priest a long time when the work was composed," however confidently *Ewald* (Geschichte, i. p. 230) is resolved on making this out "from the complexion of the words," Neh. xii. 22. [Similarly *Bleek*, p. 483, assumes: "From xiii. 28 we certainly see that Nehemiah lived to see a grandson of Eliashib married; but it is at least not probable that he lived to see a person of the next generation, and that person high priest too, *for doubtless it is so meant in the genealogy*." And yet it is nothing more than "not probable," even when we make this extreme supposition with *Bleek*. It is beyond the power of any one to do more than show that it is not probable that Nehemiah lived to see Jaddua acting as high priest: and if we suppose that in Nehemiah's case this did occur, there are not wanting parallel instances of men whose lives were protracted to much more than the usual term of existence, in order that they might do service to the theocracy in critical times; such as Moses and Aaron, Samuel, Jehoiada the high priest (2 Chron. xxiv. 15), Hosea the prophet (see § 82), and Daniel.]

(8) *Zunz*, *ibid.* p. 18 ff., propounds the hypothesis that the books of Ezra and Nehemiah are only parts of the *Dibre Hay-yamim*, or books of Chronicles. He says these were so wrought up by an author who lived about B.C. 260, that he extracted the following passages from ancient documents and genuine memoranda made by Ezra and Nehemiah: Ezra ii., iv.–vi. 17, vii. 12–ix. 15, x. 18–44; Neh. i.–vii. 73*a*, x. 1–28, 30–40, xi. 1–10, 12–16, 18–21, 25–36, xii. 1–9, 27 (as far as חֲנֻכָּה), 28, 29, 31–34, 37–42, 44*a*, xiii. 4–31; but all the rest were forged additions, which were combined into one work along with our books of Chronicles, which he himself had extracted from ancient authentic sources, unless where they follow legends and fictions. According to *Ewald*, too, Geschichte, i. p. 225 ff., *Bertheau*, and others, the books of Ezra and Nehemiah formed originally one part,

or the third section, of the most recent book of universal chronicles, whose short name (at the same time the most exact) was "the chronicle of Jerusalem," and whose first two sections were our books of Chronicles. They say the writer lived perhaps about the time of the death of Alexander the Great; and the following was his mode of proceeding in the composition of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. He took out of an earlier historical work the document Ezra ii., and the Chaldee portion, iv. 8–vi. 12; then for Ezra vii.–x. he used a memoir of Ezra, and he inserted Nehemiah's memoirs with their own title (Neh. i.–vii.); after this he gives something of his own (Neh. viii.–x.); and lastly, he again follows Nehemiah's memoirs in ch. xi.–xiii., yet making certain additions at xi. 10 ff., and towards the end of ch. xii. —Against all this we urge the following considerations. (*a*) These hypotheses, which agree in the principal points, inevitably necessitate the assumption that those imaginary chronicles were wrought into a new shape at a later period; otherwise they cannot have even the appearance of possibility and probability. And this assumption neither finds tenable support in 1 Chron. iii. 21 ff. and Neh. xii. 10, 11, 22, 23; nor can obtain any sort of foundation from hardy assertions, such as *Zunz* has appropriated from *Gramberg*, that the history has been arbitrarily embellished, that lists of names have been forged, and so on. Much rather it is proved to be false by all the arguments for the genuineness and integrity of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.— (*b*) The affinity of the books of Chronicles and Ezra, in language and matter, does not justify such a hypothesis. It only proves that Ezra did not confine himself to describing the principal events after the exile on to his own time, in the book which bears his name: but that he also made extracts from the ancient documents which had been handed down, historical and prophetical writings, of everything that was most important for his own age in the history of the theocracy before the exile; and that he placed all these extracts together in the Chronicles,—a work which he completed in accordance with a determinate plan. But it tells nothing of the undivided unity of a work into which he combined these two books which he had composed: comp. § 142, Note 10, and § 146, Note 4. And to whatever extent this affinity is found also in the book of Nehemiah, it is explained by the spirit of Judaism after the exile, which made the Mosaic system of worship in its strict legal form, with the Levitical arrangements and functions as they had been set up at Sinai and carried out to higher perfection by David, the centre of all religious and devout life. In consequence of the preponderating culture of this side of the religious life of the people, a peculiar *usus loquendi* was engen-

dered; owing to which it is no proof at all that different books have been written by the same author, when we meet with agreement in individual words and ideas: we see this at once from the recurrence in Neh. ii. 8 of that extremely characteristic phrase of Ezra's, "according to the hand of his God upon him," or, "of Jehovah his God" [or, "the good hand," etc.], Ezra vii. 6, 9, viii. 18, 22, 31.—(*c*) "It conflicts with the chronicler's manner at all other times, that he should be supposed to insert foreign memoirs without any change, and one of these inclusive of its own title" (*De Wette*).—(*d*) Those chronicles whose existence is assumed upon this hypothesis would have had no suitable conclusion if they had ended with Neh. xiii., though the plan of the whole work would have justified us in expecting such a conclusion. But the books of Chronicles in the Bible actually have a conclusion which corresponds to their whole plan (§ 142); so this at once excludes the books of Ezra and Nehemiah from being combined with them into a single work.—(*e*) Finally, there is no conceivable reason, so far as one can see, why a homogeneous and internally connected work should have been torn asunder at a later time, and cut up into three works, to one of which a suitable conclusion was given, whilst, on the contrary, the other two were provided with nothing of the sort. Comp. *Nägelsbach*, *ibid.* pp. 172–3.

THE BOOK OF ESTHER (אֶסְתֵּר).

Commentaries:—*Casp. Sanctius*, *Brentius*, *V. Strigel*, *Drusius*, *Clericus*, *Maurer*; see § 224, 225. *Corn. Adami* Observatt. theol. philol., Groningæ 1710, 4to, cap. ii. *J. Jac. Rambach*, Annotatt. in lib. Esth., in Uberior. Annotatt. in Hagiogr. vol. ii. [*E. Bertheau*; see in Ezra.]

For Introduction:—*Kelle*, Vindiciæ Estheræ, Friburgi 1820, 4to. *Mich. Baumgarten*, de fide libri Estheræ commentat. hist. krit., Halæ 1839.

§ 150. *Contents and Object of the Book.*

The book of *Esther* relates how Esther the Jewess, foster-daughter of Mordecai, was exalted to the position of queen by the Persian king Ahashverosh (Xerxes) (1) after he had put away queen Vashti: then how the favourite Haman's resolution to extirpate the Jews out of the Persian empire was frustrated by Esther and her foster-father

Mordecai; how Haman fell, and Mordecai was exalted in his place; how the queen obtained the king's permission for the Jews to destroy all who might attack them on that day which had been fixed by lot for their extirpation; and finally, how the feast of *Purim* was instituted, at the instance of Mordecai and Esther, in memory of this deliverance, ch. i.–x.—From this we perceive that the object of this book, which is named after the principal person in the history which it relates, is to describe the historical occasion and the origin of the feast of Purim (2).

(1) The king Ahashverosh of this book is neither Cambyses, nor yet Darius Hystaspis or Artaxerxes, as was thought by older writers mentioned in *Carpzov*, i. p. 356 sq.; nor a Medo-Persian king before Cyrus, as was supposed by *des Vignolles*, *Prideaux*, *Marsham*, and *Herbst*, Einl. ii. 1, pp. 252–3; nor yet Cyaxares the son of Phraortes, as *Jo. Ans. Nickes* has attempted to show with endless prolixity in his work, de Estheræ libro et ad eum quæ pertinent vaticiniis et psalmis libri tres, P. i., Romæ 1856: the king is no other than Xerxes. In favour of him there are, not only [the identity of names, according to the cuneiform writing of the name; see the lexicons] the extent of his dominion, given in i. 1 as stretching from India to Ethiopia (comp. *Herod.* vii. 9), and other historical circumstances; but also (what is decisive) the similarity in the character of the Ahashverosh of this book to that of Xerxes,—a barbarous, whimsical, debauched despot, inclined also to adopt senseless measures: comp. *Herod.* vii. 35, 37, ix. 107; *Justin*, hist. ii. 12; *Strabo*, xiv. 634, and others. This was the opinion of *Scaliger*, *Drusius*, *Pfeiffer*, *Carpzov*; and following them, in particular of *L. J. E. Justi*, über den König Ahasverus, in *Eichhorn*, Repert. xv. p. 1 ff. (also in his vermischten Abhandl. No. 2), *Eichhorn*, *Jahn*, *Gesenius*, *Herzfeld*, and almost all recent writers. See *Baumgarten*, *l.c.* p. 122 sqq.

(2) The object of the book, as *Carpzov*, i. p. 364, has determined it, is really foreign to the book. He says: "Scopus libri non tantum in demonstranda Dei erga ecclesiam suam providentia prorsus singulari versatur,—sed memorabili quoque historia denuo signat et illustrat populum, e quo oriundus olim erat Messias—tum et animos addit reversis in patriam Judæis, et promissionibus de nascituro e gente sua Messia nixi eo confidentius in reipublicæ æque ac ecclesiæ pergerent restauratione." For although the supremacy of divine providence is gloriously proved in the deliverance of the Jews, yet prominence is not given to this point of view in the narrative itself.

Comp. *Häv.* ii. 1, p. 357. [It can scarcely be satisfactory to leave out of view the lesson of the Lord's care for His dispersed Church, though He Himself should be unseen and unnoticed, as truly as for His collected Church, to whom He manifested His presence at Jerusalem.]

§ 151. *The Historical Character of the Book.*

Whilst the Jews, especially the later Rabbins, have extravagantly exalted the value of this book (1), certain critics from the second half of last century and onwards have thrown doubt upon the historical character or the credibility of its contents, and have even rejected these altogether. They have done so owing to their want of capacity for transferring themselves into the spirit and character of the oriental circumstances and historical relations, without which they cannot be rightly estimated; and consequently, they have turned what was astonishing to us, and contradictory to our manners and relations, into a criterion for rejecting the truth of the history (2). All their objections either proceed from ignorance of the manners of the ancient Persian empire, and of the modes of thinking and acting common among its despotic rulers; or else they are rooted in misinterpretations of the narrative in the book. Yet the substance of it not only does contain a historical kernel, since the feast of Purim unquestionably originated in Persia, and had its occasion in some such event: it also manifests itself to be credible and historical in all its individual details, the more we carefully ponder the manners of Persia and thoughtfully consider the character of a Xerxes (3).

(1) We see this at once from the many apocryphal additions to the book in the Alexandrian version, in the second Targum on this book, in the Midrash Esther, in Josippon, and in various Hebrew manuscripts: comp. *Zunz, ibid.* p. 121; and the panegyrics on the book by the Rabbins, as these have been collected by *Aug. Pfeiffer,* thesaur. herm. p. 597 sqq. [*Bleek,* p. 404, says: "The later Jews in general put great value on this book, place it partly alongside of the law, and prefer it to all the other Hagiographa, and even to the prophets. *Moses Maimonides* expresses himself thus about it: that in the days of the Messiah all the Prophets and Hagiographa should be discarded, with the exception of the book of Esther, which is as durable as the written and the oral law, which never shall perish

(see *Carpzov*, Introd. i. p. 366). Yet there are traces of the impossibility of its having been generally placed so high, even among the Jews, at an earlier time. The Jerusalem Talmud (tr. Megilloth, fol. 70, 4) says that eighty-five elders, among whom were more than thirty prophets, mocked at the introduction of the feast of Purim by Esther and Mordecai, as at an innovation contrary to the law: and this necessarily presupposes the impossibility of its having in general stood in such high esteem among the Jews at an earlier as at a later time." Some reference is made in Note 3 to these objections to the feast of Purim. *Bleek, ibid.*, goes on to say: "More scruples were raised in the Christian Church about the esteem in which the book should be held. Thus we find definite testimonies, as we shall see in the history of the Canon, that in the first centuries, in the Greek (though not in the Latin) Church, it was partly regarded as not canonical, and partly reckoned among the books of the second class, together with our Old Testament apocryphal books. *Junilius* (de partibus legis divinæ, cap. 3) still writes in the sixth century, that in his time there were great doubts whether Esther belonged to the Canon. In all probability these scruples proceeded from offence which was taken at the spirit which prevails throughout it, as people thought it impossible, on account of this, to attribute to it the character of a holy canonical book. At a later time, no one took more offence at it on this account than Luther."]

(2) *Clericus*, dissert. de scriptoribus librr. hist. § 10, has pronounced a very correct judgment on the book of Esther: "Mirabilis sane est et παράδοξος (quis enim neget?) historia; sed multa mirabilia et a moribus nostris aliena olim apud orientales, ut apud alios omnes populos contigerunt." The first violent assaults upon it were made by *Semler*, who says, for instance, in his Apparatus ad liberal. Vet. Test. interpr. p. 152 sq., "Illud videtur esse certum, confictam esse universam parabolam, fastus et arrogantiæ Judæorum locupletissimum testimonium" (comp. also his Abhandl. v. freier Untersuchung des Canons, ii. p. 149 ff.); by *Oeder*, freie Untersuchungen, p. 12 ff.; and by *Corrodi*, Beleuchtung des jüd. u. christl. Bibel-Canons, i. p. 64. Against them there wrote *E. A. Schulze*, dissert. de fide hist. lib. Estheræ, in the Biblioth. Hagan. cl. v. fascic. 2; and *J. A. Voss*, Oratio pro libro Esther, Ultrajecti 1775, 4to.—Various doubts were expressed also by *J. D. Michaelis*, orient. Biblioth. ii. p. 35 ff., and Anmerkk. f. Ungelehrte, in his translation of the Bible; which were followed up and multiplied by *Bertholdt*, Einl. v. p. 25 ff.; and which *De Wette*, *Gramberg* (Geschichte d. Religionsideen, i. p. 317 ff.), *Vatke* (bibl. Theol. i. p. 580 ff.), *Ewald* (Geschichte, iv. p.

259 ff.), and others have adopted. On the contrary, the credibility of Esther has been defended by *Eichhorn*, Einl. iii. p. 642 (only partially); *Justi, ibid.; Jahn*, Einl. ii. p. 305 ff.; *Kelle, l.c.; Rosenmüller*, bibl. Alterthk. i. 1, pp. 338 ff., 376 ff.; *Häv.* ii. 1, p. 334 ff.; *Herbst*, Einl. p. 254 ff.; and *Baumgarten, l.c.*,—by which its opponents have been induced somewhat to retract: for instance, *De Wette*, Einl. § 198, in editions 4–7.

(3) The principal evidence for the historical truth of the whole narrative is furnished by the feast of *Purim*, which appears already in 2 Macc. xv. 36 under the name of *Μαρδοχαϊκὴ ἡμέρα*, and which was celebrated by the Jews throughout the whole world, according to *Josephus*, Antiqq. xi. 6. 13. The introduction of this feast presupposes that the danger and the deliverance of the Jews must have been as great as they are represented in this book. For, since the Jews entered Canaan, no single event was ever perpetuated by the institution of a new yearly feast; and therefore the occasion of the introduction of such a feast must have been something altogether extraordinary, if it was to find entrance generally among the Jews, who clung so strictly to the Mosaic law, [particularly after the entrance of that more rigorous spirit, after the exile, which is noticed in § 149, Note 8, *b*]; as also, in fact, according to certain rabbinical accounts in *Lightfoot*, Horæ Hebr. et Talmud. on John x. 22, at first many Jews in Palestine are said to have declared themselves against this feast. [See the quotation from *Bleek* in the addition to the preceding note. What difficulty he felt in dealing with the argument from the fact that the feast of Purim existed universally among the Jews, and yet that its observance must have begun in their state of dispersion, may be learnt from the perplexity manifested in the following remarks, p. 408: "The observance of this feast undoubtedly presupposes the occurrence of what is narrated in our book. Yet it may be possible that it was originally somewhat different, or that it had a less specific meaning, perhaps with a reference to the deliverance of the people from the exile, or the like; and that it was only a later representation which gave it the definite reference to a single deliverance, as it is related in this book." And after rejecting the derivation of Purim from the Persic, with reference to Haman's casting lots (on which he chooses to look as a thoroughly unessential circumstance, and one little likely to be commonly known, to the Jews especially), he concludes: "In general, if something historical lies at the foundation of the book, which is by no means unlikely, yet it is not easy to determine what and how much this may have been." In pp. 406–7 he states the following objections:—"Even if the Per-

sian despot had been enticed by a favourite into forming the purpose of extirpating all the Jews out of his empire, how is it conceivable that he should have published this, by having authoritative copies of it made in all the provinces of his empire twelve months before it was to be carried into execution; and that he should have done this, not secretly for the governors, but for the nationalities themselves?" And he refuses to believe that this may have been a course adopted intentionally, so as to make the Jews flee beyond the limits of the Persian empire, in which case only those who persisted in staying behind would be put to death: not only because there is no hint of such a thing in the book; but also because Judea itself belonged to the Persian empire, and almost the whole population of that province would therefore have been doomed for twelve months to extermination. Without further discussion of this difficulty (though some special disturbance of the Jews before the day of the slaughter seems intended by the use of a *vox signata*, לְהַפֵּם, ix. 24), it is enough to say that he can scarcely be right in including the Jews settled in their own land: the very words of Haman, when he made the proposal to the king, exclude them from the operation of the edict: "There is a certain people *scattered abroad and dispersed* among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom," etc., iii. 8; nor need more be intended at ver. 6. He next states other four objections, noticed in the following remarks of *Keil.*]—Add to all this, the agreement of our book both with the historical relations of the reign of Xerxes, and with the manners and customs of the ancient Persians generally. (*a*) What is related by profane authors (comp. *Baumgarten*, p. 135 sqq.) of the folly, sensuality, and barbarity of Xerxes, makes the accounts perfectly credible which our book gives of Ahashverosh: namely, that in a fit of drunken insolence, in opposition to all oriental manners, he desired his queen to appear before the drunken guests at a scene of revelry, and that when she refused he divorced her, and issued an edict [*Bleek's* fourth objection] commanding all women in his dominions to be obedient to their husbands; and again, that without a scruple he gave full power to his Grand Vizier to extirpate an important part of his subjects, but soon afterwards condemned and hung this favourite, and raised Mordecai, a member of this nation devoted to destruction, to the highest rank in his empire, and heaped upon him all imaginable marks of honour.—According to *Herod.* vii. 8, in the *third* year of the reign of Xerxes, at the end of his Egyptian expedition, he called together to Susa all the nobles of his empire, to consult with them about the expedition against Greece. This gives the explanation of the feast which lasted for a hundred

and eighty days (that is, for half a Persian year), which Ahashverosh gave in Susa, in the *third* year of his reign, to all his princes, nobles, and satraps, Esth. i. 2–4; for the Persian kings held councils of state, and liked to settle affairs of importance at banquets (comp. *Winer*, bibl. Real-Wörterbuch, ii. p. 229, and *Baumgarten*, p. 139). The author of our book certainly makes no mention of these consultations; yet not perhaps because he knew nothing of them (*De Wette*), but because they were of no significance for the object which he had in view,—the narrative of Vashti's divorce, and of an event to which this gave occasion, the choice of Esther to be queen. It does indeed seem strange that the divorce of Vashti took place in the *third* year of the king's reign, and that arrangements were immediately made for selecting a new queen; and yet that Esther was not chosen till towards the end of his *seventh* year (comp. ii. 16 with i. 3 ff.), and that virgins were gathered together a second time, according to ii. 19. But these circumstances are explained by the Grecian expedition filling up this interval of time, for Xerxes returned from it in the spring of the *seventh* year of his reign: on this account the marriage had been put off, and the virgins who had already been gathered together were sent away again, and they were not called back a second time into the harem till after the king's return from Greece. Also the tribute which was laid "upon the land, and upon the isles of the sea" (x. 1), suits all these circumstances uncommonly well, since the royal treasury had been utterly exhausted by this expedition (comp. *Winer*, bibl. Real-Wörterbuch, ii. pp. 708–9). Against this *De Wette's* objection is wholly unavailing, that from the seventh year of Xerxes and onward history tells of other amours and another queen of his, Amestris (*Herod.* ix. 109 ff.), who is not identical with Esther: for, like all the Persian kings, Xerxes had more than one queen, of which there is a hint in ii. 17, [as perhaps there is a hint of some one else having come to be in more favour with him than Esther, in iv. 11–16]; and thus he might choose Esther and elevate her to be queen alongside of Amestris, in spite of the great influence which this woman had over him. Even the circumstance [*Bleek's* fifth objection] "that Esther understood how to keep her Jewish descent concealed, not only till ii. 20, but, as it seems, until the catastrophe itself; that Haman had no suspicion of it, and of her relationship to Mordecai; and also that the king knew nothing of it, and so was taken by surprise when she besought him for deliverance (vii. 5):" even this cannot be proved to be "the weakest point in the story" (*De Wette*). For Esther had no occasion to reveal her descent at any earlier time: because Xerxes asked just as little about it as

other Sultans ask about the descent of their favourite wives; while Haman, as Grand Vizier, had nothing to do with the royal harem. Comp. *Baumgarten*, p. 24 sq.—Of still less consequence is the objection, "that according to the most natural way of understanding ii. 5, 6, Mordecai had been carried into exile with Jeconiah, and consequently was about a hundred and twenty years old at the time of this history, and Esther would be a grey-haired beauty" (*De Wette*): for the exact knowledge of the relations of that period which is manifested in the book about every other matter, refutes this "*most natural* way of understanding it" as wholly inadmissible, and absolutely compels us to refer the verb "who had been carried away," ii. 6, to the nearest nominative, namely to Kish. Comp. *Justi*, *ibid.* p. 22, and *Baumgarten*, p. 127.

(*b*) The statements in our book, about the kingdom extending from India to Ethiopia, i. 1; about Susa the castle [in the Eng. version, the palace), i. 5 ff.; about the king questioning the magi concerning all matters, i. 13; about the seven princes of Persia and Media, who saw the king's face and sat the first in the kingdom, i. 14; about the harem, ii. 8 ff.; about the adoration of the Grand Vizier, as representative of the king, who was regarded as an incarnation of Ahuro-Mazdao, iii. 2 ff.; about the royal scribes for the despatch of the royal edicts, iii. 12, viii. 9; the royal posts or couriers, on swift horses, carrying to the several provinces the edicts with the royal seal attached, iii. 12 ff.; the honours heaped on those who had done anything to benefit the king, especially on those who had saved his life, and the entry of their names and deeds in the chronicles of the empire, vi. 1 ff.: these and many other characteristic things receive manifold testimony from other quarters that they are genuinely historical, faithful, and true (comp. *Häv.* p. 338 ff., and *Baumgarten*, p. 10 sqq.). [*Bleek*, p. 406, also considers it so far a mark of genuine historical character, that so many persons are named who are otherwise unknown; the seven eunuchs, the seven highest officers of the king, and the ten sons of Haman: "also the habits and arrangements of the Persian court are delineated in a faithful and lively manner, at least in part."] And these again bear testimony to the historic faithfulness of the whole narrative, so that suspicion cannot be thrown upon them by *De Wette's* objection [*Bleek's* second], "that it is incredible that the Jews, in consequence of Mordecai's counter-edict devised and issued in order to annul Haman's edict, went to work so very aggressively, and slew more than 75,000 Persians." For the great massacre to which it led is not the only one in the history of the world; similar events have occurred, not only in the Persian

empire, but even in Europe,—for instance, the massacre of St. Bartholomew (comp. *Rosenmüller*, bibl. Alterthk. i. 1, p. 379): and the first assertion is introduced without reason into the history, as the edict of the king through Mordecai merely *permitted* the Jews to gather together in the cities, to stand for their lives, and to destroy, etc., all *that would assault them*, הַצָּרִים אוֹתָם, viii. 11. But let it be granted that the Jews made a greater massacre than was necessary for ensuring their lives: this is not evidence of anything against the historic faithfulness of the book, whose author only relates what took place, without expressing any approval. Nor yet does he overstep the limits of truth [this is *Bleek's* third objection] when he observes that the city of Shushan was perplexed at Haman's edict, iii. 15, and that it rejoiced and was glad at Mordecai's counter-edict, viii. 15: for it is easy to understand how every peaceable and well-inclined citizen must have been perplexed at the barbarous measures of an outrageous tyrant, occupying a high position, and breathing out uncontrolled arrogance and revenge; and again, how every such person would rejoice when these bloodthirsty plans for revenge were disappointed, and their author met with the fall which he well deserved.

§ 152. *The Author of the Book, and its Age.*

The book of Esther does not set itself forth as a work of Mordecai's (1): on the contrary, its author plainly distinguishes himself from Mordecai, who "wrote these things, and sent letters unto all the Jews that were in all the provinces of the king Ahashverosh, both nigh and far" (ix. 20); he does so as much by his remarks in ix. 23–27 about the introduction of the feast of Purim, as by his designating this feast, ver. 19, as one already in existence, and by his explanation of the manner in which it was held.—But we have only to look to the quotation of the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia (x. 2); to the exact acquaintance with Shushan (Susa), and with the circumstances of the Persian empire; to the faithful delineation of the principal characters, and to the careful statement of all the names of the persons concerned (i. 14, ii. 3, 15 [14 ?], 21, iii. 1, 10, iv. 5, v. 10, ix. 7–10); to the absence of every reference to Judah and Jerusalem; and to the way in which not merely the theocratic, but even the religious, point of view is thrown into the background. When we have looked at all this, the inference is unmis-

takeable, that the author lived and composed his work not very long after the events, in the upper part of the Persian empire, during the time that it lasted, and not after its overthrow (2): and this conclusion is in harmony with the strongly Chaldaizing language of the book (3).

(1) As *De Wette*, Einl. § 199, in very recent times, has still inferred from ch. ix. 20, 32, following *Aben Ezra*, *Sanctius*, *Bonfrere*, and others; on the contrary, *Augustine*, *Eusebius*, and others, conjectured that it was written by Ezra, or by the high priest Joiakim, or by the men of the Great Synagogue: comp. *Carpzov*, i. p. 360 ff.; *Bertholdt*, v. p. 2444 ff.—The author cannot have meant his own book, when he wrote, "And the decree of Esther confirmed these matters of Purim; and it was written *in the book*," בַּסֵּפֶר, ix. 32; for the passages alleged by *De Wette*, Deut. xxxi. 9, 24, are not analogous. The author only intimates that these matters of Purim were noted down in a book [a view which seems probable to *Bleek* also, p. 408], in which also the command of Esther was inserted; and consequently, that the author of our book of Esther has taken his narrative from a contemporary memoir. [The argument of *De Wette* may not be positively certain, and yet we may attribute to it considerably greater probability than is here conceded by *Keil*. Does he alter his opinion in what he says in opposition to the notion that the Apocryphal Additions to Esther are from a Hebrew or Aramaic original, for which divine authority has been claimed? As his Introduction to the Apocrypha is not translated, the sentence may be given here, § 237, Note 2: "Nor can we, with *Scholz* (Einl. ii. p. 537), infer a Hebrew or Aramaic original of these additions, from the subscribed notice contained in the Septuagint about the translation of Lysimachus: for the 'epistle' of Mordecai mentioned there is to be understood of the whole book, which, according to Esth. ix. 20, was looked upon as a letter of Mordecai's to the Jews, and *à potiori* was rightly [so] understood; comp. *Fritzsche*, in the kurzgefasst. exeg. Handbuch, Lief. i. p. 71."]

(2) Following *Spinoza*, the composition of the book has been placed in the times of the Ptolemies and Seleucides, by *Gesenius*, Allg. Lit. Zeitung, 1818, No. 54, p. 432; *Bertholdt*, p. 2449 f.; *De Wette*; *Ewald*, Geschichte, iv. p. 258 ff.; *E. Meier*, Gesch. d. Poet. Nationallit. p. 505 ff.; *Herzfeld*, Geschichte, ii. p. 358, and others. [*Bleek* goes into no details of his reasons: yet, pp. 408–9, he thinks it was in all probability written after the Persian age, perhaps considerably later; but whether in Palestine or in Persia itself, whether by

one whose knowledge of oriental courts was gained by personal experience or otherwise, he does not pretend to determine.] Their reasons are, partly, that Persian manners are elucidated at i. 1, 13, viii. 8; partly, that the book breathes a bloodthirsty spirit of revenge and persecution. But such elucidation of Persian manners cannot surprise us, even though the writer were contemporary with the events; since the book was certainly written, not only for those who lived in Susa and the interior of the Persian empire, but also and principally for the Jews of Palestine. And this is all upon the supposition that the remarks in i. 13 and viii. 8 were made principally for the general elucidation of customs which had passed away, when perhaps they were made rather that the matter might be rightly understood: and the statement about the kingdom of Ahashverosh stretching from India to Ethiopia may be explained by this, that Darius Hystaspis was the first who subdued India, and that it was Xerxes himself who again subdued Egypt, which had revolted from his father. No criterion for the age of the book is furnished by the bloodthirsty spirit of revenge and persecution (so far as there is generally any foundation for this; comp. on ix. 13, *Baumgarten*, p. 61 sq.): because this is not entertained by the author himself, who simply delineates the persons according to their actions; and also because this spirit was not first developed after the fall of the Persian empire. Comp. further, *Häv.* p. 361 ff.—It is more surprising, at all events, that not merely the theocratic point of view, but even the religious way of looking at events, should be so thrown into the background: for Mordecai's refusal on religious grounds to give adoration to Haman (iii. 2 ff.), the penitential fasting (iv. 1–3, 16), and the very allusion to a higher help and deliverance for the Jews (iv. 14),—all show that Mordecai, Esther, and other Jews, were not without piety and confidence in God. Therefore, if the name of God is not used anywhere in the whole book, this can be explained only by the absence of any wish on the part of the author, either to represent the actors in the history as having more fear of God than they really had, or yet to present the whole occurrences (in which certainly the overruling providence of God was manifested over a large part of the Jews, but not the rule of Jehovah the God of Israel among His own people [?]) in a point of view that was foreign to their own nature and strange to his contemporaries; on which account he contented himself with a simple narrative of the facts, without any subjective reflections. Comp. *Baumgarten*, p. 56 sqq.; *Häv.* p. 358 ff.—See a different explanation by the older writers, in *Carpzov*, i. p. 168 sqq.; *Pareau*, instit. interpr. p. 422.—[This closing statement of the writer's purpose can scarcely

[illegible] satisfactory. The notice in the book itself, viii. 17, that "many people of the land became Jews, for the fear of the Jews fell upon them," rather points to a religious result effected by the marvellous events which it records, and suggests that the author may have wished to guide this movement by intelligent motives and to a saving issue, as it were writing a commentary on language in the prophets like Isa. lx. 12, 14, Zech. viii. 23.]

(5) The language of the book contains certainly many later words and forms (comp. § 17, Notes 2 and 3); and also Persisms,—such as פִּתְגָם, i. 20, and others. But there is absolutely nothing to establish any real difference from the language of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and to compel us to date the composition at a later period than the times of Artaxerxes Longimanus.

THIRD SECTION.

HOW THE OLD TESTAMENT CANON ORIGINATED.

[On this subject, *Bleek*, p. 662, refers to *A. Dillmann*, Ueber die Bildung d. Sammlung heil. Schriften des Alten Test., in the Jahrbb. f. deutsche Theologie, iii. (1858) 3, pp. 419–491.]

§ 153. *Collections of the Sacred Writings at times earlier than the Exile.*

ALL the nations of antiquity preserved their sacred writings in their temples (1). We find this also among the Hebrews. Moses handed over the book of the law to the Levitical priests, with the injunction that it should be laid at the side of the ark of the covenant, so that it might be there as a witness against the people (Deut. xxxi. 9, 26, comp. xvii. 18). Joshua followed the example of Moses, and wrote in the book of the law of God the transactions connected with the renewal of the covenant at Shechem [if not the entire book which bears his name; see at § 44, Note 4], or "the statute and ordinance" which he set them in Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 25, 26); the only possible meaning of which is, that he annexed to the book of the law the document relative to this act, and preserved the one along with the other beside the ark of the covenant (2). At a still later time, Samuel wrote "the manner (or Rights) of the kingdom" in *the* book, and laid it up before Jehovah (1 Sam. x. 25). Like the law, both of these documents were laid up at the place where the Lord sat enthroned: and this not only to secure them against being falsified or perishing (3); but also, and much more, that Jehovah might step forth to punish the people in case these Laws and Rights should be transgressed. From these passages, therefore, we cannot infer that other writings were also deposited in

the sanctuary (4), and that thus a commencement had been made before the exile in the way of collecting the sacred writings.—We still find the book of the law of Moses in the temple during the reign of Josiah (5), where it assuredly remained till the temple was destroyed, the original copy being probably burned along with it (6).

(1) See the proofs of this in *Häv.* Einl. i. 1, p. 18 ff.

(2) *Clericus*, ad Jos. xxiv. 25: "Facile fuit volumini Mosaico, quod depositum erat ad latus arcæ (Deut. xxxi. 26) adglutinare membranam, in qua hæc scriberentur."

(3) As *Abarbanel*, on Deut. xxxi. 26, says: "There God laid up the book of the law, that it might remain there as a faithfully preserved testimony, *and that no one might be able to falsify or disfigure it.* For no one could do violence to the Scriptures deposited in the midst of the tribes and the priests."—The correct reason is indicated by *Baumgarten*, theol. Comm. z. Alten Test. i. 2, pp. 533–4.

(4) This was the opinion [which at all events might have an argument from analogy in its favour] of the older theologians: see *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. i. p. 7. [*Bleek*, p. 685, is strongly against this supposition of theirs, which he says is still in substance maintained by *Hävernick*. He notices the statements in Deut. xxxi. 26 and 1 Sam. x. 25, from which he might perhaps draw some such inference as *Keil* does. But had that wider inference of the old theologians been correct, he says, we should have had preserved all those prophetic writings, including histories by the prophets, which are quoted in the Old Testament: and he adds that it is very unlikely that there should have been laid up in the temple all those different kinds of books which are found in our Canon; of course also stating that to him it is simply incredible, after the results of his critical inquiries, which have led him to believe that they were only gradually worked up into their present form.]

(5) 2 Kings xxii. 8; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 15. It has been proved long ago that 1 Kings viii. 9 contains nothing to the contrary, though *De Wette* fancied that it does, Einl. p. 17; for the book of the law was to be deposited, not *in* the ark [as is at least suggested to an English reader of Deut. xxxi. 26], but *at the side of it.* Comp. *Häv.* pp. 22–3.

(6) The legend about Jeremiah bringing the sacred writings into a place of security before the temple was burned—which *Pareau*, instit. interpr. Vet. Test. p. 51, still considers very probable—is, according to *Hävernick's* correct remark (Einl. p. 30), drawn from such muddy sources (comp. *Fabricius*, Codex pseudepigr. Vet. Test. i. p. 1113), that it does not deserve even the name of a tradition: it also

contradicts that other widely-spread legend of the marvellous restoration of the books of the Old Testament by Ezra [see § 154, Note 4].

Still there are not wanting weighty indirect testimonies to the fact that the sacred writings were multiplied by copyists, and were collected even before the exile. Not only was the king of Israel to have a copy of the law made by the priests, in which he was to read (Deut. xvii. 18); not only did Jehoshaphat send princes, priests, and Levites with the book of the law (at all events a copy, and not the original, which had been laid up in the temple) throughout the land, so as to instruct the people in the law (2 Chron. xvii. 7–9): besides this, in the prophetic writings and the Hagiographa, we find such an exact knowledge of the law, and so many references made to it, that we must assume a great diffusion of the book of the law among the people (comp. § 34). Nor can the writings of the prophets have been less widely spread, since we find those who lived later making so many references to the predictions of those who had lived before them (7). In like manner the Psalms, the Proverbs, and the book of Job, and the earlier historical books, have been employed by the prophets (8); while the Psalms must also have existed in many copies, and must have been collected, on account of the liturgical use made of them in the worship of God, and on account of the great number of Levitical singers. The prophecies of Jeremiah betray how deeply he was read in almost all the writings of the times which preceded the exile (9); and probably Daniel, in the times of the exile, had also a collection of prophetical writings (Dan. ix. 2) (10).— An acquaintance in so many quarters with the existing sacred writings is inconceivable, unless collections of them were in existence and in circulation among the people; although we can determine nothing with precision as to the extent and nature of these collections.

(7) The proofs of all this are given in § 67, Notes 10 and 35; § 69, Note 11; § 71, Note 8; § 83, Note 1; § 93, Note 3; § 95, Note 5; and § 97, Note 5: in these places the passages are mentioned which bear witness to the acquaintance of the prophets with the writings of their predecessors; for instance, of Joel with Obadiah [or *vice versa*], of Hosea with Amos, of Isaiah with Joel and Amos, of Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah with Isaiah, etc. Compare with this the information given at full length by *Caspari* on Micah,

pp. 440–1, as to the relation of Micah to the prophetic writings of the period of Uzziah and Jeroboam II.,—namely, Joel, Amos, and Isaiah. [*Bleek* gives his views twice over, sometimes very much in the same words, pp. 331–2 and p. 663. Till the finding of the law in the reign of Josiah, he says, there was no acknowledged authentic copy of the law, such as this copy was from that time forward pretty generally acknowledged to be. "Till then the Mosaic law existed, partly in separate collections of laws, partly in the historical works which preceded Deuteronomy, yet so that no one copy had the reputation of being generally acknowledged as authentic more than the others. Hence also the law might easily be exposed to a great deal of capricious treatment: comp. Jer. viii. 8, which speaks of the lying pen of the scribes, that turned the law into a lie; which might partly be by falsifying it (ch. ii. 8 speaks of תּוֹרָה דֹּרְשֵׁי) and Zeph. iii. 4" (p. 331). His proof passages will not generally secure much more favour for his views than his unsupported assertion, that from the time when the copy of the law which contained Deuteronomy was recognised as authentic, the book of Joshua came to be more separated from the Pentateuch, and to be regarded as a work standing by itself; although he seems disposed rather to date this, and the contemporaneous division of the law into five books, in the time of Ezra, when the people renewed their engagement to the Mosaic law. At p. 665 he asserts that before the exile there was no collection of the prophetic writings to which any peculiar authority was attributed: yet he holds that, without any such fixed and collected form, many of these writings were preserved and held in much regard; and in proof of this, he appeals to Jer. xxvi. 17, 18, Zech. i. 4, vii. 7, 12.]

(8) We have proof that the prophets were familiarly acquainted with the Psalms, though there were nothing else, from the mutual influence of psalmody and prophecy; comp. *Caspari*, pp. 428–9. On the one hand, the products of psalmodic poetry have not unfrequently their basis in prophetic utterances, on which they raise themselves, and to which they refer; for instance, Ps. xlvi. and lxxv. [lxxvi. ?], composed at the time of Sennacherib's invasion: comp. Ps. xlvi. 3, 4, with Isa. xvii. 12, 13, and v. 30, and viii. 7, 8; Ps. xlvi. 5 with Isa. viii. 6; Ps. xlvi. 6, 7, with Isa. xvii. 14 and 12; Ps. xlvi. 8, 12, with Isa. viii. 10; Ps. xlvi. 10 with Isa. ix. 4; and Ps. lxxv. [lxxvi. ?] 3, 4, with Isa. xxxvii. 33–35, etc. On the other hand, sometimes when the prophets are picturing Messiah and His kingdom, they borrow individual traits from the Messianic psalms, which themselves rest upon that fundamental prophecy in 2 Sam. vii. (comp.,

for instance, Zech. ix. 10 with Ps. lxxii. 8); sometimes they depict the Messianic future by imagery employed already in certain psalms to depict the redemption from Egypt (comp. Hab. iii. 10–15 with Ps. lxxvii. 17–21; and *Delitzsch*, Comm. zu Habak. p. 119 ff.); sometimes they describe the moral condition of their own age by words and expressions which the psalmists had used of the moral condition of their own times (for instance, comp. Mic. vii. 2 with Ps. xii. 2, and other passages in *Caspari, ibid.*); and finally, sometimes—that is to say, in every place in which the language becomes lyrical—they express the feelings of their hearts in words and verses of psalms (for instance, comp. Isa. xii., and *Drechsler* upon the passage; and also Jonah's song of thanksgiving, which consists almost entirely of passages from the Psalms: see § 90, Note 2).—That the prophets were acquainted with the Proverbs is seen from Isa. xxviii. 29 (in the word תּוּשִׁיָּה borrowed from that book); in Mic. vi. 10, comp. Prov. x. 2, xxii. 14, and xxiv. 24; in Mic. vi. 9, comp. Prov. i. 20 f., and viii. 1, 3; and in others besides (comp. *Caspari*, p. 430 ff.). Comp. § 122, Notes 9 and 10, for the acquaintance with Job shown by Amos and Isaiah, and in certain psalms.—Clearly Micah was acquainted with the book of Joshua, comp. Mic. vi. 5 with Josh. iii. 1, 2–17, iv. 19 ff. (comp. *Caspari*, pp. 283–4 and 427); whilst the unmistakeable allusions in Mic. i. 10 to 2 Sam. i. 20, and in Mic. i. 2 to 1 Kings xxii. 2 ff., presuppose that those historical writings were known which were used as the sources of our books of Samuel and Kings (comp. *Caspari*, p. 432 ff.). [*Bleek*, p. 665: "We cannot doubt that already before the exile, as well as during it, and likewise when the worship of Jehovah was set up anew in Jerusalem after the return of the exiles, the lyrical pieces of older poets, especially those of David, were applied to public use as well as to private edification; comp. 2 Chron. xxix. 30, where it is said that David made the Levites sing with the words of David and of Asaph. And already before the exile there were undoubtedly collections prepared for the same purpose as our hymn-books; yet certainly none whose limits were fixed definitively, and which were regarded as of exclusive authority. Still less was this the case with the great variety of the historical works which existed, in reference to the earlier history of the people of Israel, or of individual distinguished men among them."]

(9) See the information at length in *Kueper*, Jerem. librorum ss. interpr. pp. 52–106, on the subject of the traces of the historical and prophetical books, and of the Hagiographa, which occur in Jeremiah.

(10) The expression הַסְּפָרִים does not indeed presuppose a definitively closed collection of the Old Testament Canon, [an opinion to

which *Bleek* in a sense leans, pp. 594–5, as noticed already in § 134, V. 2]. And yet it can scarcely be restricted to the prophecies of Jeremiah: it must designate a collection of prophetical writings, in which was found the prophecy quoted from Jeremiah. Comp. *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. p. 32 ff.

§ 154. *Collection of the Old Testament after the Exile.*

When the sanctuary and the worship were restored after the exile, there must have been awakened a sense of the need for a complete collection of the sacred writings of the prophets and men of God, which had been scattered when the people were carried away into exile. Already the knowledge that the sufferings of the exile were the punishment for transgressing the law and disregarding the voice of the prophets, and the turning to the Lord which this produced, at least in the better portion of the nation, must have made it desirable to possess in a complete form the existing treasures of the Word of God. This want would be felt all the more, as the old Hebrew language began to die out with the exile (§ 18); in consequence of which the ancient sacred writings were becoming always less intelligible to the generation which had grown up in the exile, and which returned to their mother-country; so that they would soon have come to be forgotten, if learned scribes had not collected and preserved them, and made them accessible to the nation by means of paraphrases and translations into the popular dialect,—namely, the Aramaic. But divine providence promoted the collection, and brought it to a definitive termination, by withdrawing prophecy from the people, the latest prophet being Malachi under Artaxerxes I. (1); and by raising up for them at the same time, in Ezra and Nehemiah, the men who imparted order and stability to the religious and civil life of the new colony.

(1) Comp. *Vitringa*, de defectu prophetiæ post Malachiæ tempora, in his Observatt. ss. t. ii. p. 336 sqq.; *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. pp. 246–7; *Häv.* pp. 27–8. For the collection of the Canon, comp. *Oehler* in *Herzog's* Realencycl. vii. p. 243 ff., art. Kanon d. Alten Test.; *Nägelsbach*, *ibid.* iv. pp. 170–1; and *Vaihinger*, theol. Studien u. Krit. 1857, p. 93 ff. [*Bleek*, p. 664, notices the joint operations of Ezra and Nehemiah, as recorded in Neh. viii.–x.; and the references

to Ezra as "the scribe," and pre-eminently a scribe of the law of Moses, in Ezra vii. 6, 12, 21.]

Within this period the collection of the Old Testament Canon was accomplished. *Josephus* designates the reign of Artaxerxes as the boundary line of the sacred or canonical literature of the Hebrews, by the statement that only those writings are rightly held to be divine which embrace the period from the creation to the reign of Artaxerxes; whereas the other books, which were written from the age of Artaxerxes down to his own time, were not reckoned worthy of the same credit, because there was no longer the exact succession of the prophets (2). Now, not only according to the private opinion of Josephus, but also according to the unanimous tradition of the Jewish nation, the latest prophet was Malachi, who prophesied under Artaxerxes; and with him there departed from Israel, not only the רוּחַ הַנְּבוּאָה (Spirit of prophecy), but also that רוּחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ (Holy Spirit) which was requisite for the composition of the Hagiographa. It follows, then, that when the *ἀκριβὴς διαδοχὴ προφητῶν* ceased, no more writings of canonical dignity could appear; and if the collection and editing of the Canon had in general only begun before the death of Malachi, yet it must soon have reached its close, whenever all the existing sacred writings had been received into the collection, —a process for which not many tens of years would be requisite (3).

(2) Contra Apion, lib. i. c. 8: *Οὐ γὰρ μυριάδες βιβλίων εἰσὶ παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀσυμφώνων καὶ μαχομένων· δύο δὲ μόνα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι βιβλία, τοῦ παντὸς ἔχοντα χρόνου τὴν ἀναγραφὴν, τὰ δικαίως θεῖα πεπιστευμένα. Καὶ τούτων πέντε μέν ἐστι τὰ Μωϋσέως, ἃ τούς τε νόμους περιέχει. . . . Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μωϋσέως τελευτῆς μέχρι τῆς Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ μετὰ Ξέρξην Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀρχῆς* (this word being here used in the sense of "reign," not of "beginning;" see *Müller*, Beschr. v. Kanon, p. 114 f., against *Oeder*, freie Untersuchungen, p. 63) *οἱ μετὰ Μωϋσῆν προφῆται τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς πραχθέντα συνέγραψαν ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα βιβλίοις.* [See this peculiar enumeration explained in § 156, Note 9.] *Αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τέσσαρες ὕμνους εἰς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήκας τοῦ βίου περιέχουσιν. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξου μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γέγραπται μὲν ἕκαστα, πίστεως δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίας ἠξίωται τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχήν.* [*Bleek*, pp. 679, 680, admits that this is striking testimony to the conviction of the Hebrew

Jews, whose Canon never seems to have included any other books than those which are found in it at present. But yet he adds: "In these assertions there is much exaggeration and mere opinion of *Josephus*. To this belongs also the statement that the period of Artaxerxes was the latest time in which canonical books were composed. He certainly did not rest this upon tradition; but it is merely a conclusion which he deemed himself justified in drawing from the contents of the canonical books themselves: since he proceeded upon the assumption that all the books in the Canon had been composed by those whose names are given in the titles, or at least by men who lived at the time of the events which they record; and he holds the book of Esther to be the latest, and places its composition in the time of the Persian king who is the actor in it, Ahasuerus, whom he erroneously takes to be Artaxerxes, as he does also in Antiqq. xi. 6. 13." It is painful to say that there is something rather disingenuous in these remarks, whatever else may be said of them. Who informed him that *Josephus* made Esther the latest book? Why should any one suppose that he did, when the events recorded in it are dated in the reign of Ahasuerus from his *third* to his *twelfth* year, whereas some of the events in the book of Nehemiah are dated later than the *thirty-second* year of Artaxerxes? Does it not look like an attempt to bring discredit on the whole statement of *Josephus*, by means of his erroneous theory as to the particular king who was the husband of Esther? Nor is he very successful, pp. 680–1, in trying to prove *Josephus* inconsistent, since "in his Antiquities he again expresses himself as if he appeared to include other works, in addition to our canonical books, among the sacred writings from which he drew the historical contents of his own work,—namely, those in which the history is carried further down than it is in them; as also very particularly in the history from the exile to the time of Artaxerxes, he seems to have used the apocryphal Greek Esdras instead of the canonical book of Ezra." If his latter assertion be strictly accurate, other reasons can be suggested for the fact, without having recourse to the supposition that *Josephus* hesitated about the particular books which truly were canonical; and his first argument is plainly trivial. In respect to both, we have the express words of *Josephus* in that passage from his work against Apion, that there were other writings for the history later than the time of Artaxerxes, only not of the same authority as the books which he had mentioned as being divine; and that, though so long a time had elapsed, yet no Jew had ventured to add to them or to take from them, in such veneration were they held.]

(3) Although *Josephus* does not expressly speak of the collecting of the Canon, and the closing of it under Artaxerxes, still we may draw a sure inference in regard to it from the reason alleged for canonical literature ceasing to be composed. Yet *Hengstenberg's* conclusion is too sweeping, Beitrr. i. p. 246, that according to the view of *Josephus*, the Canon must necessarily have closed when the exact succession of the prophets ceased; so that, if perchance a writing had been found at a later time, the actual composition of a man enlightened by God in the earlier times, still it could no longer have been taken in, because it would have wanted due authentication by prophets. Comp. further, *Welte* on *Herbst*, Einl. i. p. 47; and *Oehler* in the Berliner Jahrbb. f. wissensch. Kritik, 1846, Augusth. No. 28, pp. 222–3, and his article Kanon in *Herzog*, p. 249 f.

With this agree the Jewish legends handed down from other quarters. Ezra's preserving and editing for his nation the twenty-four books of the Old Testament Canon is the historical kernel of that legend about the wonderful restoration of the Old Testament by Ezra, as related in 4 Esdras [otherwise 2 Esdras], ch. xiv.: this appears from a comparison of the tradition in this apocalyptic Esdras with the independent tradition in *Irenæus* (4).—More ancient is the legend in 2 Macc. ii. 13 (as to which we may conjecture that it rests on Alexandrian tradition), that Nehemiah brought together into a library [or collection of books, namely our Canon] the writings of the kings and prophets, and of David and others (5). Also the talmudical and rabbinical legends about the Great Synagogue and its labours (apart from the assertion of *Elias Levita*, who lived at a late period), certainly contain no decisive testimony about the collection of the Canon (6); and yet they have this old tradition for their basis, that the sacred writings of the Old Testament were in existence from the times of Ezra as a closed collection, and were the object of zealous study on the part of the wise and learned (7).

(4) According to 4 Esdras xiv., ninety-four books were communicated to Ezra by inspiration, and were written down by five men in forty days, with the command, "*Priora* quæ scripsisti in palam pone, et legant digni et indigni; *novissimos* autem *septuaginta* conservabis, ut tradas eos sapientibus de populo tuo." By the seventy books we are to understand a kind of acknowledged esoteric writings, whose contents were probably of an apocalyptic nature; and by the "priora"

the twenty-four sacred books of the Old Testament, as they are reckoned up in the Talmud (baba bathr. f. 14, 2). The number *ninety-four* is the present reading of the Ethiopic and the Arabic versions; and it is not only *their* reading, but probably also that of the original text of the Latin version [these being the only three ancient versions extant, and the original Greek having perished], in which at present "ducenti quatuor" stands: comp. *Anger*, in the deutsch. morgenländ. Zeitschrift, v. 1, p. 105.—According to *Irenæus*, adv. hær. iii. 25 (*Eusebius*, Hist. Eccl. v. 8), who seems to have drawn his information from another source, because in his book the legend appears in a much simpler shape (comp. *Oehler*, Berliner Jahrbb. p. 215): "inspiravit (Deus) Ezræ sacerdoti e tribu Levi, prophetarum omnes rememorare sermones, et restituere populo eam legem quæ data erat per Moysen." Comp. *Clement. Alex.* Stromata, i. c. 22, ed. *Potter* [or, according to *Bleek's* reference, p. 684, it is Stromata, i. pp. 329, 342]; *Tertullian*, de culta fem. i. 3 [*Bleek's* reference being: *Tertullian*, de habitu muliebri, c. 3]; *Theodoret*, præf. Commentat. in Cantic.; *Chrysostom*, homil. viii. in epistol. ad Hebræos; *Augustine* [that is, as *Bleek* gives it, *pseudo-Augustine*], de mirabilibus Script. s. ii. 33; and others, in *Jo. Buxtorf*, Tiberias, p. 103 sq. [*Bleek* says, *ibid.*: "This statement has undoubtedly been drawn by these ecclesiastical Fathers from an apocryphal Jewish source, and not improbably from the fourth book of Esdras, ch. xiv.: nevertheless it is not very distinct, at this place itself, what the author precisely meant, nor yet is the reading certain; comp. *Lücke*, Einl. in die Offenbarung Johan. p. 183."]

(5) . . . καὶ ὡς καταβαλλόμενος βιβλιοθήκην [see the use of this word as equivalent to "Bible" in § 156, Note 7] ἐπισυνήγαγε τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ προφητῶν, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ, καὶ ἐπιστολὰς βασιλέων περὶ ἀναθημάτων. Comp. the discussion of this passage in *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. p. 241 ff.; *Häv.* Einl. i. 1, pp. 45–6; and *Oehler*, Kanon, p. 248.—By τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων, *Hengstb.* and *Häv.* understand the historical books, or "prophetæ priores;" by προφῆται, the "prophetæ posteriores;" by τὰ τοῦ Δαυίδ, the Psalms, named for the Hagiographa on the principle of a part for the whole. On the contrary, *Movers* (Loci quidam historiæ Canonis Vet. Test. illustrati, Vratislaviæ 1842), p. 15, finds in it an extremely valuable [?] testimony "de prima Hagiographorum collectione:" for by τὰ περὶ βασιλέων καὶ προφητῶν he understands the books of Chronicles; by τὰ τοῦ Δαυίδ, the first book of the Psalms; and by the ἐπιστολαὶ, κ.τ.λ., the book of Ezra. Against this, see *Häv.* p. 47. [*Bleek* treats of this testimony, pp. 665–6, thus: "The passage occurs in the undoubtedly

spurious epistle of the Palestinian Jews to those of Alexandria, in which they invite them to take part in the feast of the dedication of the temple. But it is easy to see that the author furnishes that statement as a quotation, for which he gives a precise reference from another work, to which he gives the name of the writings and memoirs of Nehemiah. This is not our book of Nehemiah, but some apocryphal writing, perhaps that work of which a portion has been preserved to us under the name of the Greek Ezra, or the third book of Esdras, also called ὁ ἱερεύς. As for the statement itself, just as it stands, we have assuredly no cause to doubt its correctness. Accordingly, it brings us to this point, that Nehemiah made a public collection of writings; and this no doubt was of writings which had a special interest for the people, but which had not yet been collected. Along with this, we might conjecture that the statement is not quite complete and exact; still it shows us, in general, of what nature the writings were." He understands by "the books about the kings and prophets," the books of the history of the kings of Israel and of Judah, and those books which we commonly call the prophetical books; and by "those of David," our book of Psalms. Then he proceeds to say, pp. 666–669, that the following may be accepted as probabilities, comparing the present state of the Hebrew Canon with the results at which he arrived in his investigations of the way in which the individual books came into existence:—(*a*) That probably the Psalms were then in their present form of five books, and that the collection was of the same extent as at present. (*b*) That "the prophets" formed a collection in the same form as the properly prophetical books of the second division of the Hebrew Canon. (*c*) That "the books about the kings" were primarily the books of Samuel and Kings, which were regarded as one work by the Hellenistic Jews, and received from them one title, "the four books of Kings;" yet that the books of Joshua and Judges might very well be prefixed to these, so that the whole of them together gave a connected history of Israel from the close of the period included in the Pentateuch, down to the Babylonish captivity. (*d*) "We may accept it as probable that this collection was first prepared after that solemn occasion on which the people renewed their obligation to keep the law; and that, if Ezra was still alive, he also took a special part in managing it. Still we can arrive at no certainty upon this subject. But it is not improbable that at this opportunity the historical books underwent certain changes, at the beginning and at the end, so as to fit them the better together in respect of matter and form, as we find them at present connected. Yet anything of this kind was certainly

insignificant, and by no means of such a nature as to let us speak of Ezra (or the collector at that time) as in any sense the author of these books." (*e*) That the book of Ruth had probably been adopted among the historical books, and stood just after Judges: on which point his views have been already noticed at the end of § 137, Note 4. (*f*) That, for similar reasons, it is probable that the book of Lamentations stood just after the prophecies of Jeremiah. (*g*) "It is impossible to determine whether one or another of the remaining poetical books, which are now found in the third division of the Hebrew Canon, were also adopted at this time into this collection of Nehemiah's;" namely, the books of Job, Proverbs, and Canticles. These had certainly been composed at an earlier time, and they may have been then incorporated with the rest; but he thinks it more likely that this took place at a later time. (*h*) That "the letters of kings concerning consecration-gifts," which are mentioned after David's books, are undoubtedly, as *Grotius* understood the expression, "letters of foreign princes, especially of the Persian kings, about foundations and gifts for the newly erected temple at Jerusalem; and most assuredly not merely the letters of the Persian kings which are contained in our books of Ezra and Nehemiah, as is thought by *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. pp. 243–4, but also others whose contents must certainly have been of peculiar interest to the Jews of that period." (Of course he also rejects as "entirely false" the opinions of *Movers*, above mentioned, that this expression designates our book of Ezra, and that "the books concerning the kings and prophets" are our books of Chronicles.) But he has introduced the notion of *princes* into the passage without any authority, if he means to distinguish them from *kings;* and he has not pointed out what independent sovereigns, other than the kings of Persia, would be likely to write to the Jews in Nehemiah's time or earlier about their temple, or would be likely to have their letters treasured up by the Jews side by side with those of their jealous Persian masters. (*i*) "In the passage 2 Macc. ii. 13 it is not said, and it is not in itself exactly probable, that at that time Nehemiah at once united these books with the Mosaic law into one whole. Undoubtedly we ought much rather to conceive of the matter thus: that he took charge of making a separate collection of them alongside of the book of the law; and that he brought together into this collection those writings, out of the whole number belonging to an earlier time and still extant in his own, which were of special interest to his people in addition to the book of the law: some of them being witnesses of the continued divine guidance and revelation, by means of history and prophecy; and some of them being for use in worship

and instruction. In all probability this collection remained separate for a considerable time, alongside of the law; and although not so highly esteemed as the law, it may nevertheless from the beginning have enjoyed a reputation that was not insignificant, above that of other writings, which had likewise existed from ancient times, yet had not been adopted into this collection, although their contents were partly similar; as, in particular, many historical books, which we learn to know by means of the quotations in the books of Chronicles."—In pp. 669–672 he pursues the subject, but in a manner that is purely conjectural; for he has really no facts on which to build. "This esteem for Nehemiah's collection grew with the lapse of time. Nothing indeed can be determined as to the length of time during which it subsisted, until it was formally united with the law into one whole. The passage Dan. ix. 2 shows that in the beginning of the Maccabean period," to which period he assigns the composition of the book of Daniel, "the collection of writings in which Jeremiah's prophecies were found was designated 'The Writings,'" or, "the Scriptures"—in the Eng. version "books," the article having been neglected—"pre-eminently (הַסְּפָרִים); which can be imagined only of sacred writings, with normative canonical authority, and which makes it in the highest degree probable that by that time these books had been united with the Pentateuch into one whole, and were regarded as one whole along with it. When they were being so united, the individual books of Nehemiah's collection were no doubt adopted in the same order as that in which they had been arranged whilst they subsisted as a separate collection, the order which is already intimated in the passage in 2d Maccabees; that is to say, essentially in the same order in which they are found at present in the Hebrew Canon:" for, as he explained before, in his view Ruth and Lamentations were probably in the positions which they occupy in the Greek Bible, and hence also in our English version. "'The letters of kings concerning consecration-gifts,' which are represented last in 2d Maccabees, *ibid.*, were certainly omitted when Nehemiah's collection was united to the book of the law, if not earlier; undoubtedly because it was felt that, however interesting might be the contents of these letters, still it was unsuitable that they should occupy the position of an independent work, and in this character belong to a collection of writings which were regarded as holy books with a specific canonical authority. As for those of our Hagiographa which Nehemiah had not as yet adopted into his collection, and some of which he could not possibly adopt because they were composed at a later time, we cannot determine about most of them, whether in the lapse of time they had been adopted into Nehemiah's collection before

it was united to the book of the law, or whether it took place afterwards." He observes, in reference to the books of Esther, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes, that there are traces of a struggle before they were received. "According to the results of our investigation, the book of Daniel is the latest of the books of the Old Testament Canon. We may conjecture with great probability, that as soon as this book appeared it met with much acknowledgment, and no opposition, from the more pious Jews who were well disposed toward the law; and thus that it also very soon was inserted in the collection of the canonical books." Some of the topics which *Bleek* discusses in these passages will come to be noticed in § 155, Note 7, and in § 214; but it seemed advantageous for the statement of his own view to let it appear in its essentials as one whole.]

(6) Comp. *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, c. x. and xi.; *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 2 sqq.; *P. E. Rau* [named by *Bleek*, p. 684, *J. Eberh. Rau;* see the following extract], de Synagoga Magna, Trajecti 1726, P. i. c. 1; *Aurivillius*, de Synagoga vulgo dicta Magna, in his dissertations edited by *J. D. Michaelis*, p. 139 sqq. [*Bleek*, p. 684, rejects "the account found in Jewish Rabbins, but only those of a very late period, for instance and particularly in *Elias Levita*, and then followed by many Christian theologians, that the Canon was formed in an especial manner by the so-called Great Synagogue, the כְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדוֹלָה. A college is mentioned by this name already in the Mishna, and Ezra is said to have erected it for the restoration of the Jewish State and Church; the number of its members is stated at 120, and among these the Jews mention all sorts of important persons who lived in the land of the Jews down to Simon the Just. *Bertholdt* and *Hävernick* still ascribe to this college an important share in the work of putting the Canon into shape: *Hävernick* ascribing to them its completion; *Bertholdt* ascribing to them its first formation,—namely, the uniting of the Pentateuch with certain prophets. But it is difficult to give any weight to the statements in this shape. We can accept no more with certainty than this, that Ezra and Nehemiah had assistants who supported them in their labours to restore and confirm the institutions in Church and State; and therefore also in what they did towards collecting the sacred writings of their people. But a formal college, of the sort mentioned in the Talmud and the Mishna, is very problematical. And in an especial manner, *J. Eberh. Rau* (who died Professor of Theology at Herborn in 1770), de Synagoga Magna, Utrecht 1726, P. ii. p. 66 sqq., *Jahn*, *De Wette*, and others, have rightly declared against its very existence, and have pronounced it an invention of the later Jews, who sought in this way to prove the

continuity of their tradition: there is not the least trace of this in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, nor yet in Josephus or Philo, nor generally before the Mishna. *Bertholdt* was wrong in holding the *συναγωγὴ γραμματέων*, 1 Macc. vii. 12, to be a particular division of this college, which had had to do with the formation of the Canon; for, without going into particulars, the passage does not at all speak of a determinately fixed board of officials, a distinct college of scribes."]— The principal passage [in the Talmud] is in Baba bathr. fol. 14. 2, 15. 1: "*Moses* scripsit (כתב) librum suum, sectionem de Bileamo, et Jobum. *Josua* scripsit librum suum, et octo versus in Lege. *Samuel* scripsit librum suum, librum Judicum et Ruthæ. *David* conscripsit librum Psalmorum. . . . *Jeremias* scripsit librum suum, libros Regum, et Threnos. *Hiskias* et collegium ejus scripserunt J. M. SH. K., i.e. Jes., Prov., Cantic., et Ecclesiasten. Viri Synagogæ Magnæ scripserunt K.N.D.G., i.e. Ezech., xii. Proph., Dan., et lib. Esther. *Esras* scripsit librum suum, et genealogias librorum Chron. usque ad sua tempora." This is senseless and unintelligible, unless we understand the "writing" to be, not the composition of the individual books when they first assumed a written form, but their composition in that form in which they were adopted into the Canon, or the editing of them with a view to this adoption; as I have remarked on *Häv.* i. 1, p. 41, and as *Oehler* also acknowledges, art. Kanon, p. 246. [*Bleek*, on the contrary, says, p. 685, "Assuredly this is meant, not as *Bertholdt* and *Hävernick* suppose, of an inscribing of these books in the Canon, but of their being first actually written down by these persons; see *De Wette*, § 14, Anmerk. *c*." *Pusey*, on Daniel, p. 349, observes that it is said of the Psalter in *Kimchi*, præf. in Psalm., "They wrote it in the Canon of the Kethubim, not in that of the Prophets;" which shows that he understood this word of inscribing in the Canon.] Accordingly, *Elias Levita* has hit upon the right sense of the older tradition, when he says, præf. iii. ad Masor. Hammas.: "Non enim fuerunt viginti quatuor libri (ante Esdram et Synagogam Magnam) conjuncti, sed ipsi concinnaverunt eos ac fecerunt ex iis tres partes, Legem, Prophetas, et Hagiographa." See the passage in the original in *Hottinger*, thes. phil. p. 458 sq., and in the translation by *Semler*, p. 45.

(7) This follows at once from Baba bathr. f. 13. 2, חכמים אומרים כל אחד ואחד בפני עצמו. "The wise men say, 'All is one, and each part again subsists for itself'" (that is, it forms again for itself a fixed or completed whole); and again, "They have left behind for us the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographia, מדובקים באחד *combined into one whole.*"

§ 155. *Close of the Collection of the Old Testament.*

The result which is afforded by these testimonies and traditions in favour of the collection of the Old Testament in the age of Ezra, Nehemiah, and the contemporary prophet Malachi, is elevated to complete certainty by the historical fact, that after this time the Old Testament Canon is everywhere found as a sacred Codex, kept strictly separate from the later literature (1). Not only was nothing more done, in the way of adopting the book of Jesus Sirach into the Canon, in spite of its pretensions to importance as if it were prophetical and canonical (2); but further, that book itself assumes that the canonical writings had long been a closed collection, in its three divisions (3); so much so, that the writer of the prologue already mentions a Greek translation (4).

(1) The want of positive testimony on the subject of the Canon of the Old Testament during the interval of time between Nehemiah and Jesus Sirach [*Keil*, § 242, makes his age to be B.C. 300–280, and the Greek translation by his grandson to be about B.C. 230; another view, rejected by him, gives B.C. 180 and B.C. 130, instead of these two dates], is perfectly explained by the circumstance that we have not any written documents at all belonging to this period. Besides, it is abundantly outweighed by the style and manner in which Jesus Sirach takes up his position in relation to the ancient sacred writings.

(2) Pretensions by the author to prophetical and canonical dignity for his writings are manifestly contained in ch. xxiv. 30, 31 (33, 34), *Ἔτι παιδείαν ὡς ὄρθρον φωτῶ, καὶ ἐκφανῶ αὐτὰ ἕως εἰς μακράν. Ἔτι διδασκαλίαν ὡς προφητείαν ἐκχεῶ, καὶ καταλείψω αὐτὴν εἰς γενεὰς αἰώνων*: and in other passages given by *Häv.* Einl. i. 1, p. 32. Moreover, the book was not only composed in the Hebrew language, but it also stood high in the estimation of the Palestinian Jews (*Zunz*, *ibid.* pp. 101–2); yet it was not received into the Canon. There was no other reason for this than that already at that time "a settled distinction was made by the Palestinian Jews between the ancient sacred literature and that which was newer, but profane" (comp. *Oehler*, Berliner Jahrbb. *ibid.* p. 222); and no one ventured to add anything more to the Canon, which had long been closed. Comp. *Hassler*, de Psalmis Maccab. (Ulm, 1827, 1832, 4to), i. p. 7, ii. p. 7; *Häv. ibid.*; *Oehler*, Kanon, p. 249; and *Vaihinger*, *ibid.* p. 94 ff. [Thus also even *Bleek*, p. 674, speaks as follows, after referring to the length of time during which there was controversy

as to the right of books like Esther to have a place in the Canon, which he conjectures to have gradually attained to more general acknowledgment, and accounting for this by the lengthened period during which he imagines that people did not regard the third division of the Canon as finally closed, and incapable of receiving additions or alterations. "In so far, it was a matter of entirely settled judgment, at least among the Palestinian Jews, that for some centuries before Christ they entertained the feeling and consciousness that the Spirit of God no longer was ruling among the people, in such a form as to produce writings which deserved to be regarded as properly holy writings, and to be placed alongside of the law and the prophetical writings. *And thus, among the Palestinian Jews, no writing was adopted into the Canon, of which it was known that it had not been composed until later than about a hundred years after the end of the exile.* Thus, for example, the book of Jesus Sirach (written probably about B.C. 210–180) found no acceptance, because its later origin was known, nor did it claim for itself any higher antiquity: as also the Greek translator, the author's grandson, expressly distinguishes his grandfather's book from the canonical writings." As was necessary on *Bleek's* principles, he then accounts for the reception of the books of Ecclesiastes and Daniel on account of their being accepted as genuine productions. The same necessity then compels him to hazard the following extraordinary assertion:— "Although other writings also, whose circumstances were similar" to those of Ecclesiastes and Daniel, "so far as concerns their origin and the drapery thrown around them by their authors, were never adopted into the series of the writings in the Hebrew Canon; still it cannot be doubted that even Hebrew Jews, proceeding on the assumption that these writings were genuine, assigned to them a position more or less like that of the canonical books, in respect of estimation and holiness." Further, pp. 674–5, he considers that a certain estimation might be accorded to the books of Maccabees, on account of the very peculiar interest attaching to their historical contents, so as to be placed nearly on a level with Esther, Ezra, and Nehemiah. He distinguishes their position very carefully, however, from that looser view and less sharp distinction of the Canon from other writings, which he attributes to the Alexandrian Jews, and which will come to be discussed in § 214.]

(3) Not only does the prologue, composed by the grandson of the son of Sirach, expressly refer to the Old Testament according to its three divisions (ὁ νόμος, καὶ οἱ προφῆται, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάτρια βιβλία, or τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων); but also in the book itself, in the hymn

in praise of the fathers, ch. xliv. and xlv., it is manifestly assumed as a thing well known; comp. *Häv.* pp. 33–4. The definite article, "*the* other books of the fathers," and "*the rest of the books*," presupposes a definite class of writings well marked off, and involves the close of the Canon, as has been already shown by *Häv.*, against *Hitzig*, *Redepennig*, *De Wette*, and others. [On this point, *Bleek*, p. 673, seems to hold the same view as *Keil;* but he confines himself to the statements in the prologue, and he dates its composition so late as about B.C. 130. He also notices in it the want as yet of any settled name for the third division, while those of the other two, the law and the prophets, were perfectly fixed. And with this he connects the fact that these two were in regular use in the public worship of the temple and the synagogue, but not so the books of the third division except the Psalms. "Of the rest of the Kethubim in general there was no regular public use made in the synagogue:" for it was at a later time that the so-called Megilloth, or little volumes, were read at certain feasts, among which Ruth and Lamentations came to be placed on account of their being similarly used; and this arrangement he dates a considerable time after the destruction of the second temple. The five Megilloth, as they stand in the Hebrew Bible, are, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther.]

(4) When he has confessed that, with all the diligence he has spent on his translation, he has been unable to attain to the force of many an expression, he justifies this with the remark: *οὐ γὰρ ἰσοδυναμεῖ αὐτὰ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς Ἑβραϊστὶ λεγόμενα, καὶ ὅταν μεταχθῇ εἰς ἑτέραν γλῶσσαν· οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα* (his own sayings) *ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος, καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων, οὐ μακρὰν ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λεγόμενα.*

A further confirmation of this result is furnished by the fundamental principle of the collection—namely, its arrangement in three divisions (5), which excludes the hypothesis that the Canon came into existence gradually and accidentally, and requires us to assume that a man, thoroughly familiar with the spirit of Scripture, undertook the collection at some determinate time, and also brought it to a close. The individual books are arranged, neither in the order of time nor according to the similarity of their contents, but *according to the position of their authors in reference to God and the theocracy, and their own position, in spirit and subject-matter, in reference to divine revelation.* This has been so managed, that *the law*, as the fundamental document in the Old Testament revelation, occupies the *first*

rank, and forms a division by itself. Then, in the *second series*, the writings of *the prophets* follow, partly representing historically how the revelation tended towards its own completion in the history of the theocratic people ("prophetæ priores"), partly containing the prophecies which advanced side by side with the doings of God, or the progressive unveiling of the divine decrees ("prophetæ posteriores"). Finally, in the *third series* the rest of the writings (כְּתוּבִים) are placed together, which either were not composed by men who were prophets, or else were at least not composed in the prophetic spirit and calling. Some of the books in this third division express, in lyric songs or in reflections, truths and lessons drawn from the actings and prophecies of revelation (the *poetical Hagiographa*): one narrates how lives of importance to the theocracy were guided, and gives the revelations imparted to them (*book of Daniel*); and last of all, others describe the history of times past and present according to principles which are more individual and particular (the *historical Hagiographa*) (6).

(5) The doubts as to whether this threefold division existed from the first, which have been expressed by *Rau*, de synag. magna, p. 121 sq., and by *Storr* in *Paulus*, neues Repert. ii. p. 225 ff., have proceeded from mistaking its principle, and from other misunderstandings. Against *Storr*, comp. *Häv.* p. 54.

(6) *Kimchi*, præf. ad Psalm., *Abarbanel*, præf. comment. in Josuam, and *Maimonides*, Moreh Nevoch. lib. ii. c. 45, p. 317 sq., ed. *Buxtorf*, had already some inkling of the principle of this division, when they sought for it in various degrees of revelation, [though their language, to say the least of it, was unhappy, as involving doubtful or objectionable theories of inspiration, and naturally led many sound theologians to turn from their whole theory with suspicion]. They designate the revelation made to Moses thus, that he alone spoke with God mouth to mouth (Num. xii. 6–8), or face to face, as a man converses with his neighbour (Ex. xxxiii. 11; Deut. v. 4, 5). And they define the distinction between "the prophets" and "the writings" thus far, that the former were written בְּרוּחַ הַנְּבוּאָה, and the latter only בְּרוּחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ (comp. Dissert. de S. Scripturæ in Legem, Prophetas, et Hagiographa divisione, præs. *Jo. Frischmuth*, 1665; *Carpzov*, critica sacra, P. i. c. 4, and the works referred to there); although they brought themselves into an awkward position with reference to the book of Daniel, by ascribing a lower degree in inspiration to the Hagiographa (comp. *Frischmuth*, *l.c.* c. 2, and *Meyer* on the Seder

Olam Rabba, p. 984 sq.). The most of the older theologians ignored the truth in this rabbinical distinction, and rejected it: only *Herm. Witsius* took it under his protection, because he defined more correctly the difference between "the prophets" and "the writings," with special reference to the book of Daniel, by the distinction between the prophetic gift and the prophetic office: "Distingui in prophetis *donum*, quod et privatis contigit, et in revelatione rerum arcanarum consistit; et *munus*, quod extraordinaria in ecclesia functio erat certarum quarundam personarum speciali vocatione divina eo destinatarum" (Miscellan. sacr. i. p. 15). So also *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. pp. 28–9 (comp. also my apolog. Versuch, p. 73 ff.); whereas *Häv.*, p. 55 ff., distinguished between נְבִיאִים, *prophets*, and רֹאִים or חֹזִים, mere *seers*. Yet however well-founded the distinction is between those who did and those who did not hold the prophetic office, still one defect clings to it: it designates the distinction between the prophetical writings and the Hagiographa merely according to the position of the *authors* in the theocracy; and it does not take in at the same time a view of the subjective character of the *writings*, although it is only by this means that the principle of the threefold division in the Old Testament Canon is thoroughly perceived and rightly valued. *Oehler*, Prolegomena zur Theologie des Alten Test., Stuttgart 1845, pp. 92–3, gives some short hints of solid value on this subject.

These testimonies and facts, then, prove that the tradition of the Jewish Synagogue and the Christian Church is well-founded, which tells of Ezra the zealous and skilful scribe collecting and editing the Canon of the Old Testament. On the contrary, there is no justification, either from history or from internal reasons, of the hypothesis set up by the more recent critics, that the collection of the Old Testament came into existence at successive periods, and as it were of itself (7).

(7) The way was prepared for this hypothesis by *Spinoza*, *Hobbes*, *Clericus* (comp. *Häv.* p. 67 ff.), and *Corrodi*, Versuch einer Beleuchtung des jüd. u. christl. Bibelkanons, 1 Bändchen, Halle 1792. It was spun out at greater length by *Bertholdt*, Einl. i. p. 70 ff.; *De Wette*, Einl. § 13 ff.; *Bleek*, in the Berliner theol. Zeitschrift, iii. p. 190 ff.; *C. v. Lengerke*, Daniel, p. viii. ff.; *Hitzig*, die Psalmen, ii. p. 145 ff.; and *Herzfeld*, Geschichte, iii. pp. 48 ff., 92 ff.: and it has been pushed to the utmost by *Movers*, Loci quidam, etc., who arbitrarily distorts the testimony of *Josephus*, c. Apion, i. 8, which has

been already adduced at § 154, Note 2, till he goes so far as to maintain that the close of the Kethubim did not take place till the second or third century after Christ. [See the quotations from *Bleek* in the additions to § 154, Note 5, where this subject is partly discussed. And again *Bleek*, pp. 685–6, rejects the opinion of *Bertholdt* and *De Wette*, "that only after the second principal division of our collection," namely our canonical books, "had been closed and united with the Pentateuch, did people advance, and that, too, at a pretty late period, to put their hand to the formation of the third division of the Canon. By adopting this opinion, we should be paying no regard to the account in 2 Macc. ii. 13, which has every appearance of being true, that a collection of the prophetical writings and of the Psalms was prepared by Nehemiah. If our view of the meaning and credibility of this passage is well-founded, there can be no doubt that afterwards the Psalms were united to the Pentateuch at the same time as the prophetical writings in this collection of Nehemiah's. And it is in itself thoroughly unlikely that, when people once began to place other writings, historical and prophetical, side by side with the books of the Mosaic law, and to unite them with it into one whole, they should not at the same time have adopted into this collection the religious poems of David and other singers of antiquity; since we have sure traces of these being applied to public use in the liturgical divine service, and this even at a period earlier than the exile.] This hypothesis has been refuted by *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. pp. 24 ff., 237 ff.; by *Häv.* Einl. i. § 12, and neue krit. Untersuchungen über d. Buch Daniel, p. 19 ff.; and by *Oehler*, in *Tholuck*, litt. Anzeiger 1842, No. 49, and in his article Kanon, *ibid.*—On the contrary, *V. E. Löscher* (de causis ling. Ebr. p. 71) comprises in the following words the Old Protestant view of the origination of the Old Testament Canon: "Extitisse a Mosis usque ætate libros Canonicos, interna luce ac dignitate suo a primo ortu pro divinis habitos, qui in priori templo in ipsa fœderis arca recondi solebant (? comp. § 153). His alii, ex quo scripti publiceque lecti et pro divinis agniti sunt, paulatim accessere, non Esræ judicio, aut Synagogæ, concilii vel Synedrii pactis decretisve, sed universali Ecclesiæ totius agnitione et usu; donec Malachiæ libro Canon clauderetur (?). Deficiebant enim eo tempore Prophetæ, deficiebat linguæ sanctæ usurpatio, in cujus locum Targumica, Græca, et Rabbinica inter Judæos surrogatæ sunt. Hinc Ecclesia Judaica antiquior nullum librorum postea scriptorum pro divino et ad קדש pertinente agnovit, ipseque adeo Canon non uno quod dicunt actu ab hominibus, sed paulatim a Deo, animorum temporumque rectore, productus est."

§ 156. *Names, Divisions, and Enumerations of the Scriptures of the Old Testament.*

I. The closing of the Canon did not immediately procure one unvarying appellation for the Old Testament (1): but people were contented for a pretty long time to designate it by its three divisions, as ὁ *νόμος*, οἱ *προφῆται*, *καὶ τὰ ἄλλα*, in the Prologue to Jesus Sirach; or, ὁ *νόμος*, οἱ *προφῆται*, *καὶ οἱ ψαλμοί*, in Luke xxiv. 44 (2); or by transferring to the whole collection the names, "The Law," "The Book of the Law," since the law formed the foundation of the Old Testament (3). In the time of Christ frequent use was made also of the names *αἱ γραφαί* (Matt. xxii. 29; Acts xviii. 24), *γραφαὶ ἅγιαι* (Rom. i. 2), *ἱερὰ γράμματα* (2 Tim. iii. 15), that is, כְּתָבֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ, and *ἡ γραφή* (John xix. 36; 2 Pet. i. 20), that is, הַכְּתוּב or כְּתָב, in Chaldee כְּתָבָא (4). The Rabbins name it, either *the four and twenty books*, or הַמִּקְרָא, *the reading*, from Neh. viii. 8 [answering to the Arabic title for the Mohammedan sacred volume Al-koran, as *Bleek* notices, p. 30, Note; though he says the word is used in Nehemiah in the sense "the reading," not for the collection of books read, as *Jahn* and others have supposed]; and the later Rabbins name it בֵּית מִקְדָּשׁ, *the house of the sanctuary*, and מִקְדָּשְׁיָה, *the sanctuary of the Lord* (5). The name which has come to be usual in the Christian Church, *the Old Testament*, has flowed from the Vulgate [according to *Bleek*, originally from the Itala or old Latin version], which has translated *ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη*, 2 Cor. iii. 14, "vetus testamentum" instead of "vetus fœdus;" the word which designates the Israelite religious constitution having been transferred to its written documents (6). Finally, the appellation *τὰ βιβλία* (that is, *θεῖα*), *τὸ βιβλίον*, *ἡ βίβλος*, *the Bible*, is used by Chrysostom partly for the Old Testament alone, partly for all the Holy Scriptures both of the Old and of the New Testament; and through him it came into current use (7).

(1) Comp. *Christ. Ben. Michaelis*, dissert., qua nomina, numerus, divisio, et ordo librorum ss. Vet. Test. ristuntur, Halæ 1743; *Hottinger*, thes. phil. p. 88 sqq.; and *Carpzov*, Introd. i. p. 2.

(2) Corresponding to the words in the Talmud, תּוֹרָה, נְבִיאִים, and כְּתוּבִים; the last are styled by the Greeks *γραφεῖα* or *ἁγιόγραφα*: *Epiphanius*, hæres. xxix. 7, Opp. i. 122, ed. *Petavii*, de ponderib.

et mensur. c. 4, Opp. ii. 162. Comp. *Suicer*, thesaur. eccles. sub his vocc.

(3) Comp. John x. 34, xii. 34, xv. 25, 1 Cor. xiv. 21; and *Sanhedrin*, fol. 92. 1, in *Wähner*, Antiqq. Ebr. i. § 6.

(4) As is clear also from the writings of *Josephus* and *Philo*. Comp. *Eichhorn*, Repertor. v. pp. 241 and 260–1, and Einl. i. pp. 126 ff. and 151 ff. [*Bleek*, p. 29, makes a similar remark.]

(5) Comp. *Hottinger* and *Carpzov*, as quoted already [in Note 1].

(6) [*Bleek*, p. 31, traces the progress of the terminology, starting from the use of the expressions "New Covenant," and in opposition to an old one, in Jer. xxxi. 31; and "tables of the Covenant," in Deut. ix. 9; and "book of the Covenant," in Ex. xxiv. 7, 2 Kings xxiii. 21, also in 1 Macc. i. 57, Ecclus. xxiv. 23: and hence the usual abbreviated expressions in the Greek Church, ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη and ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη, meaning the writings of the Old and of the New Covenants, and this in the wide sense of the whole canonical books.] This designation was already quite common in the time of *Tertullian* [at the end of the second century]: although he also uses for it "vetus instrumentum," adv. Marc. iv. 1, [saying of Marcion, "duos deos dividens, alterum alterius Instrumenti, *vel quod magis usui est dicere*, Testamenti," *Bleek*, p. 31, who also notices "novum et vetus instrumentum" in *Rufinus*, expos. symb. apost.]; as does also *Augustine* (de Civit. Dei, xx. 4). Comp. *Rosenmüller*, de vocabuli διαθήκη in libris Nov. Test. vario usu, Erlangæ 1778, 4to (to be found also in the Commentatt. theol. by *Kuinœl*, *Ruperti*, and *Velthusen*, vol. ii.); and *Stange*, theol. Symmicta, ii. p. 221 ff.

(7) *Chrysostom*, in *Suicer*, thesaur. eccles. p. 696; for which *Jerome* and *Isidore* (Origines, iv. 5) use "bibliotheca sancta." [*Bleek*, p. 29, says: "The oldest of these names for the sacred writings of the Jewish people, taken as a whole, is found in Dan. ix. 2, הַסְּפָרִים, the *Writings* or *Scriptures*, in the Septuagint *αἱ βίβλοι*. For undoubtedly the expression stands there for the whole collection of the sacred writings, so far as they were then extant and united" (see, however, § 153, Note 10). "The later Jews also kept up this designation, in the Chaldee form סִפְרִין. The Greek translation of this is *αἱ βίβλοι*, more frequently *τὰ βιβλία*; and from the prologue to Jesus Sirach, we see that this latter word, in the sense of the Jewish sacred writings, must have been common among the Alexandrian Jews so early as the second century." Again, p. 30, he says that Chrysostom's appellation spread in the Latin Church in the form *Biblia*, a neuter plural, though in the Latin of the middle ages it occurs as a feminine singular; from which latter form our modern word *Bible* has proceeded.]

II. Contemporaneous with the collection was the origin of the *division* into *the Law*, the *Prophets*, and *the* (other holy) *Writings*, which the Hebrew Bibles have held fast without any change (8); whereas in the Alexandrian version the books have been classified, according to their contents, into historical, prophetical, and poetical books (9).

(8) Comp. § 155, Notes 5 and 6. Kethubim, or Writings, seems only at a later time to have become the standing designation of the third class; since Jesus Sirach and the New Testament do not yet know it. [*Bleek*, p. 34, takes the same view, which explains the use of three different circumlocutions in that prologue to Jesus Sirach, all of them certainly intended to describe this third class. He continues: "Yet people certainly became gradually accustomed to designate this last division 'the Writings,' that is, the other writings, or the other holy writings, for want of another more suitable appellation. Thus we find this appellation expressly given already in the Talmud, Tract. Baba bathra, fol. 13, 14. Its literal translation is the Greek τὰ γραφεῖα," etc., subjoining the statement from *Epiphanius* already referred to in Note 2.]

(9) [*Bleek*, pp. 34–5, quite coincides with the view of *Keil*, that the Hebrew arrangement is contemporaneous with the closing of the Canon, and that the Septuagint has given a classification made at a more recent time: with this exception, however, that he thinks it has restored the books of Ruth and Lamentations to the places in which they stood, just after Judges and Jeremiah respectively, in the Hebrew manuscripts also, till some time after the second century of the Christian era: as to which opinion of his, see § 137, Note 4, additions, and § 216, Note 11. In making these changes, and also in making Daniel the fourth of the greater prophets, he observes that all the manuscripts of the Septuagint agree, in spite of many minor variations in the order of the individual books.] From the translation of the Septuagint, through the Vulgate, this division passed over into Luther's translation of the Bible [and into the others of modern Europe]. *Josephus*, c. Apion, i. 8, divides the books quite peculiarly, according to a notion of his own, and not following manuscripts (as *Storr*, in *Paulus*, neues Repertor. ii. p. 226 ff., supposed; against which comp. *Eichhorn*, Einleit. i. § 8, p. 51), as follows:—*Five* books of Moses: *thirteen* prophets—namely, 1st, Joshua; 2d, Judges and Ruth; 3d, the two books of Samuel; 4th, the two of Kings; 5th, the two of Chronicles; 6th, Ezra and Nehemiah; 7th, Esther; 8th, Isaiah; 9th, Jeremiah and Lamentations; 10th, Ezekiel; 11th, Daniel; 12th, the

twelve Minor Prophets; 13th, Job: and *four* books of lyrical and moral contents (*αἱ ὕμνους εἰς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήκας τοῦ βίου περιέχουσιν*); namely, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles,—these last three being the writings of Solomon. [*Bleek*, p. 680, reckons this scheme for arranging the *individual* books, which Josephus does not particularize, "in the highest degree probable." It is easy to see how the talmudical arrangement into 24 books, mentioned by *Keil* near the beginning of this section, differs from that of *Josephus*, which reckons 22, merely by assigning independent places to the little books of Ruth and Lamentations, whose varied fortunes in respect of position have been already mentioned in the additions to this note: so *Bleek* reckons, p. 681, thinking that they took up their present position in the Hebrew Bible on account of the use made of them for reading at certain feasts, and probably at the time when the Jews fixed their Haphtaroth, as to which comp. § 168, especially Note 14.]

The *Prophets* are divided into the *former prophets*, נְבִיאִים רִאשׁוֹנִים (the *prophetico-historical* books, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings), and the *later prophets*, נְבִיאִים אַחֲרוֹנִים (the strictly prophetical or predictive books). These latter, again, are divided into the *greater prophets* (Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel) and the *minor prophets* (*βίβλος τῶν δώδεκα προφητῶν, τὸ δωδεκαπρόφητον*). To the *Kethubim*, or *Hagiographa*, belong the poetical books, [distinguished by the poetical accents (see § 169), and named from their initial letters, according to a Jewish practice, of which see an example in § 154, Note 6,] אמת, that is, Job, Proverbs, and Psalms; the five *Megilloth* [or rolls], namely, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther; and Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah, and Chronicles (10).

With regard to the arrangement and sequence of the individual books, not only have the Septuagint, the Fathers, and Luther deviated from the Jews; but also among the Jews themselves there are variations, again, as between the Talmudists and the Rabbins, and between the German and the Spanish manuscripts (11).

(10) Comp. Baba bathra, fol. 14, 2; *Hottinger*, thes. philol. p. 458 sq.; *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 2 sq.; *Wähner*, Antiqq. Ebr. i. 10. Following the arrangement of the Septuagint, the Christians have reckoned Daniel among the prophets (comp. *Stange* in *Keil's* u. *Tzschirner's* Analekt. i. p. 28 ff.), and have enumerated Canticles and Ecclesiastes among the poetical books.

(11) In Baba bathra, *l.c.*, the following is the enumeration of the books which come after the five books of Moses:—"Ordo prophetarum: Josua et Judices, Samuel et Reges, Jeremias, Ezechiel, Jesaja, et Duodecim Prophetæ. Ordo Hagiographorum: Ruth, Psalmi, et Hiob, Proverbia, Koheleth, Canticum, Threni, Daniel, Esther, Esdras [including Nehemiah], et Chronica." On the other hand, the Masoretes have placed Isaiah before Jeremiah and Ezekiel; and so the Spanish codices have done, whereas the German and French ones mostly follow the talmudical arrangement. *Kimchi*, in his preface to Jeremiah, gives this as the reason of the talmudical arrangement: "Cum libri Regum finiantur in desolatione, et Jeremias totus versetur in desolatione, Ezechiel vero incipiat in consolatione et finiat in consolatione, et Jesajas totus versetur in consolatione, copulaverunt desolationem cum desolatione et consolationem cum consolatione." [*Bleek*, p. 36, thinks it very probable that this was the original arrangement of these books, and that afterwards chronological considerations secured the first place for Isaiah. A very obvious conjecture would be, that works by the same author (Solomon and Jeremiah; see § 58, Note 2) were placed together, as Ezra's already were.]—According to the Masoretes, and in the German manuscripts, the sequence of the books in the Hagiographa is as follows: Psalms; Proverbs; Job; the five Megilloth, namely, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther; then Daniel, Ezra with Nehemiah, Chronicles. [*Bleek*, however, p. 36, says that the Masora begins this division with Chronicles, and so do the Spanish manuscripts. And he is right: for their order is—first, Chronicles; second, Psalms; third, Job; fourth, Proverbs. See *Delitzsch* on Job, p. 8. *Bleek* considers it extremely probable that in the time of our Lord the Chronicles were placed at the end of the Old Testament, on account of Matt. xxiii. 35, Luke xi. 51, alluding to the history in Genesis and that in Chronicles as the first and the last in the Scriptures.]—The *five Megilloth* "libelli festivales sunt, qui annuatim statis festisque diebus post Parascham [see § 168, III., and Notes 12 and 13] publice in Synagogis prælegi consueverunt: *Canticum* festo Paschatis; *Ruth* festo Hepdomadum; *Threni* die nono mensis אב Julii, quo utrumque concrematum traditur templum; *Ecclesiastes* mense Septembri, in festo Tabernaculorum; et *Esther* festo Purim, die quatuordecimo quindecimo Februarii." *Carpzov*, Crit. sacr. i. 4, § 2, p. 134. [So *Delitzsch*, Job, p. 8, giving some things more particularly: *Canticles*, on the 8th day of the Passover; *Ruth*, on the 2d of Weeks; Lamentations, on the 9th of Ab; *Ecclesiastes*, on the 3d of Tabernacles; *Esther*, at Purim.]—From Luke xxiv. 44 and Matt. xxiii. 35, it

seems to follow that the Psalms occupied the first place in the Hagiographa, and the books of Chronicles the last; that is, if the Hagiographa received the name ψαλμοί from Luke on account of the first place being assigned to the Psalms, and not perhaps from their poetical character, which is the supposition of *Häv.* i. 1, p. 88. In general, comp. *Elias Levita,* præf. iii. ad Masor. Hammas., in *Hottinger,* thesaur. phil. p. 458 sq.; *Wolf,* biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 47 sqq.; and the tabular views which he extracts from *Humphr. Hody,* de text. original. Bibl., showing the various arrangements of the books of the Bible in the Fathers, in manuscripts, and in editions of the Bible.

III. Also there are variations in the *numbering* of the books. The Talmud reckons *twenty-four* books (comp. Note 11), in accordance with the original division and arrangement. That customary enumeration of *twenty-two* books, in Josephus (comp. Note 9), and among the Hellenistic Jews and the ancient Christian Church (comp. § 216), is of Alexandrian origin, and has been formed artificially to correspond with the latters of the alphabet; the book of Ruth having been thrown in along with Judges, and the Lamentations along with the prophecies of Jeremiah, in accordance with the arrangement of the Septuagint.—But if we reckon apart the individual minor prophets, the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and also count the three books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, each as two, according to the division introduced by the Alexandrian version, then we have *thirty-nine* books (12).

(12) [See the additions to Note 9. Much the same statements as these of *Keil* are made by *Bleek,* pp. 36–7, who names among the early Christian authorities for reckoning *twenty-two* books, *Origen* in *Eusebius,* Hist. Eccl. vi. 25; the Council of Laodicea, Canon 60; *Epiphanius,* de mens. et ponder. c. 22, 23, Hæres. 6; and *Hilary,* prolog. in Psalm. explanat. Only he adds: "And this is also to be regarded as the older Jewish way of numbering them, following the number of the letters in the Hebrew alphabet, ו and ו being considered one and the same letter. Already *Jerome,* prolog. galeat., brings forward both ways of numbering, yet speaks of that in twenty-two books as the usual one."] The number *twenty-seven* in *Epiphanius,* de ponder. et mensur. c. 22, 23, Opp. ii. 180, ed. *Petav.,* is brought out thus: Ruth is separated from Judges, and Nehemiah from Ezra; and then each of the three books, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, is reckoned as two.

SECOND PART.

HISTORY OF THE TRANSMISSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 157. *General Survey.*

THE Codex of the Old Testament which the collector prepared has certainly not come down to us in its original form: and yet it has come to us essentially uninjured. The Jewish Synagogue and the Christian Church have not been content with guarding it from destruction, as if it were a lifeless treasure; they have also preserved it conscientiously, and transmitted it from generation to generation, by continually occupying themselves spiritually with its contents. This faithful transmission was *made possible* by zealous traditional propagation of Hebrew philology in learned schools; *the means by which it was secured* were, partly the multiplication of the manuscripts of the original Hebrew Codex in faithful copies, and partly translations of the original text into other languages, these again being preserved and diffused; and *the object was actually attained*, not only by critical labours at the text, with the intention of preserving and transmitting it unadulterated, but also by the authority and respect which it enjoyed, and the continual use to which it was turned in the Synagogue and the Christian Church, as the Canon of the revelation which preceded that of Christian times.

FIRST SECTION.

PRESERVATION AND CULTIVATION OF HEBREW PHILOLOGY.

§ 158. *The Transmission among the Jews of the Hebrew as a Dead Language.*

Towards the end of the exile the Hebrew language became supplanted by the Chaldee, and ceased to be the language of the people (comp. § 18): the knowledge of it was then propagated by the Jewish

scribes in learned schools. These schools existed before the time of Christ, and during it, at Jerusalem; and after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, they flourished in the cities of Jabneh (Jamnia), Cæsarea, Lydda, and Ziphoria, but especially at Tiberias; and from the end of the second century, in Babylonia, at Nahardea, Sora, and Pum-Baditha, on the Euphrates; till, in consequence of the persecutions of the Mohammedans, they fell into decay towards the end of the eighth century, and in the tenth they perished entirely. From that time rabbinical learning emigrated to the west, and remained for several centuries in a most flourishing condition on the north coast of Africa; in Spain, at the celebrated schools of Granada, Toledo, and Barcelona; and partly also in France. This lasted till it was driven out of Spain in the fifteenth century, when it found a new soil in Germany, where it became naturalized among the Christians in the sixteenth century, in connection with the Reformation (1).

(1) [After speaking of the Alexandrian Jews, *Bleek* says, p. 99 f.: "It was otherwise with the so-called *Hebrew* Jews. The close affinity which subsisted between the ancient Hebrew and their popular language at the time, the Aramaic, made it very easy for them to retain possession of a certain knowledge of the former, particularly so as to occupy themselves with the Holy Scriptures, the study of which from the original text went on continually here, that is, in Palestine, as well as in Babylonia. The more erudite study of Holy Scripture was prosecuted in these countries from the days of Ezra, not only by individual scribes, but also in formal schools and academies which were established here. The chief seat of these at first was principally at Jerusalem; then, after the destruction of this city by the Romans, in other cities of Palestine, especially at Tiberias. Among the teachers at Tiberias, Rabbi Judah the Holy obtained a remarkable reputation in the latter half of the second century. After his death, the seat of this scriptural erudition was more transplanted to Babylonia; where, with reference to this, the schools at certain cities on the Euphrates, Sora, Pumpeditha, and Nahardea, attained pre-eminently to high esteem. Still, along with these, the Palestinian schools subsisted uninterruptedly, especially the school at Tiberias; where, about the middle of the fourth century, the Rabbi Hillel han-Nasi (or, the Prince) acquired a remarkable name, especially as a chronologer. . . . The language of which the learned men in these schools made use was the Chaldee; yet partly they used the Hebrew too, because they endeavoured to

make an artificial copy of it. At a later time, when the Mohammedans extended their dominion over these regions, the Aramaic, which had hitherto been the language of the country, came to be supplanted by the Arabic; and from that time, at least from the tenth century, the Jews themselves began partially to use this language for their works. Till that time also the learned Jewish schools were kept up in these places; those at Sora and Tiberias for the longest time." After mentioning the removal of the seats of Jewish learning to Africa, Spain, etc., he continues: "The Spanish and African Jews likewise made use of the Arabic language in their writings for a considerable time, since it was then the language most commonly in use among the Moors, who ruled over these countries. But when Jewish learning came to remove more into France and Germany, where the Arabic did not prevail, the Rabbins began again to apply the Hebrew language to the purposes of composition, so far as this could be done. They endeavoured to imitate the biblical Hebrew style, although they could do so only imperfectly. Particularly with respect to grammar, there was a large intermingling of Chaldee; and so also with respect to the use of words, in which department in general it may be said that they attached many new meanings to the old Hebrew words, so as to express ideas for which the Hebrew of the Old Testament furnishes no expressions; whilst in part they also adopted a good deal from the modern languages. This is the origin of the new Hebrew or rabbinical dialect, of which the learned Jews have made use since the twelfth century, first in France, and then in other European countries, in Spain among the rest." In a note he adds, "This rabbinical language has been treated *lexically* by *Buxtorf* in his chald.-talm.-rabbinical Lexicon (1640)," of whom more will be said at § 161, Note 2, "and by *M. J. Landau* (Rabbin.-aram.-deutsches Wörterbuch, Prag 1819–20, 5 vols. large 8vo); and *grammatically* by *Opitz* (in his Chaldee Grammar, Kiel 1696, 4to), and apart by *Chr. Cellarius* (Rabbinismus, 1684, reprinted in *Reland*, Analecta Rabb., 1702) and *Joh. Andr. Danz* (Rabbinismus enucleatus, latest ed., Frankfurt am Main 1765).] Comp. *Val. E. Löscher*, de causis linguæ Ebr. libri iii., Francofurti 1706, lib. i. c. 7, 8; *Gesenius*, Geschichte d. hebr. Sprache, Abschnitt ii.; *Hupfeld*, ausf. hebr. Grammat. i. 1, § 6; *Fr. Delitzsch*, Jesurun, lib. i.; *Renan*, hist. géner. des langues Sémit. i. p. 147 sqq. — About the schools of learning, see *Buxtorf*, Tiberias [*Bleek*, p. 99, says, published at Basel in 1620, and a new edition in 1665, at the same place, under the care of his grandson, *Joh. Jac. Buxtorf*], c. v.–vii.; *Alting*, histor. academiarum Jud., in his works, vol. v. p. 240 sqq.; *Wolf*, biblioth.

Hebr. ii. p. 914 sqq.; and *Jul. Fürst*, Kultur u. Literaturgeschichte der Juden in Asien, Th. i., Leipzig 1849.

To these learned schools we are indebted for the preservation of the Old Testament, and for the transmission of Hebrew philological learning; especially to the school at Tiberias, which enjoyed the reputation of having the purest tradition (2).—Their activity took different shapes at different periods; and into four of these periods it may be divided:—I. The period of the *more ancient Sopherim* [*scribes*] (סוֹפְרִים רִאשׁוֹנִים), from the close of the Canon to the ruin of the Jewish commonwealth. They settled fixedly the external and internal form of the sacred text (מִקְרָא), the correct writing and reading, the arrangement of the books and their sections, the numbering of the verses, words, and letters, etc.; and they took means to ensure that the people understood the Scriptures, by having paraphrases in the Chaldee, which was the popular dialect. II. The period of the *Talmudists*, from the second to the sixth century of the Christian era: they elucidated the juridical and ritual contents of the Scriptures, collected the oral commandments of the Pharisees about the law, and set these down in a written form in [the Talmud, consisting of] the *Mishna* and the Jerusalem and the Babylonian *Gemara*. III. The period of the *Masoretes*, from the sixth to the ninth centuries: they brought the task of constructing the Textus Receptus to a close, by attaching the vowel points and the accents, by collecting the various readings, and by noting down in the Masora the traditional critical materials. IV. The period of the *Grammarians* and *Expositors*, from the ninth to the sixteenth century. Following the example of the Arabians, they endeavoured to lay a scientific foundation for Hebrew philology, and for understanding the text of the Bible, by means of various labours in grammar and lexicography, including the comparison of the Aramaic and Arabic dialects (3).

(2) Comp. *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, c. v.

(3) These periods are already distinguished by *Aben Ezra*, in the preface to his book *Mosnaim* (see the passage in *Buxtorf*, de punctorum vocal. antiq., etc., p. 13 sqq.): only that he separates between the doctors of the Mishna and the Talmudists or Gemarists; and, on the other hand, he comprises the Masoretes and the Grammarians in one period, though he places them in two classes.

§ 159. *The Philological Cultivation of the Hebrew Language among the Jews.*

During the first three of the periods just named, the knowledge of the Hebrew language was propagated mostly by tradition from generation to generation. The scientific treatment of it first began in the fourth period, with *R. Saadia Gaon*, of Fijum in Egypt, rector of the school at Sora, A.D. 942, the first person who is celebrated for cultivating grammatical subjects. Still older perhaps is *R. Juda ben Qarish*, of Tahart in Mauritania; and not much younger is *R. Menahem ben Saruq*, of Spain, about A.D. 950. More famous is *R. Juda*, surnamed *Chajug*, of Fez, about A.D. 1000, called by the Jews ראש המדקדקים, "the prince of grammarians." Yet he has been surpassed by *R. Jona*, or *Abulwalid Merwan ibn Gannach*, a physician at Cordova, [who died] about A.D. 1121; by *R. Solomon ben Isaac* [called, according to the Jewish practice of combining the initials into a word, *Rashi*, or more commonly, with the German spelling], *Raschi*, of Troyes, who died in 1105; by *David Kimchi* [or *Qimchi*], about 1230, and his opponent *R. ben Mose*, commonly called *Ephodæus* after his work מעשה אפוד; by *Aben* [more correctly written, according to the Arabic], (*Ibn*) *Ezra*, who died in 1167 at Toledo; and by *Elias Levita*, from the Baireuth district [*Bleek*, p. 105, says, according to others, born indeed of German parents, yet actually at Venice, where he died], who died 1549, having been the teacher of the learned Christians *Fagius* and *Sebastian Münster* (1).

(1) *Aben Ezra*, in the preface to his Mosnaim, gives a catalogue of the most ancient grammarians and lexicographers: it is printed in the original, with a German translation, in *Leopold Dukes*, literaturhistor. Mittheilungen üb. die ältesten hebr. Exegeten, Grammatiker, u. Lexicographen, in the second volume of the Beiträge zur Gesch. der ältesten Auslegung u. Schrifterklärung des Alten Test. by *H. Ewald* and *L. Dukes*, Stuttgart 1844, pp. 2, 3. Resting on this foundation, *R. Rapoport*, in his preface to *Salom. ben Abrahami Parchon*, Lexicon Hebr., ed. *Sal. Gotll. Stern*, Pressburg 1844, arranges them as follows:—

A.D.	EASTERNS.	WESTERNS.
900.	R. Zemach ben Chajim Gaon (Bab.).	R. Juda ben Qarish (Afr.).
935.	R. Saadia Gaon (Bab.) [died in 942, says *Bleek*].	R. Schabbathai Gonolo.

A.D.	EASTERNS.	WESTERNS.
950.		R. Menahem ben Saruq (Hisp.).
968.	Gramm. Anonym. Hieros. (in catal. Ebn Ezræ).	
960.	R. Adonim ben Tamim.	
1000.	R. Hai Gaon.	R. Jehuda Chajug (Afr.) [or Chiug; about 1040, says *Bleek*].
1020.		R. Jona ben Gannach, or Abulwalid Merwan (Hisp.).
1030.		R. Schemuel han-Nagid (Hisp.).
1040.		R. Schelomo ben Gabirol.

More complete catalogues of Hebrew grammarians may be seen in *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 595 sqq., iv. p. 270. [Some additional matter is also given in *Bleek*, pp. 104–5. In p. 103, note, he describes the above-named work of *Ewald* and *Dukes*, as in three small octavo volumes bound in one: "I. By *Ewald*. On Arabic works of learned Jews; with a treatise on the present condition of Old Testament science. II. By *Dukes*, a learned Jew of Hungary, at that time in Tübingen. Communications in literary history, concerning the most ancient Hebrew expositors, grammarians, and lexicographers; with supplements in Hebrew. III. By *Dukes*. This contains the grammatical works of R. Jehuda Chajjug of Fez. There is a review of this work, by *Hupfeld*, in the Hall. Allg. Lit. Zeitung, 1848, Sept., No. 199 ff."] The most of them write in Arabic, and their works for the most part remain still unprinted. More precise information regarding them may be found in *Gesenius*, Gesch. d. hebr. Sprache, § 29; in *Ewald*, Beitrr. u. Mittheill. i. p. 116 f.; by *L. Dukes*, in the literaturhist. Mittheill. mit hebr. Beilagen; and in *Hupfeld*, de rei grammaticæ apud Judæos initiis antiquissimisque scriptoribus, Halæ 1846 (Progr.). The writings of *R. Chajug* have been published by *Dukes* in the third volume of the work already named; and the grammar of *R. Jona ben Gannach*, according to the Hebrew translation of *Jehuda b. Tabbon*, under the title of ספר הרקמה, by *B. Goldberg*, with notes and additions by *S. Baer* and *S. D. Luzzato*, at Frankfurt am Main 1856.

The most of these grammarians have also furnished us with the products of their labours at lexicography. In the beginning these consisted in merely placing together certain selected difficult words, and explaining them from the Talmud or the Arabic and Chaldee languages. The first complete collections and explanations of all roots were furnished by *Menahem b. Saruq* and *Salomo Parchon*

[about A.D. 1160, says *Bleek*, p. 106]; which, however, were quite thrown into the shade by *David Kimchi's* Book of Roots (2). And several of the persons named have acquired merit in explaining the Old Testament by their commentaries at considerable length on Scripture (3).

(2) A beginning in lexicography was made by *Saadia* in his Hebrew work, "Explanation of ninety [*Bleek*, p. 106, gives the number as seventy] ἅπαξ λεγόμενα in the Old Testament,"—the explanation being from the Talmudic idiom; published by *L. Dukes* in the Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, v. p. 115 [Band v. Heft 1, p. 115 ff., says *Bleek*, p. 106], and once more in the literaturhist. Mittheill. p. 110 ff., comp. p. 39 f.—Beginnings in comparative philology are contained in the ספר היחש of *Juda ben Qarish*, a Lexilogus tripartitus in alphabetical order, with grammatical prolegomena, which has been edited with a translation by *Schnurrer* in *Eichhorn*, Repertorium, iii. p. 951 ff. Extracts from the Lexilogus are furnished by *Ewald* in the Beitrr. u. Mittheill. i. p. 118 ff. The lexicon written in Hebrew by *Menahem b. Saruq*, with the title מחכרת, was long known only from extracts in *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. iii. p. 692, and in *Dukes'* literaturhist. Mittheill. pp. 125–148; lately, however, it has been published with an introduction written in Hebrew, and critical and explanatory remarks, by *Herschell Filipowski*, London and Edinburgh 1854, along with the controversial writings to which it gave occasion, by *Donash ben Librat* and *R. Jacob Tam*, *ibid.* 1855. Comp. Zeitschrift d. deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft, x. pp. 771–2.—More famous and better known are the ספר שרשים of *David Kimchi*, printed at Naples so early as 1490, and often reprinted; and the תשבי of *Elias Levita*, a copious explanation of 712 difficult words in the Bible and the Talmud, Basel 1529, with a Latin translation by *Fagius*, 1541, 4to.—Comp. *Wolf*, histor. lexicorum Hebr., Vitebergæ 1707, Biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 546 sqq.; *Gesenius*, Gesch. d. hebr. Sprache, § 30.

(3) For the rabbinical commentaries, comp. § 220, Note 8.

§ 160. *The Study of Hebrew among the Christians until the Reformation.*

Notwithstanding the great reverence of the Fathers for the Old Testament, the Hebrew language was so little known in Christian antiquity, that, excepting the authors of the Peshito translation, the

only persons who distinguished themselves, and became famous for it, were *Origen*, whose knowledge of Hebrew was moderate, and *Jerome*, whose knowledge was considerable for that period (1). In the middle ages, linguistic studies in general were at a low ebb; and the few who had a name for knowledge of Hebrew, such as *Raymundus Martini*, *Nicolaus de Lyra*, and *Paulus Burgensis*, were actually baptized Jews (2).—It was not till the fifteenth century that individual Christian theologians began to study this language. Such were the precursor of the Reformation, *Johann Wessel*, and [*Johannes*] *Pico*, Count of Mirandola [born in 1463, says *Bleek*, p. 116], who died in 1494; and the two Tübingen professors, *Wilh. Raymund* and *Conrad Sunnenhart*, whose pupil *Conrad Pellicanus* composed the first Hebrew grammar [by a Christian, and in Latin, says *Bleek*, p. 117], —an incomplete work (3). Properly, the foundation of the study of Hebrew among Christians, at least in Germany, was laid by *Johann Reuchlin*, who received instructions in Hebrew at a great expense from learned Jews [in Vienna and Rome, after having been a pupil of *Wessel's*, says *Bleek*, p. 117]: he opened up the path to the scientific cultivation of this language by his Rudimenta Hebraica, founded upon *Kimchi's* Michlol, and he awakened in every quarter a zeal for Hebrew literature (4).

(1) Comp. *Gesenius*, Gesch. d. hebr. Sprache, § 25–27; *Delitzsch*, Jesurun, p. 5 sqq.

(2) Comp. *Sixti Amamæ* Antibarb. bibl. p. 239 sqq.; *Gesenius*, Geschichte, § 31; and *Delitzsch*, Jesurun, p. 12 sqq. [*Bleek*, p. 115 f., says: "Their coming into contact polemically with the Jews and the Jewish theologians, the sects of whose schools of learning in the middle ages were chiefly in Western Europe, must have made the Christian theologians of that age in the West, more than in the Greek Church, from time to time feel the need for knowing the original languages of those sacred writings which both parties acknowledged as a common good. And thus, at the Council of Vienne in 1311, it was ordained by Pope Clement v., that Hebrew, and also Chaldee and Arabic, should be taught in all academies, so as to refute the Jews and the Turks. Yet this enactment seems not to have produced any great effect; nor could it, owing to the want of suitable teachers."] The famous work of the Spanish Dominican, *Raymundus Martini* (who died in 1284), Pugio fidei adv. Mauros et Judæos [*Bleek*, p. 115, says, first printed at Paris, 1612, folio, then] ed. *Carpzov* [Leipsig],

1687, fol., testifies to his extensive reading in rabbinical literature; comp. *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. i. p. 1016 sqq., and iii. p. 989 sqq.—*Nic. de Lyra*, a Franciscan at Paris, who died in 1341 [in 1340, according to *Bleek*], is celebrated for his Postilla perpetua in universa Biblia [*Bleek*, p. 116, says, in 85 books, composed from 1292 to 1330, first printed at Rome in 1471, 5 vols. folio, and often reprinted so late as in the seventeenth century]; comp. *Wolf*, iii. p. 836 sq. To this work additions were made by *Paulus Burgensis*, a converted Jew, about 1390; comp. *Wolf*, i. p. 963.

(3) [*Bleek*, p. 116, says *Wessel*, who was called "lux mundi" on account of his comprehensive learning, was born at Gröningen in 1419, and lived at Cologne, Louvaine, Paris, and especially Basel, as a teacher of philosophy: it is not known how he learned Hebrew, though we may conjecture that it was from Jewish teachers. And of *Pico* of Mirandola he says, that a learned Jew instructed him in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, and also in the Kabbala; and that he turned his knowledge to account in Arabic investigations, and in polemical writings against Jews and Mohammedans.] As to *W. Raymund* and *Conr. Sonnenhart*, comp. *Schnurrer*, biograph. u. liter. Nachrichten von ehemaligen Lehrern der hebr. Sprache in Tübingen, p. 2.—*Conr. Pellicanus* [of whom mention is made again in § 224, Note 11] wrote his grammatical work, de modo legendi et intelligendi Hebræa, Basileæ 1503 [4to, says *Bleek*, p. 117, who makes him a Franciscan, a teacher of theology at Basel, about twenty-six, when the book appeared], when a monk in Tübingen, at the age of twenty-two. Comp. *Schnurrer*, *ibid.*

(4) See in *Hirt's* orient. u. exeg. Biblioth. i. p. 31 ff., a precise description of the work of *Reuchlin* (who was born at Pforzheim in 1454, and died at Stuttgart in 1521 [though *Bleek*, p. 117, places both his birth and his death a year later]), de rudimentis Hebraicis, lib. iii., Pforzheim 1506, folio, containing both a grammar and a lexicon. [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, calls it large quarto, containing 620 pages; an improved edition of it by *Seb. Münster*, Basel 1537, folio. He describes it as consisting of three books: the two first forming the lexicon, which is confined almost wholly to the roots, giving only a few derivatives, and arranging the significations mostly as Kimchi had done; the third book containing the grammar, in which he likewise follows the Rabbins.]

§ 161. *The Study of Hebrew among the Christians from the Reformation down to the Present Time.*

[In the Church of Rome, *Bleek*, p. 118 f., notices the labours, 1st, of *Franc. Vatablus* (who is afterwards mentioned, § 225, Note 3), a Frenchman, appointed by Francis I. to be Professor of Hebrew at Paris in 1530, whose lectures exerted a great influence, and whose Annotationes in Vet. Test. were repeatedly printed, and who died in 1547. 2d, Of *Santes Pagninus*, a Dominican of Lucca, who died at Lyons in 1541: his translation of the Bible from the original was published at Lyons in 1527, with the permission of Pope Leo X., and it was much approved by Jews and Protestants; yet it is so slavishly literal that it is often unintelligible. "Besides, we possess, of his works upon Hebrew subjects, one on grammar, and a lexicon: (*a*) Institutionum Hebraicarum, libri iv., Lyons 1526, 4to, often reprinted; (*b*) Thesaurus linguæ sanctæ, Lyons 1529, folio, improved and corrected in a second edition by *Joh. Mercerus*, and two other learned men, Lyons 1575, 2 vols. folio. In both works he attaches himself almost exclusively to the Rabbins, whose works he has used with great diligence. The lexicon contains scarcely anything but extracts from *Kimchi* and other Rabbins. Then there were also many other theologians of the (Roman) Catholic Church in this and the following age, who endeavoured to promote the study of the Hebrew language, and who applied their knowledge of it to the exposition of the Old Testament." Of these, however, he names only *Maldonatus*, *à Lapide*, and *Calmet*, p. 120, who are also mentioned by *Keil* in § 225. He then passes to the Protestant Church, in which he says the study of Hebrew, and the application of the knowledge of it to the interpretation of the Old Testament, were much more widely diffused. To the Protestants *Keil* has confined himself, no doubt for this reason; at least he mentions *Santes Pagninus* only in passing, *infra*, Note 2.]

The study of Hebrew obtained a firm footing in the Christian Church, particularly in the Protestant Church, in consequence of the Reformation and its scriptural principle. We may distinguish three periods at which it was further improved and established on deeper foundations (1).

(1) [*Bleek*, p. 120, notices how much we are indebted in this

respect to both *Luther* and *Calvin*. The former "had already worked at Hebrew in Erfurt; and he continually carried the study of it forward at Wittenberg, where he received support from several persons, but especially from *Aurigallus*, the Professor of Hebrew, and from *Creuziger*."] Comp. *Löscher*, de causis ling. Ebr. i. c. 9; *Gesenius*, Geschichte, § 32 ff.; *Delitzsch*, Jesurun, p. 19 sqq.; *Hupfeld*, ausf. hebr. Gramm. i. p. 23 ff.—An alphabetical catalogue of Christian grammarians till 1730 is given by *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 600 sqq., iv. p. 272 sqq.; and there are additions in *Koecher*, nova biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 139 sqq. And see a catalogue of the lexicographers in *Wolf*, historia lexicorum Hebr., and biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 548 sqq.; and in *Koecher*, nova biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 129 sqq.

I. In the *first* period, 1550–1650, the study remained almost entirely dependent on the Rabbins: for its principal promoters, *Seb. Münster*, *Johannes Buxtorf*, *Mathias Wasmuth*, and *Salomo Glass*, merely collected, sifted, and wrought up into grammars and lexicons the materials which they had received (2). And, at the same time, the attempts of *Joh. Forster*, *Joh. Avenarius*, *Sam. Bohle*, and others, to penetrate the secret principles of the Hebrew language by means of itself, while slighting the rabbinical tradition, were successful indeed to this extent, that they made many correct observations in particular instances; but as a whole they were necessarily a failure, because firm and safe guiding principles were awanting (3).

(2) *Seb. Münster* [*Bleek*, p. 124, says, born at Ingelheim in 1489, a Franciscan monk till he became a Protestant; a pupil of Pellicanus, and himself Professor of Hebrew at Heidelberg, then at Basel] (who died in 1552 as Professor at Heidelberg, "Germanorum Esdras Straboque"), מְלֶאכֶת הַדִּקְדּוּק הַשָּׁלֵם, Opus grammaticum consummatum ex variis libris Elianis (Eliæ Levitæ) concinnatum, Basileæ 1544 [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, says, 1542, 8vo, and often reprinted; and he remarks that *Münster* habitually followed *Elias Levita*, whose grammatical works he translated into Latin, and published].—Lexicon Hebræo-chaldaicum, Basileæ 1523, 1525, and often: this was the first to give the derivatives fully.

Joh. Buxtorf, the father [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, says, born at Camen in Westphalia in 1564, Professor of Oriental Languages at Basel from 1591, died in 1629], Thesaurus grammaticus linguæ sanctæ, Basileæ 1609 [8vo, after there had been a shorter work in 1605, also 8vo, says *Bleek*, *ibid.*; adding that in both forms it was often reprinted],

and often.—Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum, Basileæ 1607, fol., and often; the eleventh edition, 1710, 8vo. [*Bleek, ibid.*, makes the first edition 8vo also; and mentions an earlier shorter one, 1602, 12mo, often reprinted.] Besides, Concordantiæ Bibliorum Hebraicæ, ed. *Joh. Buxtorf* filius, Basileæ 1632, fol. [*Bleek*, pp. 124–5, note, observes: "The first who composed a Hebrew concordance was a learned Jew, *R. Mardochai Nathan*, about the middle of the fifteenth century; it appeared at Venice 1523, fol., 1564, Basel 1581: further, *Marius de Calasio*, a Franciscan at Rome, where he was Professor of Hebrew, Rome 1621, 4 vols. fol., London 1647–49, 4 vols. fol. This is pretty much a translation of the former work: all the forms and derivatives stand under their several roots; whereas in *Buxtorf's* work the passages are given separately according to the order of the individual derivatives and forms.—The most recent work of this kind, wrought up from *Buxtorf's*, with additions and improvements, is by *Julius Fürst*, Librorum sacrorum Vet. Test. Concordantiæ Hebraicæ atque Chaldaicæ, etc., Leipzig, by Tauchnitz, 1840." *Bleek* also notices another work of *Joh. Buxtorf* the father, in like manner published by his son, his Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum, et Rabbinicum, Basileæ 1640, fol., already named in the additions to § 158, Note 1.]

Math. Wasmuth (Professor at Kiel, died 1688), Hebraismus facilitati et integritati suæ restitutus, Kilon. 1666, 4to; editio secunda ab *Henr. Opitio*, Lipsiæ 1695: it contains—1. Nova grammatica compendiosa; 2. Accentuationis Hebrææ institutio methodica; 3. Vindiciæ Sacræ Scripturæ Hebrææ.

Sal. Glass [*Bleek*, p. 127, says, born in the territory of Schwarzburg, Professor at Jena, afterwards General Superintendent at Gotha] (Professor in Jena, died at Gotha in 1656), Philologia sacra, Lipsiæ 1623, 4to. [*Bleek, ibid.*, says: "Yet it is only the later editions, from 1636 onwards, which come under consideration here: they contain five books, of which the third and fourth (not in the first edition) treat of biblical grammar."] Later editions, c. præf. *Buddei*, 1713, 1743. It was wrought up in a new form by *Dathe*, Lipsiæ 1776, 2 vols. 8vo.—Besides these, the work of *Wilh. Schickard* (Professor in Tübingen, died in 1635), Horologium Hebræum, 1623, 12mo, was greatly valued and much used on account of its shortness: it was more than thirty times reprinted.—In the [Roman] Catholic Church much distinction was awarded to *Santes Pagninus*, Institutionum Hebraicarum, libri iv., Lugduni 1526, 4to, Paris 1549, 1556 (presenting good extracts from *Abulwalid*, *Aben Ezra*, *Kimchi*, *Ephodæus*); and Thesaurus linguæ sanctæ, in quo Judæos speciatimque

Kimchium in Libro Radicum secutus est, Lugduni 1529, fol., and new editions by *Rob. Stephanus*, Parisiis 1548, 4to, by *Mercerus* and others, 1575, 1614, fol. [See at the beginning of this §, the addition from *Bleek*.] As for other grammarians and lexicographers, see *Wolf*, *Koecher*, *Gesenius*, ll. cc.

(3) *Joh. Forster* [written *Förster* by *Bleek*, p. 125] (a pupil of Reuchlin's, died in 1556 as Professor at Wittenberg), Dictionarium Hebr. novum, non ex Rabbinorum commentis, nec nostratium Doctorum stulta imitatione descriptum, sed ex ipsis thesauris ss. Bibliorum . . . depromptum, Basileæ 1557 [and 1564, says *Bleek*], fol. Comp. *Hirt*, orient. u. exeg. Biblioth. i. p. 45 ff., and *Alb. Schultens*, Origines Hebr. p. 291. [*Bleek*, p. 125, says: "He endeavoured to discover the meaning of the Hebrew words, partly by careful comparison and consideration of the various places in which the same word is found, partly by comparison of the different related words. In this method he proceeded on the supposition (which also verifies itself in a general way in numberless instances, and which in later times has repeatedly been taken up anew and pursued further) that words ought to be related in meaning when they have two consonants common to them, or the same consonants only transposed, or consonants pronounced by the same organ. Yet the one-sided pursuit of this method could not have kept him from many misconceptions, and still less could he have reached his object by it alone, had he not retained the Jewish tradition in his memory, and been many a time, even unconsciously, guided by it in fixing the significations."]

Jo. Avenarius (died 1590), Liber Radicum, Witebergæ 1568, fol.; in which he wished to decipher the meanings by a combination of the Hebrew roots with similar Greek, Latin, and German words. Comp. *A. Schultens*, *l.c.* p. 293.

Sam. Bohle (died in 1639 at Rostock [as Professor of Hebrew, having been born in 1611, says *Bleek*, p. 128]), xiii. dissertatt. de formali significatione S. Script. eruenda, Rostochii 1637: he wished to trace back the various meanings of the words always to one general conception, for the most part a conception of a metaphysical nature. Comp. *Loescher*, de causis ling. Ebr. p. 133; *A. Schultens*, *l.c.* p. 295 sqq.; and *Michaelis*, Mittel die hebr. Sprache zu erlernen, p. 43 ff.

II. Investigations into the Hebrew language reached greater independence and certainty in the *second* period, 1650–1750. On the one hand, there was the zealous study of the rest of the Shemitic dialects: on the other hand, there was the closer observation of the biblical *usus loquendi*, and the more profound investigation of the

grammatical structure of the language. The cultivation of the Shemitic dialects by means of harmonies (4) gradually came to take the shape of the comparative study of these dialects (5). For, in particular, *Albert Schultens* and his school were successful in enriching their treasury of knowledge from the wealthy Arabic language, so as to discover the fundamental sensuous meaning of the Hebrew words (6): whilst *Jac. Gousset* and *Chr. Stock* endeavoured to fix the primary and genuine meaning of the words by careful comparison of the context and the parallel passages (7), and *Casp. Neumann* and *Val. Ernst Loescher* by penetrating deeper into the internal development of the language (tracing back the triliteral to biliteral roots [*Neumann* even giving to each letter a signification of its own, and thus running into many strained and over-refined explanations, *Bleek*, p. 132]) (8); while, finally, *Jak. Alting* and *J. A. Danz* endeavoured to lay a rational foundation for the doctrine of the vowel-sounds (9). Although these opponents of the comparison of dialects fell into one-sided errors, still their investigations formed a wholesome counterpoise to the exaggerations chargeable against *Albert Schultens* and many of his scholars [named by *Bleek*, p. 133, the school of Holland], as they neglected the peculiar nature of the Hebrew, and offered arbitrary explanations of it as the result of their one-sided predilection for the Arabic (10). Thus they led to a better-proportioned employment of the various sources of knowledge in Hebrew philology; the foundations of which were laid by the school of Halle, under *Johann Heinrich Michaelis* and *Christian Benedict Michaelis* (11).

(4) The first imperfect attempts at comparison of the dialects were made so early as by *Wilh. Postellus* (who died at Paris in 1581), de originibus, s. de linguæ Hebr. et Arab. antiquitate, affinitate, etc., 1538, 4to; and by *St. Guichard*, l'harmonie étymologique des langues Hebraique, Chaldaique, Syriaque, Grecque, Latine, Francoise, etc., Paris 1606, 8vo. Something of more importance was achieved by *Valentin Schindler* (Professor [of Oriental Languages, says *Bleek*, p. 125] at Wittenberg, then at Helmstädt, who died in 1610), in his Lexicon pentaglotton [namely, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Talmudico-rabbinical, and Arabic, says *Bleek*], Hannover 1612, 1649, folio. Comp. the memorial of Schindler by *Bruns*, in *Stäudlin's* theol. Biblioth. iv. p. 1.

The Shemitic dialects were cultivated in harmonies by *Ludov. de*

Dieu (at Leyden, who died in 1642), Grammatica linguarum orient. Hebræorum, Chaldæorum, et Syrorum, inter se collatarum, Lugd. Batavorum 1628, 4to, and edited by *Clodius*, Frankfurt am Main 1683, 4to.—*J. Henr. Hottinger*, Grammatica quatuor linguarum, Hebr., Chald., Syr., et Arab., Tiguri 1649, 4to; Smegma Orientale, Heidelberg 1658; and Etymologicum orientale, seu Lexicon harm. heptaglotton, Francofurti 1661, 4to (containing nothing but the roots). *Andr. Sennert* (in Wittenberg, died 1689), Hypotyposis harmonica linguarum orient., Chald., Syr., et Arab., cum matre Hebræa, 1653, 4to.—*Georg. Othonis* (died in 1715 at Marpurg), Synopsis institutionum Samaritanarum, Rabb., Arab., Æthiop., et Persicarum; as an appendix to *Alting's* Hebr. Grammatik, Frankfurt 1717.

In lexicography lasting merit was acquired by *Edmund Castle* (or *Castellus*), with his Lexicon heptaglotton, Hebr., Chald., Syr., Samar., Æthiop., Arab., conjunctim, et Persicum separatim, Londini 1669, 2 vols. fol., an appendix to the London Polyglott Bible. Comp. *J. D. Michaelis*, Abhandl. von der Syr. Sprache, p. 119 ff.—A useful supplement to the dictionaries was furnished by *Christian Nolde* [*Bleek*, p. 128, says, Professor of Hebrew at Copenhagen from 1664 onwards] (died in 1683), Concordantiæ particularum Ebræo-chaldaic. Vet. Test. 1679, 4to; a new edition by *J. Tympe*, Jena 1734, 4to. [*Bleek*, p. 128, calls the editor *Joh. Gottfr. Tympe*. Of this concordance he says, it is partly a supplement to *Buxtorf's*, in which, as in *Fürst's* (about both which see what is quoted from him in the additional matter in Note 2, *supra*), the particles are not taken up; and partly it is an actual lexical treatment of the particles. Again, p. 129, he speaks thus of *Cocceius*, whose expository works will be noticed in § 224, Note 18: "With his peculiar hermeneutical principles, *Cocceius* combined a pre-eminent knowledge of the Hebrew language, which he has stored up both in these commentaries of his and also in his Hebrew Lexicon." This last work has been circulated very widely. It was published anew by *J. H. Mai* (in Giessen), Frankfurt 1689, fol., and 2d ed. 1714: and more recently by *Joh. Christoph Friedr. Schulz* (in Giessen), Leipzig 1777, 2d ed. 1793, 1796, 2 vols. 8vo; in which latter edition, however, it has been wrought up anew, and in a form considerably altered, so that what is peculiar to Cocceius has been mostly set aside.]

(5) The dialects were successfully applied to the explanation of more difficult words and phrases in the Old Testament, and also particularly of expressions connected with geography, natural history, etc., by *Ed. Pococke* (died in 1691 at Oxford), Commentaries on Hosea, Joel, Micah, and Malachi, Oxford 1685, fol., and Notæ mis-

cellaneæ ad *Maimonidis* portam Mosis, Oxon. 1655, 4to; by *Lud. de Dieu*, Critica sacra, s. animadversiones in loca quædam difficiliora Vet. et Nov. Test., Amstelodami 1693, fol. (in which a happy use is made of the Syriac); by *Aug. Pfeiffer* [*Bleek*, p. 126, says, born in Silesia, Professor of Oriental Languages and of Theology at Leipzig, then Superintendent at Lübeck] (at Leipzig and Lübeck, died in 1698), Dubia vexata Script. S., Lipsiæ 1685, 1713, 4to (where the Coptic and the Persic are introduced); by *Samuel Bochart* (preacher at Caen, died in 1667), Geographia sacra, s. Phaleg et Canaan, Caen 1646, fol., and Hierozoicon, s. de animalibus Script. S., Londini 1663, fol. (reprinted with remarks by [*E. F. K.*] *Rosenmueller*, 3 vols. 4to, Lipsiæ 1793–5 [1793–6, according to *Bleek*, p. 126]), Opera omnia, 1692, 1707, 1712, 3 vols. fol. (works of immense learning and reading in oriental and classical literature); by *Jo. Braun* (at Gröningen, died in 1709), de vestitu sacerdotum Hebr., Amstelodami 1680, 4to; and by *Hadrian Reland* (at Utrecht, died in 1718), Dissertatt. miscellaneæ, iii. tomi, 1707–8, and Palæstina ex monumentis vett. illustrata, Ultrajecti 1714, 4to.

(6) The use of the Arabic language for Hebrew lexicography had been already discussed by *Christ. Cellarius* (at Zeiz and Halle, died in 1707), Sciagraphia philologiæ sacræ, ed. secunda, usu Arabismi etymologico aucta, Jenæ 1678, 8vo; and by *Jo. Abr. Kromayer* (died in 1733 in Thuringia), Filia matri obstetricans, s. de usu linguæ Arabicæ in addiscenda lingua Ebr., Francofurti et Lipsiæ 1707, 4to. —But an epoch was first marked by the labours of *Albert Schultens* [*Bleek*, p. 133, says, born at Gröningen in 1686, Professor of Oriental Languages] (from 1713 Professor at Franecker, from 1729 at Leyden, died in 1750), who rifled the rich treasures of Arabic grammarians, lexicographers, and scholiasts, in the library at Leyden, for the grammatical and etymological study of Hebrew. His works fall under three classes:—FIRST, theories of Hebrew philology. De utilitate linguæ Arab. in interpretanda Script. S., 1706. De defectibus hodiernis linguæ Hebr., 1733. Vetus et regia via hebraizandi, 1738. Clavis dialectorum, 1633 [1733?]. Origines Hebrææ [seu Hebrææ linguæ antiquissima natura et indoles ex Arabiæ penetralibus revocata, Franecker and Leyden, according to *Bleek*, p. 133], P. i. 1723, P. ii. 1737; 2d edition in 1761, along with the Vindiciæ Originum Hebr., et opusculi de defectibus hodiern. cet. adversus dissertat. cl. *Driessenii* [Professor of Theology at Gröningen; *Bleek, ibid.*]. SECOND, grammatical works. Institutiones in fundamenta linguæ Hebr., Lugd. Batavorum 1737, 4to [2d ed. 1756; *Bleek*, p. 134]. THIRD, commentaries: on Job [*Bleek* says, Leyden 1737, 4to]; on Proverbs

[*Bleek* says, Leyden 1748]; and Animadversiones philol., in his Opera minora, 1769, 4to. [*Bleek*, p. 133, describes his method: "As he believed that the fundamental meaning of the words had been almost always preserved in the Arabic, the wealthiest of the Shemitic dialects, and assumed for that meaning one which was as special and sensuous as possible, he endeavoured to deduce from it the various meanings in which the word occurs in the Old Testament. . . . Yet his procedure is not without defects. Even in comparing the dialects, he pays too little regard to the Aramaic. And besides, he too much neglects the use of other aids, particularly the ancient versions, and too little considers the peculiar Hebrew *usus loquendi*, and the context; hence his explanations are often somewhat forced and unsuitable."] —Of his pupils, *Nicol. Wilh. Schroeder* [*Bleek*, p. 131, says, born at Marburg in 1721, Professor of Oriental Languages at Gröningen from 1748] (Professor at Gröningen, died in 1798) has furnished us with a critical abstract of the grammar of *Schultens*, with the addition of a syntax: Institutiones ad fundamenta linguæ Hebr., Groningæ 1766, and often, the latest edition being at Ulm 1792 [*Bleek*, p. 134, says of it: "This grammar, which was much used in Germany also, even into the present century, for learning Hebrew, comprises in a brief summary what is good in the Institutiones of *Schultens*, and at the same time has avoided many of his defects, while the syntactical portion is thoroughly valuable"]; Observationes ad Origines Hebr., Groningæ 1755; and Commentarius de vestitu mulierum Hebr., ad Jes. iii., 1748, 4to. *Ever. Scheid*, Observatt. ad linguæ Hebr. stirpes, spec. i.–v., Harder. 1772, 4to; and Dissertat. ad Cantic. Hiskiæ, 1769.—Others, like *Seb. Rau*, *Venema*, *Lette*, furnished merely commentaries and philological observations. Comp. *Gesenius*, Geschichte, p. 129 f.

(7) *Jac. Gussetii* [*Jacob Gousset*, a French Reformed theologian, an exile in consequence of the religious persecutions, died in 1704 as Professor of Theology and of Greek at *Gröningen*, according to *Bleek*, p. 132] (died in 1704 at Gröningen), Commentarii linguæ Ebraicæ, Amstelodami 1702, fol.; a new edition, with the title, Lexicon linguæ Ebr. ed. *Clodius*, Lipsiæ 1742, 4to [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, says, with additions of his own; and he gives the date 1743].—*Christ. Stock* (at Jena, died in 1733), Clavis linguæ sanctæ Vet. Test., Jenæ 1717, and often, the last time by *J. F. Fischer*, Lipsiæ 1753.

(8) *Casp. Neumann* [*Bleek*, p. 132, says, born at Breslau in 1648, and Professor and preacher there] (in Breslau, died in 1715): Genesis linguæ sanctæ Vet. Test., Norimbergæ 1696, 4to; Exodus linguæ sanctæ, 1697–1700, in four parts; Clavis domus Heber, P. i.–iii.,

1712–15, 4to.—*Valentin Ernst Löscher* [*Bleek, ibid.*, says, born in 1673, Superintendent at Delitzsch, then from 1707 Professor of Theology at Wittenberg, and lastly from 1709 Superintendent at Dresden, where he died in 1749], de causis ling. Ebr., libr. iii. [Frankfurt and Leipzig 1706, 4to, says *Bleek*, p. 133, who calls it "a very learned book, and one which contains much that is valuable for the history of the Hebrew language, and the study of it"].—Against the attempts which both these writers made to discover the fundamental meaning of the biliterals (called the *significatio hieroglyphica*, or *symbolica*, by *Neumann*, and the *valor logicus* by *Löscher*) from the meaning of the letters which formed them, *Chr. Ben. Michaelis* wrote his dissert. de vocum seminibus et litterarum signif. hieroglyphica, Halæ 1709; as *Carpzov* also wrote in his critica sacra, p. 192 sqq.

(9) *Jac. Alting* [*Bleek*, p. 127, says, born at Heidelberg in 1618, died in 1679 as Professor of Oriental Languages and Theology] (died at Gröningen in 1679), Fundamenta punctationis linguæ sanctæ, 1654; ed. secunda, 1675, and often. *Joh. Andreas Danz* [*Bleek, ibid.*, says, born 1654, in the district of Gotha, died in 1727 as Professor of Oriental Languages and Theology at Jena] (at Jena, died 1727), Nucifrangibulum, Jena 1686, 8vo, afterwards under the title of מדקדק s. literator Ebræo-chaldæus, etc., 1696, and a syntax under the title of תורגמן s. interpres Ebræo-chald., 1696; both of which were often reprinted. The Systema trium morarum, which was set up by both of them [*Bleek*, pp. 127–8, says it "was said to lie at the foundation of the vocalization, so far as relates to the choice of short or long vowels,—one *mora* being reckoned to a short vowel, two to a long one, and one upon the consonant or consonants which followed the vowel," etc.; adding that this system long had a firm hold upon German scholars, and was not, properly speaking, set aside till *Vater* and *Gesenius* overthrew it], was carried out more fully by *J. Fr. Hirt* (died at Jena in 1783), Synt. observationum philol. crit. ad linguam Vet. Test. pertinentium, Jenæ 1771; by *J. W. Meiner*, die wahren Eigenschaften der hebr. Sprache, Leipzig 1748, and Auflösung der vornehmsten Schwierigk. der hebr. Sprache, 1757; and it was last defended by *Joh. Joach. Bellermann*, Versuch üb. die Metrik der Hebr., Berlin 1813.

(10) See these various schools estimated impartially in *Hupfeld*, de emendanda ratione lexicographiæ Semiticæ commentat., Marpurgi 1827, 4to, p. 3 sqq.; and in *Hāv.* Einl. i. § 39. [*Bleek*, pp. 135–6, mentions, as a pupil of these two schools, that of Holland and that of Halle, *Joh. Simonis*, a Reformed theologian, born in 1698, died in

1768 as Professor of Church History and Christian Antiquities at Halle. There appeared from his pen, first an Onomasticon Vet. Test., Halæ 1741, 4to, giving the etymology of the proper names, including both persons and places; then his Lexicon manuale Hebraicum et Chald., Halæ 1756, 8vo, and ed. secunda 1771, afterwards edited with variations and additions by *Eichhorn* in 1793, and by *Winer* in 1828.]

(11) [*Bleek* says, p. 134, that if the school of Halle have a less imposing look of erudition than the school of Holland, they are at the same time less heavy and one-sided. He says, *Joh. Heinr. Michaelis* was born in 1668, became Professor of Greek and of Oriental Languages, as also of Theology, at Halle, and died in 1738; and his sister's son, *Christian Benedict Michaelis*, was born in 1680, became Professor of Theology, as well as of Greek and Oriental Languages, at Halle, and died in 1764.] Distinguished by their fine observation of the Hebrew *usus loquendi*, and by discretion in the process of comparing the dialects, especially of the Syriac, which the Dutch had greatly neglected, are the treatises of *Chr. Ben. Michaelis:* Dissert. qua Solœcismus casuum ab Ebraismo S. Cod. depellitur, 1737; Dissert. qua Solœcismus generis ab Syntaxi Cod. Ebr. depellitur, 1737, 4to; and Lumina Syriaca pro illustrando Hebraismo sacro, 1756, which last has been reprinted in *Pott*, Sylloge commentatt. theol., P. i. p. 170. All of them are important alike for the doctrine of grammatical forms, and for the syntax.

III. In the *third* period, 1750–1850, as a consequence of the preponderating regard for the school of *Schultens*, there arose a rationalizing tendency which was unfit for penetrating into the spirit of languages, and which was in part equipped with nothing but a superficial knowledge of the dialects; and it advanced neither the empirical nor the rational study of Hebrew (12). This aberration was restrained first by *Wilh. Gesenius*, who, as an empirical philologer, surpassed all earlier writers in discretion and thoroughness, as he carefully collected the materials accumulated by his predecessors, and arranged these suitably for his purpose, and presented them luminously (13). Upon this *Heinr. Ewald* opened the way to the rational treatment of the language, unfortunately with too much contempt for Jewish tradition, and with too much of abstract philosophical *raisonnement* (14). Alongside of this movement, *Herm. Hupfeld*, *Julius Fürst*, and *Franz Delitzsch* betook themselves to the

path of analysis; and they strive to penetrate into the inner being of the Hebrew language, and to search into its organic development, by taking into duly proportioned consideration both the rabbinical tradition and the results of that comparative philology which has become so widely spread by the study of the Indo-Germanic languages (15).

(12) The transition to this tendency was made by *Joh. David Michaelis* [*Bleek*, p. 135, says, son of C. B. Michaelis, born at Halle 1717, Docent there 1739–1745, and then at Göttingen, where he became ordinary Professor of Philosophy in 1750, till he died in 1791], with his grammars of most of the Shemitic dialects; his Supplementa ad Lexica Hebr., vi. Partes, Gottingæ 1785–1792, 4to; his Oriental. Bibliothek, and other writings.—Its principal representatives are, *W. Fr. Hezel*, *J. Gottfr. Hasse*, *Joh. Severin Vater* [*Bleek*, p. 136, says, born at Altenburg 1771, Professor at Jena, Halle, Königsberg, and Halle again, died in 1826], *Joh. Melch. Hartmann* [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, says, born 1765, Professor of Philosophy and Oriental Languages at Marburg from 1793, died in 1827], and *Joh. Jahn* [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, says, born 1750, died in 1816 at Vienna], in their Hebrew grammars. See the titles in *Gesenius*, Geschichte, p. 131 ff., and in *Hupfeld*, ausf. hebr. Gramm. i. p. 30.

(13) *Wilh. Gesenius* [" *Wilh. F. H. Gesenius*, born 3d Feb. 1786 at Nordhausen, from 1810 Professor of Theology at Halle, died 23d Oct. 1842," *Bleek*, p. 139] (Professor at Halle, died 1842), hebräische Grammatik (for school use), Halle 1813; 13th ed. 1842; 14th ed., wrought up anew and edited by *Emil Rödiger*, Leipzig 1845 [and several more still more recently].—Ausführliches grammatisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude d. hebr. Sprache mit Vergleichung der verwandten Dialekte, 2 vols. 8vo, Leipzig 1817.—Hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch üb. die Schriften des Alten Test., 2 vols., Leipzig 1810–12; in the second edition, much enlarged, and wrought up in Latin, under the title, Thesaurus philol. crit. linguæ Hebr. et Chald. Vet. Test., Lipsiæ 1829–42, vol. i. 1, 2, ii. 1, 2, iii. 1; vol. iii. 2 post Gesenii decessum perfecit *Æm. Roediger*, 1853 [though the last part of it appeared only in 1858]. Hebräisch. u. chald. Handwörterbuch üb. d. Alt. Test., Leipzig 1815, and often; 5th ed., under the care of *F. E. Chr. Dietrich*, 1857, 2 vols.; also in Latin, under the title, Lexicon manuale Hebr. et Chald. in Vet. Test. libros, Lipsiæ 1833; ed. secunda emendatior a *Th. Hoffmann*, 1846 [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, says, by *A. Th. Hoffmann*, 1847. The grammar and the dictionary have been translated and published in London by Bagster, under the editorial care of Dr. *Davies* and Dr. *Tregelles*; and American transla-

tions are also common, the grammar edited by *Conant*, and the dictionary by the late Dr. *Edward Robinson*].

(14) *Geo. Heinrich Aug. Ewald* ["born at Göttingen in 1803, from 1827 Professor in Göttingen, from 1838 in Tübingen, and from 1848 again in Göttingen," *Bleek*, p. 140], krit. Grammatik der Hebr. Sprache, Leipzig 1827.—Grammatik der hebr. Sprache ["Leipzig 1828, 2d ed. 1835, 3d ed. 1837," *Bleek*, *ibid.*], 3d ed., Leipzig 1838. The two works blended into one in the Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache des Alten Bundes, 5th ed., Leipzig 1844; 6th ed. 1855. [*Bleek*, pp. 140–1, also names his Hebräische Sprachlehre für Anfänger, Leipzig 1842, 2d ed. 1855; though he characterizes it as unpractical and little fitted for beginners, exhibiting strongly the defects which lessen the value that he puts upon *Ewald's* labours in this department. "In his whole method of treatment, he has most affinity, among the earlier grammarians, with the demonstrative school of *Alting* and *Danz;* although his grammar was originally wrought out quite independently of them. His grammatical works are a very important contribution to progress in the investigation of the grammatical character of the Hebrew language, with the view of attaining to more exact knowledge of its whole grammatical structure, and of the individual developments of this. Many sides of these subjects are handled with much greater acuteness, precision, and completeness in his works than in those of *Gesenius*."]—A commencement was made in elaborating a dictionary rationally, in *Georg Benedict Winer's* Lexicon manuale Hebr. et Chald. in Vet. Test. libros ordine etymol. descriptum, Lipsiæ 1828; in which he has thoroughly recast the Lexicon Manuale of *Joh. Simonis*, which first appeared at Halle in 1752 [1756? See the additions at Note 10].

(15) *Herm. Hupfeld*, Exercitationes Æthiopicæ, s. observationum crit. ad emendendam rationem grammaticæ Semit., spec. i., Lipsiæ 1825, 4to; and de emendenda ratione lexicographiæ Semit. ["Marburg 1827, 4to; über Theorie der hebr. Grammatik, in the theol. Studien u. Krit., Band i. (1828), Heft 3; in *Jahn's* Jahrbüchern für Philol. u. Pädog. 1829, H. 4 (doctrine of sounds); Kritik der hebr. Elementarlehre, in Hermes Thl. xxx." *Bleek*, p. 142, who notices also his Hebrew grammar, to which *Keil* often makes references].

Jul. Fürst, Lehrgebäude der aram. Idiome mit Bezug auf die indogerman. Sprachen, Leipzig 1835.—Librorum sacr. Vet. Test. Concordantiæ Hebr. atque Chald., Lipsiæ 1840, fol.—Hebr. u. chald. Handwörterbuch üb. d. Alt. Test., Leipzig 1850 ff., [and again in 1857. Translated into English, with the author's latest improvements, so as to be practically a third edition, by Dr. *Samuel Davidson*.]

Franz Delitzsch, in his Jesurun.

Besides these should be mentioned *Ernst Meier*, Hebr. Wurzelwörterbuch, Mannheim 1845. ["Here he everywhere seeks to trace back the Shemitic triliteral stems to monosyllabic biliteral roots, and from their fundamental meanings to derive the meanings of our Hebrew words in their various modifications. This is an attempt which merits attention; although he certainly brings forward many things which are uncertain, and even improbable." *Bleek*, pp. 142–3.] —*Franz Ed. Christoph Dietrich*, Abhandll. für Semit. Wortforschung, Leipzig 1844; and Abhandll. zur hebr. Grammatik, 1846.

§ 162. *Aids to the Investigation of the Hebrew Language.*

Comp. *J. D. Michaelis*, Beurtheilung der Mittel . . . die ausgestorb. hebr. Sprache zu verstehen, Göttingen 1757.—*Hupfeld*, üb. Theorie u. Geschichte der hebr. Grammatik, in the Theol. Studien u. Krit. 1828, p. 546 ff.

There are historical, philological, and philosophical aids to a safe and thorough understanding of that Hebrew language which died out more than 2000 years ago, and which has been preserved but imperfectly in the limited compass of the remains of Old Testament literature.

1. The *historical* aids are: (*a*) The *Jewish tradition* in the writings of the Rabbins, especially of the mediæval Jewish grammarians, lexicographers, and commentators (comp. § 159). (*b*) The *ancient translations* of the Old Testament, particularly the Chaldee paraphrases, the Alexandrian version, the Syriac Peshito, the Vulgate of Jerome, and the Arabic translation of *R. Saadia Gaon* (comp. § 175 ff.). Nevertheless these sources have not sent forth perfectly limpid streams: for the Rabbins frequently make no distinction between tradition and their own conjectures; and the ancient translators partly give inexact renderings, and partly also exhibit a defective understanding of the original text. Consequently, we still need to apply the other aids to the certain and thorough investigation of the Hebrew language.

2. To the *philological* aids belong: (*a*) *the comparison of the individual phenomena of the language*, for these are mutually supplementary and illustrative. Such are, (*a*) in respect of *grammar*, those existing

forms which bear traces of an older formation of words that afterwards disappeared, and which thus furnish indications of the reason and mode of origination of the present forms. These are the so-called irregular forms, which mostly belong to the oldest class; those readings in the *Kethîbh* which contain antiquated forms, on that account exchanged for ordinary forms by the Masoretes; the proper names, which discover many words that belong to the language, and which would otherwise have been lost; and finally, the comparison of the more ancient and the more recent forms in the various books of the Old Testament. (*β*) In the domain of the *lexicon*, the *context* and *parallel passages;* since frequently the meaning of a word may come to be known from the context, and may be confirmed by the parallel passages: and the *etymology*, by means of which the signification of the derivatives may be determined with certainty from such roots as are still in existence, although the signification of the stem-words themselves cannot be deciphered from the individual letters which compose them. (*b*) *The comparison of the rest of the Shemitic dialects*, which is of the greatest value, not only for the explanation of Hebrew words, but also for penetrating to the grammatical structure of the Hebrew language—that is, as soon as it is not one-sided, nor confined to a single dialect, nor employed superficially; but is extended to all points in due proportion, and penetrates to the internal essence of each dialect, and recognises its peculiar character (1).

3. Among the *philosophical* aids, we count the regard had to the universal *analogies of language;* which, however, cannot be reached by abstract speculations upon the nature and essence of languages, but only by a thorough study of languages belonging to other families. In particular, the Indo-Germanic, with its many branches, which has been graduated and diversified to the utmost possible extent, in its long course of formation, may be rightly comprehended and profitably applied, more than any other, to make us conscious of the laws of language in the mind of man.

Besides, the genuine scientific investigation of the Hebrew language remains entirely conditioned by the right use of these very various aids, according to their absolute value and their relative productiveness. But this use can be determined only approximately by rules, and can be learned perfectly only by matured experience (2).

(1) *Alb. Schultens* and his school gave a one-sided preference to the Arabic, which is certainly the most productive, because it is the most opulent; yet the Aramaic stands nearer to the Hebrew. Directions for the comparing of the sounds in Hebrew and Arabic are given by *Alb. Schultens*, clavis dialectorum, at the end of *Erpenii* rudimenta linguæ Arab., ed. 2, 1770, 4to.

(2) See fundamental principles concerning the value and use of the aids to Hebrew grammar, in *Hupfeld*, *ibid.* p. 557.

SECOND SECTION.

PROPAGATION AND DIFFUSION OF THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

FIRST DIVISION.

PRESERVATION AND PROPAGATION OF THE HEBREW CANON BY MANUSCRIPTS.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE EXTERNAL FORM OF THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 163. *The Original Form of the Old Testament.*

The original form of the Old Testament, at the close of the Canon, is nowhere described. But there is no room to doubt that it was written on parchment (1), in the antique form of a roll, with ink (2), in the ancient Hebrew character, without vowel-signs or accents; and also without divisions running through it, into verses, chapters, and paragraphs. For the so-called Masoretic character was formed only at a later period from this more ancient one; and the present vowel-signs and accents were not attached to the text till later: and also the divisions into verses, chapters, and sections were gradually introduced. And it was thus that the text finally assumed that form in which it lies before us in extant manuscripts (3).

(1) *Herodotus*, v. 58: καὶ τὰς βίβλους διφθέρας καλέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες, ὅτι κοτὲ ἐν σπάνι βίβλων ἐχρέωντο διφθέρῃσι αἰγέῃσί τε καὶ οἰέῃσι· ἔτι δὲ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας διφθέρας γράφουσι (comp. *Diodorus Siculus*, ii. 32). According to him, then, the skins of animals were the most ancient materials for writing books in Western Asia, and came to the Ionians, with writing itself, from the Phœnicians through Cadmus. Only at a later time (although not first in the times of Alexander, as *Varro*, in *Pliny*, hist. nat. xiii. 21, asserts, but much earlier) the Egyptian paper, made from the coats of the papyrus, came widely into use among the Jews, comp. *Hengstb.* Beitrr. ii. 486; and so did parchment afterwards. That the skins of animals were used as writing materials is a corollary from Num. v. 23, on which the Mishna remarks, in *Wagenseil*, Sota, p. 366: "non scripsit eam in tabula (scil. lignea), nec in papyro, nec in diphtera (that is, according to talmudical *usus loquendi*, a skin prepared imperfectly, and not completely converted into parchment), sed in volumine, q. s. e. *in libro* (that is, according to the Jewish expositors in *Wagenseil*, in convoluta membranula, facta ex animali puro, etc.)." According to *Josephus*, Antiqq. xii. 2. 11, the Septuagint translators used for manuscripts τῶν διφθερῶν, αἷς ἐγγεγραμμένους εἶχον τοὺς νόμους χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν; and, according to the Talmud, the law must be written only on polished skins of beasts, that is, on parchment. Comp. *Wagenseil*, Sota, p. 569. However, nothing can be determined from the word סֵפֶר with reference to the most ancient writing materials, since there is a controversy as to its etymological meaning. Comp. *Winer*, bibl. Real-Wörterbuch, ii. 421; *Hengstb.* pp. 487–8; and *E. Meier*, hebr. Wurzelwörterbuch, p. 201.

(2) The form of a roll is inferred from מְגִלַּת סֵפֶר, Ps. xl. 8, Jer. xxxvi. 14 ff., Zech. v. 1–4, Ezek. ii. 9, 10: nor did it first come into use in the seventh century, as *Ewald* asserts, Gesch. d. Volks Isr. i. p. 71; against this, comp. *Häv.* i. 1, p. 286.—The use of ink is mentioned Jer. xxxvi. 18, 3 John 13; and already it is presupposed in Num. v. 23. Comp. *Häv. ibid.*, and *D. J. Quandt*, de atramento Ebræorum, Regiomonte 1713, 4to.

(3) Comp. *Hupfeld*, krit. Beleuchtung einiger dunklen u. missverstandenen Stellen der alttestamentl. Textgeschichte, in the Theol. Studien u. Krit. 1830, Heft ii.–iv.; *Häv.* p. 289 ff.; and *A. Dillmann*, article Bibeltext des Alten Test., in *Herzog's* Realencycl. ii. p. 141 ff.

§ 164. *The Changes in the Hebrew Written Characters.*

Of the two principal styles of writing in use among the Jews [named by *Bleek*, p. 723, the Phœnician and the Babylonian], that which is preserved upon the coins of the Maccabees unquestionably stands in the closest affinity to the ancient Hebrew writing, if it is not identical with it; although, on account of the great agreement between its characters and those of the Samaritans, it is often called the Samaritan writing. Both styles, however, point back to the ancient Phœnician alphabet, from which they have been formed: so that we may assume one and the same style for the Hebrews before the exile, for the Phœnicians, and for the Samaritans (1).

(1) Comp. *Gesenius*, Gesch. der hebr. Sprache u. Schrift, § 41, and his Scripturæ linguæque Phœniciæ monumenta, P. i. p. 78 sq.; *Ulrich Kopp*, Entwickelung der semit. Schriften, in his Bilder u. Schriften der Vorzeit, Bd. ii. p. 178 ff.; *Hupfeld*, *ibid.* ii. p. 247 ff.; *Häv.* i. § 47; *Winer*, bibl. Real-Wörterbuch, ii. 422. The best representations of the Phœnician writing are to be seen in *Gesenius*, Monum. t. iii. tab. 1; of the writing on Jewish coins, *ibid.* tab. 3; and of the Samaritan, *ibid.*, and also in the table in *Gesenius*, Carmina Samar.; and of all the styles of writing together, in the table in *Hupfeld's* ausführl. hebr. Grammatik, p. 32.

Of later origin, and, according to Jewish legends, brought with him by Ezra from the Babylonish captivity, is the character found in the Hebrew manuscripts which have come down to us, and which is called the *square character*, כְּתָב מְרֻבָּע, more commonly כְּתָב אַשּׁוּרִי (2). This much of truth may lie at the foundation of the legend, that after the exile the square character came into use, and gradually thrust the older character aside, in connection with the spread of the Aramaic (Chaldee) language among the Jews, and the zeal for the study of the sacred writings which Ezra awakened. But in the nature of the case, it is impossible to suppose that the one character was formally exchanged for the other, the square character being introduced immediately in place of that which was more ancient; for, unless external force be applied, a nation does not exchange its style of writing, any more than its language, for another. Much rather we must believe that the changes were gradual, in the strokes of the

pen which formed the characters, as the ancient Shemitic character in course of time assumed the shape of a running hand, in virtue of the tachygraphical principle, or effort to write rapidly, which is produced by the habit of writing much; and of this running hand we have remains preserved in earlier and later Aramaic monuments (3). And then from this running hand the square character was formed, in virtue of the caliagraphic principle, or effort to write beautifully and ornamentally, which flowed from an interest in the sacred writings (4).

(2) Comp. *Buxtorf*, Lexic. Talmud. p. 241, and his Dissertatt. philol. theol. p. 235 sqq. The principal passage is Gemar. Sanhedr. fol. 21. 2, and 22. 1: "Principio data est lex Israelitis scriptura Hebræa et lingua sancta, iterum vero iis data est diebus *Esræ scriptura Assyriaca* . . . ; elegerunt autem sibi Israelitæ scripturam Assyriacam et linguam sanctam et reliquerunt idiotis (*i.e.* Samaritanis) scripturam Hebræam et linguam Aramæam.—Licet non data sit lex per manum *Esræ*, mutata est per manum ejus scriptura, cum vocetur ejus nomen אשורית, quia ascendit cum iis ex Assyria." This legend, which is mentioned also by *Origen* on Ezek. ix. 4, and by *Jerome*, prolog. galeat. ad libr. Reg., is still defended as being correct by *J. M. Jost*, Gesch. des Judenth. u. s. Secten, Leipzig 1857, i. p. 51, note 3. Against this, comp. *Gesenius*, Gesch. p. 150 ff., and *Herzfeld*, Gesch. d. V. Israel, iii. p. 76 ff. [*Bleek*, p. 726, still holds to the tradition, of course on the understanding that Assyria stands for Babylon,—a usage which occurs in Scripture itself. Having quoted *Origen* and *Jerome*, he continues: "We cannot doubt that the Fathers found this the prevailing opinion among the learned Jews of their time; and all the less can we doubt it, as it entirely corresponds with the accounts of the Talmudists and the Rabbins. As already remarked, the square character is quite commonly named by them כְּתָב אַשׁוּרִי. No doubt this expression is variously explained in the Talmud, and is also partly taken to be an appellative designation, as *Michaelis* (Orient. Bibl. xxii. 133), *Hupfeld* (Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1830, 2, p. 292 ff.), and *Hävernick* (§ 49) also wish to take it; the two latter holding that probably it signifies protected, strong, firm, with reference to its nature as rounded off and self-contained. But this explanation is thoroughly improbable and unnatural; and the true explanation is undoubtedly the common one, found also so early as in the Talmud, that it is a proper name—Assyrian." At some length, pp. 727–730, he lays down and confirms the following posi-

tions: "(*a*) We must not suppose that from that time," of Ezra and Nehemiah, when he thinks the change took place, "the older Phœnician writing became entirely unknown to the Jews, or fell everywhere and immediately into disuse for the sacred writings. In particular, we cannot doubt that the numerous Jews who lived in Egypt at the time of the Babylonian exile, and even earlier, and never had any peculiar opportunity for appropriating the Babylonian character, retained the old Phœnician character for the sacred books in the Hebrew language, and in general for writing Hebrew; and that the use of it prevailed with them for a still longer time." "(*b*) As was the case for a considerable time with the Egyptian Jews, so also with the Samaritans, the old character remained in constant use." "(*c*) Even among the Jews of Palestine, in Judea and Galilee, after the exile and the transcription of the more ancient books into the Babylonian character, the older Phœnician character did not immediately become unknown nor fall entirely into disuse." "(*d*) The new Babylonian character, as the Jews appropriated it, was indeed essentially of the same nature as our present square character. Yet the supposition is highly probable, that afterwards, in course of time, the shapes of individual letters were partially modified a little; and particularly, by the anxiety of the Jewish copyists for caligraphy, they may have acquired shapes more thoroughly square and well-proportioned, like uncial letters, whereas earlier they may have had more of a cursive character, and they may have been smaller." He conjectures that they may have resembled the letters in the Palmyrene inscriptions, which see mentioned in the following note. At p. 724 he observes, from *Eichhorn*, Repert. xiii. 273, that the later Samaritans called the square character "Ezra's writing;" while he adds that the Samaritan character is named כְּתָב עִבְרִי, "Hebrew writing," in the Talmud, tr. Sanhedr. fol. 21 f.]

(3) On the *Carpentras* stone (comp. *Gesenius*, Monument. Phœnic. i. p. 226 sq.) and the Palmyrene inscriptions (comp. *Gesenius*, *l.c.* p. 80 sqq.). See both alphabets, *ibid.* P. iii. tab. 4 and 5.

(4) First proved graphically by *Ulr. Kopp*, *ibid.*; and with further evidence given by *Hupfeld* and *Här. ibid.* At an earlier time two views, supported by equally feeble arguments, prevailed as to the mutual relations of these styles of writing:—(*a*) That the Hebrews had two styles contemporaneously; one *sacred* or priestly (the square character), and one *profane*, for the matters of civil life (the character on coins): on which theory the square character was declared the more ancient, in fact the original Hebrew alphabet, by *Buxtorf* the son, in his Dissertatt. phil. theol., No. 4, de literarum Hebraic.

genuina antiquitate, also by *Wasmuth*, *Steph. Morinus*, *Alting*, and many others; while, on the contrary, *Lud. Cappellus* declared the so-called Samaritan the more ancient. See the literature on this subject in *Wolf*, Biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 420, iv. p. 164; *Carpzov*, Crit. sac. p. 227 (notes); *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch f. die Liter. der bibl. Krit. u. Exeg. i. p. 564; and *Gesenius*, Gesch. § 42. (*b*) That the talmudical tradition of Ezra having undertaken to exchange the ancient Hebrew character for the square one, either is possessed of complete historical truth, or has substantially truth for its foundation; that the square character came to the Hebrews from Babylon, in connection with their return from the exile, and pushed aside the more ancient character at a later period. See the advocates of this view in *Carpzov*, *l.c.* p. 232 sq., and *Gesenius*, § 43 [see also, in support of it, *Bleek*, as quoted in Note 2. Also at pp. 724–5, he observes that the so-called Samaritan character must have changed its form at least as much as the square character; referring, in proof of this, to *Jerome* on Ezek. ix. 4, who assigns the form of a cross to the Samaritan *Tau*].

Although we cannot determine with precision the time at which the square character was perfected, still there is complete evidence that it cannot have taken place so late as the fourth century of the Christian era, and scarcely even in the second or the first (5). This is at once clear from the following circumstances: that all the descriptions and allusions to the form of the Hebrew letters which are given in the *Talmud* and in *Jerome* precisely suit the square alphabet; that already in the *Mishna* there occur traces of it (6); and that in the *Talmud*, in *Jerome*, and even in *Origen*, the change of the character is ascribed to Ezra, without thinking more carefully on the subject. It must also be considered that, according to Matt. v. 18, so early as the time of Christ the law was no longer written in the ancient Hebrew character (7); that this character was not at once and wholly thrust aside when the other came into fashion, but was still retained for a considerable time, and on account of its antiquity was used in the Maccabean coinage; and that the Samaritans may have accepted it along with the Pentateuch, while, out of hatred to the Samaritans, the Jews may then have preferred the running hand, which had become familiar by means of the Aramaic paraphrases used in public worship [?], and may have perfected it caligraphically into the square character. On account of all this, the origin of

it may reach back nearly to the times of Ezra, although only at a later time it was perfected in its present form (8).

(5) [In the original this is Note 6; but the inversions of a sentence, owing to the German syntax, disappear in the English translation.] *Ulr. Kopp* places it in the fourth century after Christ; *Hupfeld*, p. 285 ff., in the first or second century. Against this, comp. *Häv. ibid.; Winer*, Real-Wörterbuch, ii. 424. [*Bleek*, pp. 730-2, states the views of *Ulr. Fried. Kopp*, Bilder u. Schriften der Vorzeit, 2 vols., Mannheim 1821, 8vo, and in Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1829, 4; who has been followed by *Eichhorn* in his fourth edition, by *De Wette* in the second ed. of his Archæologie, § 278, though not in his third, as also by *Hupfeld* in Stud. u. Krit. 1830, 2. "They assume that, till the time of the Babylonian exile, and for several centuries later, the Phœnician written character predominated in all Hither Asia as far as the Tigris, and so in Babylonia also. Out of it, as *Kopp* and his followers think, and by a gradual transition into a cursive hand, but not sooner than from the first to the third century of the Christian era, those forms arose which are found in the Palmyrene inscriptions; and out of these, but not till the fourth century, our square character. *Hupfeld* agrees with this essentially, yet with a modification, holding the square character to be of Syrian origin, and thinking that the Jews received it from the Syrians, yet not all at once, but the earlier style forming itself gradually upon this model till the first or second century after Christ. But such a view is thoroughly improbable. For (*a*) in several of the letters there is too great a deviation of the character on the Jewish coins" (on which however, ר, ב, and ד do not occur, as he observes, p. 724), "and on other monuments with Phœnician writings, not only from the later square character, but even from the Palmyrene, to let us suppose that the latter can have been fashioned from the former by a gradual transition. (*b*) If the one character had been so gradually formed out of the other among the Hebrews, it would have been impossible to distinguish precisely two different styles of writing, of which expressly there had use been made in the sacred books. (*c*) It would be difficult to explain how this representation took its rise among the Jews (since it was not in conformity with the truth), that the square character, which alone was used for the sacred books, had been adopted from the detested idolatrous Assyrian or Babylonian people, and that the transcription of these books into this character from the older one had taken place at a determinate time, this time being preserved in the tradition. (*d*) It follows from Matt. v. 18, that in the time of Christ the *Yod*

was the smallest letter in the alphabet, which is the case in the Babylonian, but by no means in the Phœnician alphabet: from which fact it is clear that then the former was alone in prevalent use, and therefore could not have come to be formed only at a later time." He believes that both forms took their rise from one primitive Shemitic form, the local position of which cannot now be ascertained; that the primitive names of the letters have remained on the whole unchanged in the Hebrew alphabet; that sometimes the Babylonian has retained the primitive shape better than the Phœnician character, as in *Caph*, "the hollow of the hand," but that usually the reverse is the case, as in *Ayin*, "the eye;" *Resh*, "the head;" and *Tau*, which has been a cross: comp. Ezek. ix. 4.]

(6) [In the original this is Note 5.] The *Talmud* and *Jerome* designate those letters as similar and exposed to change by mistake, which are so in the square alphabet, as כ and ב, ד and ר, ה and ח, ו and י, ז and נ, ם and ס. Comp. Schabb. f. 103. 2, 104. 1; Megilla Hierosol. fol. 71 sqq.; and the passages from *Jerome* in *Jo. Morinus*, exercitatt. bibl. i. 3. c. 1, 6. c. 11; *Montfaucon*, Proleg. in Hexapl. p. 23 sqq.; *O. G. Tychsen*, in *Eichhorn*, Repert. iii. p. 140. Already the Mishna uses the name אַשּׁוּרִית for the Hebrew character, Megill. i. 8, ii. 1, 2 (t. ii. pp. 390 and 392, ed. *Surenhusius*), Jadaim iv. 5 (vi. p. 490). Further, comp. *Hupfeld*, p. 285 ff., and *Häv.* p. 294.

(7) The proverbial example of *Yod*, mentioned here as the smallest letter, suits the square character, but not the old Hebrew; and there is also a reference to it in the *μία κεραία* (*Häv.* p. 295).

(8) Comp. *Winer*, *ibid.*—*Häv.*, *ibid.*, connects the formation of the square character with the rise of the synagogue.

The name כְּתָב אַשּׁוּרִי cannot indeed be held absolutely to determine the origin and home of the square character, because of the unhistorical character of the talmudical accounts (9). Nevertheless, the circumstance that the written characters which form the transition from the older to this newer style have been preserved to us only upon Aramaic monuments, is by no means decisive against Babylonia and in favour of Syria. "If the Babylonians and Syrians had originally one language and one style of writing, it might be precisely in Babylonia that this latter was earliest transformed into a current hand, which might pass over to the Jews" (10). For at that later time, in which the Jews held their sacred writings in such high estimation, no opportunity presents itself for exchanging their fathers' style of writing for that of foreigners.

(9) The explanation of אַשּׁוּרִי by "scriptio rectissima in literis suis," given by some Rabbins (comp. *Buxtorf*, dissert. p. 101), is untenable. The same is to be said of the explanations, "rectilineal writing" (*Michaelis*, orient. Bibl. 22, p. 133), and "straight, strong, firm writing," in *Hupfeld*, p. 296 [and in *Häv.* § 49, says *Bleek*, p. 726, rejecting these, and adhering to "Assyrian." See already in Note 2, additions].

(10) *Winer*, Real-Wörterbuch, ii. 423, where also the just remark is made, "There is little to convince one in *Hupfeld's* argumentation in order to deprive the common view of the strength drawn by it from the name אשורי." . . . "Least of all would the Jews in the Syrian period have used the name *Assyria* instead of *Syria*." But it lay naturally to their hand to use Assyria for Chaldæa or Babylonia, on account of 2 Kings xxiii. 29. Further, comp. *Gesenius*, Geschichte, p. 143, and *Levy*, in the Zeitschrift d. deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft, ix. p. 475, Note 17.

§ 165. *The most Ancient System of Vowel Marks.*

The violent controversy as to the age of the Hebrew vowel points, set in motion two hundred years ago, was terminated in the second half of last century by the general acknowledgment that they were of comparatively recent origin; but it cleared up neither the nature of the original vocalization and vowel signs, nor the historical development of the Masoretic vowel system (1). [*Bleek*, p. 736, says the extreme antiquity claimed for the vowel signs is disproved not only by the historical evidence given below, but also by the absence of vowels from the Jewish coins, from the Phœnician and Punic monuments, and from the synagogue-rolls, which have certainly preserved the ancient mode of writing the sacred books; also the late introduction of vowel signs and accents in the cognate Shemitic dialects, furnishes evidence which points in the same direction.]

(1) The literature of this controversy is to be found most fully in *Pfeiffer*, Critica sacr. c. iv. sect. 2, quæst. 2; *Loescher*, de causis, p. 276; *Wolf*, Biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 476 sqq., iv. p. 214 sqq.; *Spitzner*, vindiciæ originis et auctoritatis divinæ punctorum vocal., Lipsiæ 1791; and *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch f. d. Liter. der bibl. Kritik, i. p. 569 ff.— (*a*) Following most of the Rabbins in the middle ages, *Jo. Buxtorf* in his Tiberias, c. 11, *Jo. Buxtorf* the son, *Wasmuth*, *Loescher*, and almost all the orthodox divines of the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries, defend the primitive antiquity or the divine origin (whether by Moses or by Ezra) of the vowel points. The reasons for this opinion are best developed by *Loescher*, *l.c.*, and by *Carpzov*, Crit. sacr. p. 242.—(*b*) On the contrary, their recent origin was intimated by *Aben Ezra*, though somewhat covertly [and *Bleek*, p. 733, adds that there is reason to think other Rabbins shared his views, else the author of the book Zohar would not have thought it necessary to defend the antiquity of the points with such peculiar emphasis]; and it was adopted, probably under the influence of Jewish instruction, by *Raymund Martini* [died 1284, says *Bleek*], by *Perez de Valencia* [Introd. ad exposit. in Psalmos, about 1450, says *Bleek*], and by *Nicol. de Lyra* [ad Hos. ix., says *Bleek*]. It was first taught more distinctly by *El. Levita*, [died 1549, in the third preface, *says Bleek*, to his] Masoreth Hammasoreth, from which, by means of *Münster's* translation of this work, it spread among the Reformers (*Luther*, *Calvin*, and others [among whom *Bleek* mentions *Pellicanus*, Præf. ad Pentat.; *Zwingli*, Præf. in Jes.]); but a formal refutation of it was given by *Buxtorf* in his Tiberias.—The controversy did not become serious till this view was urged in *Lud. Cappelli* Arcanum punctationis revelatum, 1624 [*Bleek*, p. 734, says, printed under the care of *Thomas Erpenius*, Professor of Oriental Languages at Leyden, 1624, 4to: then given more at large in *Lud. Cappelli* commentarii et notæ crit. in Vet. Test.; accessere *Jac. Cappelli* observatt. in eosdem libros, etc., Amstelodami 1689, which contained his other work mentioned below]. Against him, *Buxtorf* the son wrote de punctorum Vocalium et Accentuum in l. Vet. Test. origine, antiquitate, et auctoritate, Basileæ 1648 [4to, says *Bleek*], and Dissert. phil. theol. iv. 1662, 4to. To this replies were given by *Cappell* in his Vindiciæ Arcani punct. revel., and by *Jo. Morinus*, Exercitatt. bibl. 1669 [part second, exercit. 12–14, says *Bleek*]; whilst *Wasmuth*, with his Vindiciæ Hebr. script., Rostochii 1664, and others, entered the lists in support of *Buxtorf*, whose adherents in Switzerland exalted his view to a confessional article of belief in the Formula Consensus, Art. iv. [This is given somewhat more precisely in *Bleek*, p. 734: Can. ii. "Hebraicus Vet. Test. Codex . . . tum quoad consonas tum quoad vocalia, sive puncta ipsa sive punctorum saltem potestatem . . . θεόπνευστος."] The reasons for believing that the vowel points were added at a later period are brought together by *Brian Walton*, Prolegg. iii. 39, and by *Bauer*, Critica sacra, p. 128 sqq.—(*c*) An intermediate course, proceeding on the assumption that there had been a simpler system of vowel marks, either by three original vowels or by diacritic points, was opened up by *Rivetus*, *Hottinger*, and others, and was pursued especially by *J.*

D. Michaelis [von d. Alter d. hebr. Vocal, etc., Vermischt. Schriften, Theil ii.; Orient. Bibl. ix. 82 ff., 88 f.], *Trendelenburg* in *Eichhorn*, Repertor. xviii. p. 78 [ff.], *Eichhorn*, *Jahn*, *Bertholdt*, and others. Comp. *Gesenius*, Geschichte, p. 182 ff.; *Häv.* § 55. [On this *Bleek* remarks, p. 739, that it is decidedly erroneous to suppose that the ancient Hebrews had such signs even for single words which were difficult and doubtful; else these would certainly have been preserved to us, on account of the sacredness attached to the traditional form of the text from the time that the Canon was collected. Yet observe confirmation of the belief in an older simpler form of vowel marks in what is said of another style of punctuation recently discovered, at § 166, Note 7.]

At no time was the Hebrew system of writing merely a writing of the consonants; but from the beginning it had three vowel signs for the vowels *a*, *i*, and *u*. Of these, however, the first (א) was used only with a commencing sound, and in a concluding sound it was not written; but every consonant was sounded with the *a*, as in Ethiopic and Sanscrit. Moreover, in the beginning the *a* sound was very greatly predominant; and only as the language became developed, the other vowels became more frequent, *i* and *u*, also *e*, *o*, *ai*, and *au*. Yet the writing was developed less rapidly than the pronunciation; and thus the vowel marks י and ו were not applied everywhere, but only in ambiguous forms (2). Men were content with this simple vocalization as long as Hebrew continued to be spoken, as the Arabs are to this day, compensating for the defectiveness of the written symbols by the precision and certain knowledge of the living language. And yet even the later books of the Old Testament manifest a progress in the written symbols for the vowels, as the so-called *scriptio plena* comes much more frequently into use (3). But so late as the time of the Alexandrian version the vocalization had not attained to its later perfection, and therefore in many cases it deviates from that which is now adopted (4). In the Targums it meets us in a much firmer and less variable form; and by the time of the Talmud and Jerome it is thoroughly fixed, and it agrees essentially with the later vocalization, though neither the Talmud nor Jerome exhibit traces of vowel points (5).

(2) See the profound development of this view of the original

written vowel system among the Hebrews, by *Hupfeld*, in his Exercitatt. Æthiop. § 3–5; in the criticism of *Ewald's* Grammar in Hermes xxxi. 1, p. 16 ff.; in the Abhandlung von der Natur u. den Arten der Sprachlaute, in *Jahn's* Jahrbb. d. Philol. 1829, Heft 4, § 3; and in his ausführliche Hebr. Grammat. § 11, from which *Häv.* has drawn, Einl. i. § 51 ff.

(3) For instance, דויד, קודש, אלגופים, ריע, for דוד, קדש, אלגמים, רע. Further, אִיתַי for אִתַּי, 1 Chron. xi. 31, 2 Sam. xxiii. 29; יקהיל for יקהל, 2 Chron. v. 2, 1 Kings viii. 1; ואשים, ואקום, for ואשם, ואקם, 2 Chron. vi. 10, 11, 1 Kings viii. 20, 21, etc. This orthography is still more prevalent in the Samaritan Pentateuch: comp. *Gesenius*, de Pentat. Sam. pp. 16, 53 sq.; and in the talmudical and later rabbinical language.

(4) In the Alexandrian translation, the contraction of the diphthongs *ai* and *au* into *e* and *o* is still frequently not completed: *Αἰλαμ* (אֵילָם), *Θαιμαν* (תֵּיכָן), *Γαυλων* (גּוֹלָן), *Ναβαυ* (נְבוֹ), and others, as in the dialects. Instead of *ĕ*, which is constantly used by the Masoretes as an auxiliary vowel, it frequently has the original full vowel *ă*: for instance, *Μαδιαν* (מִדְיָן), *Σαμψων* (שִׁמְשׁוֹן); only occasionally *ĕ*, as *Κεδρων* (קִדְרוֹן). Instead of *vocal Sheva* at the beginning of words, it frequently has still the *a* sound—*Σαμουηλ*, *Σαβαωθ*, *Ζαβουλων*; and before ו and י also these [that is, their corresponding short] vowels—*Σοδομα*, *Σολομων*, *Γομορρα*, *Φυλιστειμ*, etc. Comp. *Gesenius*, Geschichte, p. 191 ff.; *Häv.* p. 303 f. See more examples in *Hupfeld*, ausf. Hebr. Gramm. i. p. 76 ff.; *Ewald*, ausf. Lehrbuch, § 87, *g*.

(5) The Talmud assumes the existence already of a text, which is quite firmly settled in respect of the vowels no less than of the consonants; a text which in itself is unassailable, and yet is capable of the most manifold interpretation, with a view to the establishment and illustration of new dogmas and theses. The talmudic formulas, אל תקרא כן אלא כן, "read not so, but so," יש אם למקרא יש אם למסרת, "a reason for decision according to the Miqra and the Masoreth," as also in general the distinction between the Miqra, the ecclesiastical or canonical reading, and the Masoreth, the assumed or apocryphal reading, do not lead us in the direction of critical doubts and controversies in reference to an ambiguous text; but they are concerned merely with plays upon individual words in the text, bending them so as to link on certain didactic propositions, dogmatic and juridical deductions, etc. Also the טעמים and פסוקי טעמים which are mentioned in the Talmud are not accents and vowel points, but *sententiæ* (logical propositions) and *incisa sententiarum* (clauses), which have nothing to do either with the vowels or with the tone. *Jerome* not only knows precisely the present vocalization of the text, but also often expresses

himself so decidedly as to the reading of the vowels, that in his time the vocalization, according to rabbinical tradition, appears to have been quite firmly settled. Along with this, however, his writings contain the strongest and most unambiguous declarations as to the entire absence of vowels and diacritic signs (comp. *Cappellus*, Arcan. i. c. 10; *Jo. Morinus*, exerc. 16, c. 2, 3; *Steph. Morinus*, de lingua primæv. iii. c. 10; *Hupfeld* [krit. Beleuchtung einiger dunkeln und missverstand. Stellen der alttestl. Textgeschichte, II. Vocalization, which *Bleek*, p. 734, pronounces "the most recent thorough investigation"] in the theol. Studien u. Krit. 1830, p. 573 ff.). Hence the accents which *Jerome* often mentions cannot mean written signs, or signs for reading, but must mean simply the pronunciation, according to the *usus loquendi* of the Greek and Latin grammarians (accentus = sonus). [Of all this, *Bleek*, p. 735, gives instances from *Jerome* on Jer. ix. 21, on Hab. iii. 5, on Isa. ii. 21, xxvi. 14, Epist. 125 ad Damasum. Then he adds, "He certainly speaks at times of 'vocalibus litteris in medio:' but, from the context, it is plain that by this he does not understand our vowel signs, nor anything similar, but certain of our consonants, from which in certain places a conclusion can be drawn as to the pronunciation of the words; these being not only the proper vowel-letters א, ו, י, and ה, but also ע. Comp. Procem. Comment. in Amos."]—Those who principally have declared in favour of vowel signs in the Talmud and Jerome, are *Buxtorf*, in his Tiberias, c. ix. p. 76 sqq., comp. with c. viii. p. 33 sqq.; *Buxtorf* (the son), de punct. antiquit. i. c. 6 and 11; *O. G. Tychsen*, in *Eichhorn*, Repert. iii. p. 105 ff.; and, less decidedly, *Gesenius*, Geschichte, p. 194 ff. This view has been controverted by *Elias Levita*, Masoreth Hammass. p. 90 (in *Semler's* edition): *Cappellus*, Arcan. i. c. 5, 7 ff., ii. c. 4–6: *Jo. Morinus*, exercitt. bibl. ii., exerc. 12, c. 3–15; exerc. 15, c. 3–5: *Wähner*, Antiquitt. Hebr. i. c. 36, § 209 sqq.: *Jahn*, Einl. i. p. 343 ff.: *Hupfeld*, p. 549 ff.: and *Häv.* Einl. i. § 53. [*Bleek*, p. 736, names also *De Wette*, bibl. Archäologie, 3d ed. § 279, *a*, Anm. *c*. He makes the same assertion as *Keil* as to טעמים in the Talmud not meaning the Masoretic accents, and continues thus: "Still less is any certain trace found in the Talmud of the existence of vowels such as ours, but rather there are decisive proofs of the contrary; since many a time here also," that is, as in Jerome's writings, "the determination of the sense of words which are written with the same consonants, but with different vowels, is made dependent, not upon their having written signs, but upon the context,"—referring to the end of the tract Berachoth, which discusses בניך in Isa. liv. 13, whether it means "thy sons" or "thy builders."]

§ 166. *How the Masoretic Vowel System came into Existence.*

The unpointed text was very welcome to the Talmudists, nay, was indispensable to them for their didactic purposes, in the spheres of dogma and jurisprudence, on account of its susceptibility of various meanings; so that they held firmly to this fundamental principle, that the traditional word must not be set down in a written form (1). Yet, notwithstanding this, after the Talmud had been completed, the force of circumstances introduced a feeling of the need for fixing down in writing the whole body of oral traditions (2), and led to the formation of our present Masoretic vowel system. This, however, is so artificial and so intricate, that we cannot possibly hold it to be the work of a single man, or of a brief space of time. It is true that we do not find any certain traces of successive formation in the monuments which have been preserved to us (3). And yet the historical relations at that time subsisting between the Jews and the Syrians and Arabs, on the one hand, and, on the other, the philological comparison of the vowel system of these nations with that of the Masoretes, as well as certain other historical traces, prove that it arose at successive periods from simpler foundations, and also that it is manifestly connected with them (4). So early as the seventh century the Syrians and Arabs had a way of marking the vowels, which began with simple diacritic signs and points (5), and gradually became developed into a complete phonetic scheme for marking the vowel tones. To the learned Jewish scribes, who were collecting the Masora, and fixing it down in writing, this furnished an occasion, a foundation, and a pattern for the formation of a vocalization of their own, which extends to the minutest shades of variation in sound; whose Arabic origin is placed beyond dispute by the testimony of Jewish grammarians, who trace all the vowels back to three fundamental sounds, and by the Arabic names for these which have been preserved in the book Kosri (6).—The full formation of these vowels was the result, in the school at Tiberias (7), in the period between the seventh century and the tenth. For the close of the talmudic period is not earlier than the sixth century: and so early as the beginning of the eleventh century, the grammarian *R. Chayûg* [see § 159, Note 1] names all the seven vowels; and the Spanish Rabbins

of the eleventh and twelfth centuries no longer know anything of their recent origin (8).

(1) Comp. Tract Gittin, fol. 60, "Verba quæ in scripto, non est licitum tibi docere ore: et contra verba quæ per os, non est licitum tibi docere scripto," in *Buxtorf*, de punct. vocal., etc., p. 41. Hence a pointed manuscript of the law was reckoned profane (פסול; comp. *Buxtorf*, *l.c.* p. 40); and the naked text (פשוט) alone was considered permissible either for divine service or for learned uses (that is, to be adduced in evidence for talmudical or kabbalistic purposes). Comp. *Hupfeld*, *ibid.* p. 564.

(2) Comp. *Buxtorf*, *l.c.* p. 42, especially p. 51, where, according to the tradition of later Rabbins, the writing down of what had been transmitted to them by word of mouth is represented as a necessary consequence of their persecutions and dispersion over the world. Comp. *Hupfeld*, p. 815. The rise of the Masoretic system of vowel marks *after* the close of the Talmud explains how the vowels did not find admission into the sacred manuscripts destined for use in the synagogues; and this practice contrasts with that of the Syrians and Arabs, who provide their ecclesiastical manuscripts with complete vocalization and interpunction, and content themselves with manuscripts destitute of this for private use.

(3) In all known codices the Masoretic vowel system appears perfectly formed; and the deviations in individual manuscripts have had their origin merely in this, that the system had been overloaded with signs. Comp. *Häv.* p. 312.

(4) *Hupfeld*, p. 785 ff., has shown convincingly the connection of the Masoretic punctuation with the Syriac and Arabic, by representing genetically how the whole Shemitic system of vowel marks arose out of the diacritic line of the Samaritans [over the *Beth* in דבר, when it was to be read *debher*, and not *dabhar;* over the *Aleph* in אל, when it was to be read *el*, and not *al: Bleek*, p. 738], the diacritic point of the Syrians, and their progress to the pure phonetic systems of punctuation among the Arabs and Syrians. The Arabic influence has been very positively denied by *Ewald;* comp. his ausf. Lehrbuch d. hebr. Sprache, p. 137, and Jahrbb. der bibl. Wissenschaft, i. p. 171.

(5) On the subject of the Syriac system of punctuation, comp. *Hupfeld*, *ibid.*, and *Ewald*, Abhandlung zur bibl. u. orient. Literatur, Göttingen 1832, Theil i. p. 53 ff.

(6) Of the Jewish grammarians, *Aben Ezra* and *Abraham de Balmis* (in *Morinus*, exerc. 18. 7, and *Buxtorf*, de punct. pp. 191, 203)

trace back the whole of the vowels to three simple (פשוטות) or original vowels (מוסדות, אמהות), that is, to *ă*, *ŏ*, and *i*; and for these the Arabic names still appear in the book of Kosri (ii. § 80, p. 143, ed. *Buxtorf*), —namely, פתיחה (Fatcha, Pattach), קמוץ compressio, contractio oris (that is, the Arabic Damma, the Hebrew Cholem), and שבר fractio oris (the Arabic Kesre, the Hebrew Chirek). Comp. *Hupfeld*, p. 813 ff.

(7) The *Palestinian* origin of the ordinary Masoretic punctuation is placed beyond all doubt by our becoming acquainted (only in the most recent times) with traces of an "Assyrian-Hebrew punctuation," which had been formed in Babylonia; but which, in spite of its difference from the Palestinian system, still points back to a simpler foundation common to both the superstructures. Comp. *Ewald*, Jahrbb. i. p. 160 ff. [*Bleek*, pp. 738–9, taking much the same view, says: "I remark here, that a few years ago (1845–46) certain portions of the Hebrew Old Testament have been communicated to the world by Pinner in Berlin, and by Luzzatto in Padua, taken from manuscripts of Karaite Jews in the East: these present a vocalization and accentuation which deviates very much from ours, and which is designated the Assyrian system, whereas ours is that of Tiberias," at least in the judgment of *Hupfeld*, from which he does not dissent. "*Ewald* thinks that an older punctuation lies at the foundation both of this Assyrian system, and of the other which afterwards became the common one. Closer investigation is needed to determine whether this is correct."]

(8) Comp. *Hupfeld*, p. 815; *Hāv.* p. 312. [*Bleek*, p. 737, names, along with *R. Chayug*, the still earlier *Suadia Gaon*, as having written upon the points in his grammatical works; and he adds, that his "Arabic translation of the Old Testament books adheres throughout to our Masoretic punctuation in its conception of the meaning; from which fact it follows that the Hebrew text was so early as at that time provided with our punctuation."]—The opinions of earlier critics which deviate from this may be seen in *Gesenius*, Geschichte, pp. 202–3.

§ 167. *Divisions of the Words and of the Sense by Open Spaces and Paragraphs.*

The ancient Hebrews, like the ancients generally, had neither complete *separation of words* nor complete *scriptio continua*; but they divided the sentences, and for the most part the words also, by little

spaces, whilst closely connected words were frequently written without any break (1). But when the regular square character was introduced, the separation of the individual words by little spaces also became universal; and in later manuscripts it was only here and there, through negligence, not strictly observed (2).

(1) See the proofs of this in *Gesenius*, Geschichte, p. 171.—Such spaces are found so early as on the Carpentras stone, and in the Syriac manuscripts of the oldest date: comp. *Ulr. Kopp*, Bilder u. Schriften der Vorzeit, ii. § 174; *Jahn*, Einl. p. 354 ff.—The deviations of the Septuagint from our present division of the words (comp. *Cappellus*, Crit. sacr. ed. *Vogel-Scharfenberg*, lib. ii. c. 13), as a whole, refer to words which are closely connected, to speak of nothing else; and they merely prove that the division of the words was not carried out with perfect strictness. [*Bleek*, p. 740, speaks a little differently: "With greater probability" than conjectural alteration of the vowels according to the Masoretic reading, "it may be assumed that the Old Testament writers used no divisions of words in their writing. Yet the necessity for calling attention to the division of the written words must have been felt earlier than the necessity for vocalization; though it is also true that, after a commencement had been made in the way of marking where words began and ended, by points or by little spaces, a long time must certainly have elapsed before this came to be thoroughly and regularly carried out. Hence we need have no scruple about adopting deviation from the common division of words which is at present given in manuscripts and additions, if the change helps us in the exposition a sense which is more natural and more suitable to the context; as the oldest translations, particularly the Septuagint, have not unfrequently followed a division not the same as that in the present Masoretic text." But this is a rash inference.]

(2) So early as in the Talmud, Menach. fol. 30. 1, the space between the words in the sacred manuscripts is fixed with precision (comp. *Waehner*, Antiqq. Hebr. i. p. 193). The high antiquity of this practice is shown by the care with which a point is used to divide the words in the Samaritan Pentateuch. It must be left undetermined (though the affirmative is thought probable by *Häv.* p. 317 f.) whether or not this division of words by points—a mode which also occurs in many Phœnician inscriptions, as it does likewise in the oldest Greek and Latin inscriptions and manuscripts—was applied also to the ancient Hebrew writing, and fell into disuse only when the cursive character originated, so that it came to be completely sup-

planted when the square character had become fully formed. Yet comp. *Jahn*, Einl. i. § 98, and *Hupfeld*, *ibid.* pp. 262–3.

Besides this, *divisions in the sense*, or greater and smaller sections in prose texts, were always distinguished by *open spaces* of various sorts and sizes (3). By this means, those divisions in the Pentateuch were formed which are known by the name of *Parashas* (פָּרָשָׁה, פָּרָשִׁיּוֹת); which were distributed into *open* and *closed* sections (פְּתוּחוֹת and סְתוּמוֹת [the latter also receiving the name of סְמוּכָה, because, regarded as *leaning* or dependent on another, according to *Bleek*, p. 744]), and in the Masoretic manuscripts and editions were distinguished by the initial letters פ and ס (4). The *open* sections seem to have been used to mark new matters in the text, or greater divisions; whilst smaller ones were marked by *closed* sections—that is, those which occurred in the middle of a line (5). Such divisions are also found in the prophets and the Hagiographa (6); and in the more exact manuscripts and editions they have been carefully observed and transmitted, in accordance with a tradition of primitive antiquity. We can trace its existence further back than the Talmud: since the Mishna quotes many single Parashas; and already the Gemara mentions the distinction between the open and the closed Parashas amongst the inviolable requirements of the sacred orthography, and derives their origin from Moses—that is to say, from a tradition of unimpeachable authority (7). So that it is likely they proceeded from the earliest times in which the sacred Scriptures were read in public, if not from the very authors of the Old Testament books (8).

(3) Comp. *Hupfeld*, Beleucht. dunkler Stellen der alttestl. Textgeschichte, in the theol. Studien u. Krit. 1837, p. 830 ff., and Hebr. Grammatik, § 18 ff.

(4) In the Masora they are designated by a name which has often been misunderstood, *Pisqa* (פִּסְקָא, interstitium, hiatus), as was already remarked by *El. Levita*, Massor. Hammas. p. 228 of *Semler's* edition; for which in many manuscripts פְּרִינְמָא is used: comp. *Hupfeld*, ausf. Hebr. Gramm. p. 86, note.—Those editions of the Bible which *J. Athias* prepared have preserved them very carefully. In addition to this, the determinations of the Rabbins about the forms (צוּרוֹת)—that is, the position and extent of these open spaces—are in part contradictory: comp. *Buxtorf*, de Abbreviat., under ס "פ; and *Jo. Morinus*, Exercc. bibl. ii., exerc. 17, c. 7.—According to the more ancient deter-

mination in the tract Sopherim, c. 1, 14, the פתוחה is an empty space, the width of *three* letters, at the beginning of a line, and the סתומה is as much in the middle of a line; so that the former makes a paragraph, the latter makes an interval within the line. According to the practice observed in later times, this space was enlarged to the width of *nine* letters; and as such a space might not always be found in the middle of lines, it often became necessary to concede the right of beginning a new line even to the closed Parashas, and constantly to make the open ones begin with the line, their open space being transposed to the line preceding. So it is in the synagogue-rolls at this day, and in our editions of the Bible.—Yet already the earlier Rabbins mourn over the confusion in these divisions: see *Hottinger*, thesaur. philol. p. 218; and the further proof in *Hupfeld*, Hebr. Gramm. pp. 86, 88.

(5) Of these divisions it is already remarked by *Carpzov*, Crit. sacr. p. 145: "Concisiora sunt harum pericoparum (? that is, the present Sabbath divisions [as to which, see § 168, III.]) segmenta, *discernendis materiis* sive argumentis textus sacri accommodata, publicamque prælectionem debitis intervallis scite moderantia."—*Vitringa*, de Synagog. vet. iii. 2, 8, p. 965: . . . "quod minora legis Mosaicæ segmenta nequaquam olim subservierint lectioni legis, sed *discernendis materiis*." As proofs of this, *Hupfeld, ibid.*, has adduced the several portions of the genealogies, Gen. v., x., xi.; the history of the flood, Gen. vi.–ix.; the groups of laws, Ex. xx., xxi.–xxiii., Lev. xviii., Num. xxix., Deut. v., xxii.–xxv.; the lists, Ex. xl., Num. xxvi., Josh. xv., xix., xxi., Judg. i., ii., etc.

(6) Mention is made of Parashas in the prophets by the Mishna, Megill. iv. 4, and by the Gemara Hierosol. fol. 75. 2, and by the Gemara Babylon. fol. 21. 23. The individual psalms, separated by spaces, are called Parashas in the Gemara Babylon., Berachoth, fol. 9. 2, 19. 1 [*Bleek*, p. 744, gives these references, fol. 9. 2, 10. 1].

(7) In the Mishna are mentioned the seven Parashas of the history of the creation, Taan. iv. 3; those of prayer and of the Tephillin (Ex. xiii. 1–10, 11–16; Deut. vi. 4–9, xi. 13–21; Num. xv. 37–41), Berach. ii. 2, Tam. v. 1, Menach. iii. 7; and others in *Hupfeld* (Stud. u. Krit. 1837, p. 838), ausf. Hebr. Gramm. p. 92, note. The Gemara quotes the Parashas "Balaam" or "Balak," "Sotah," "the red heifer," and others.—And in Berach. fol. 12. 2 it is said, "Every Parasha which Moses divided we also divide; and any one which Moses did not divide, neither do we;" that is, we are bound to the existing division as an ordinance of Moses. Comp. *Hupfeld*, Heb. Gramm. p. 93.

(8) Of the same nature and origin are the קְצִין (sections) of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the most ancient *κεφάλαια*, *capitula*, *tituli*, *breves*, of the Greek, Latin, and Syriac translations of the Bible, frequently distinguished, so early as in the oldest manuscripts, by spaces and large initial letters. On the contrary, according to *Hupfeld*, *ibid.* p. 842 (or pp. 95–6), the *capitula* of *Jerome* are not the Hebrew Parashas, although sometimes coinciding with them (as Gen. xxv. 13–18, xlix. 22–26; Jer. ix. 16–18; Zeph. iii., conclusion); but are portions arbitrarily selected from the text, of very greatly varying compass, consisting often only of a verse or half a verse: for instance, Quæst. in Gen. iv. 15, xv. 16, xxxvi. 24, xliii. 11, xlviii. 5, and synonymous with *locus*, *passage*, *subject* of an investigation; and, like the *περικοπαί* and *ἀναγνώσματα* of *Origen*, are merely passages arbitrarily selected from the text for homiletic treatment. [See at § 168, Note 8, a reference to *Hupfeld's* refutation of a different view, thus stated by *Bleek*, pp. 742–3: "*Jerome* often mentions *capitula* in reference to the Hebrew as well as to the Greek and the Latin text. And it is indubitable that these were not divisions made by himself, but such as he found made already, and marked upon the text in some outward manner; for several times he speaks of the end of a chapter, and of divergences, in this respect, of the Septuagint and the Latin versions from the Hebrew text (for instance, on Mic. vi. 9, on Zeph. iii. 14)."]

In like manner, in the poetical texts (whether shorter passages or entire books), which present regularly returning parallel members in virtue of their rhythmical nature, the clauses of the rhythmical members were from the beginning, or from the earliest times of sacred caligraphy, broken up in the manner of lines of poetry, and divided into פסוקים, *στίχοι*, *versus*, or also into *κῶλα* and *κόμματα*, larger and smaller members of a verse (9). That this custom of primitive antiquity among Greeks, Romans, and Arabs, was also observed in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, may be inferred with the greatest probability from this circumstance, that it invariably occurs in the songs inserted in the Pentateuch and the historical books (Ex. xv.; Deut. xxxii.; Judg. v.; 2 Sam. xxii.); also that in many of the oldest manuscripts the poetical books (Psalms, Proverbs, and Job) are still so divided (10); that the manuscripts of the Septuagint and of the old Latin translations were written so; and that Josephus and Philo compare the *στίχοι* with the verses in the classical metres, and that

the Fathers consider them to be of unimpeachable character or of primitive antiquity (11).

(9) The talmudic פסוקים (from פסק, secare, abscindere = *κόπτειν*) quite correspond etymologically to the Greek and Latin *κόμματα*, *cæsa*, and originally denoted half-verses, members of a verse, two of which, in the Hebrew style of writing, stood side by side upon one line, שִׁיטָה; but the name was at a later time transferred so as to denote the entire rhythmical period, like *στίχος* and *versus*. *Hupfeld*, p. 848 (Gramm. p. 102), infers this from the tract Kiddushim, fol. 30, 1: "Tradunt Rabbini nostri 5888 (according to *Morinus*, 8888) versus sunt in libro legis (these being the present verses, which are now reckoned at 5845), plures habet Psalmorum liber octo, pauciores Chronicorum liber octo." Comp. *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, i. c. 8, p. 44 sq. [*Bleek*, p. 742, adds that, according to the same tract at the same place, as given by *De Wette*, § 89, note *c*, "Lev. xiii. 33 should be the middle Pesuq in the Pentateuch; on the contrary, according to the present division of verses, the number of verses preceding this one exceeds the number of those which follow by about 300,—a proof that in individual details the verses were not the same as now."] The number of verses in the Psalms approaches very much to the number 5000, and up to 5500, as the Greek stichometres contain them. [*Bleek*, p. 741, from the same place in that tract, says the Psalms had 5896 Pesuqim, whereas the number of our verses amounts to 2527. And, p. 742, he says it reckoned 888 Pesuqim in Chronicles, where we find now 1656 verses. He adds: "*Hupfeld*, Stud. u. Krit. 1837, 4, p. 852 ff., thinks that these talmudical divisions into verses had no external designation, but were only made in reading in accordance with oral tradition (comp. *De Wette*, § 80, *b*). But this is thoroughly improbable, when we consider what has now been mentioned of their being determinately numbered, and that so early as at the time of the Mishna." Yet this opinion of *Hupfeld's* is adopted by *Keil*: see § 168, Note 4, and the passage to which it refers.]

(10) So the Codices Paris. reg. 5 and 6, in *Martianay*, Prologg. iv. 3 on the first volume of *Jerome's* works; Codex Bodlei. 5 (*Kennicott*, diss. super ratione text. Hebr., ed. *Teller*, p. 308); Codex Cassel.; Codex Regiom. See others in *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. pp. 298, 309; *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 348. In manuscripts more recent than the Masoretic age this division fell into disuse, partly because it was pushed aside by the later system of interpunction, partly because of the efforts at convenience and saving of space. Comp. *Hupfeld*, pp. 848-9 (Gramm. p. 103).

(11) The writing after the manner of *στίχοι* (*στιχηρῶς* or *στιχηδὸν γράφειν*) is found in the Codex Alexandrinus (comp. *Breitinger*, Septuagint, prol. t. i. c. 1, § 6), in the Codex Vaticanus, in the Psalterium Turic., in the Psalt. Sangerm., and in other psalters, and in the Latin codices named by *Martianay* in his first volume of the works of *Jerome*. *Epiphanius*, de pondd. et mens. c. iv. p. 162, says: *Πέντε στιχήρεις, ἡ τοῦ Ἰωβ βίβλος, εἶτα τὸ ψαλτήριον, Παροιμίαι Σαλομῶντος, Ἐκκλησιαστὴς, Ἆσμα ἀσμάτων.* Comp. *Suicer*, thesaur. eccl. *sub voce στίχος*. *Breitinger*, prolegg. *l.c.*, remarks upon the Alexandrian Codex: "Diversa autem est ratio librorum metricorum, nempe Psalmorum *Davidis*, historiæ Jobi, *Salomonis* Proverbiorum, etc., utpote qui juxta *statam ac jam olim receptam in versus distinctionem* in membranis nostris sunt exarati. Atqui de hac divisione per *στίχους* notata haud indigna sunt verba *Hesychii* Hierosolymitani, quibus *Στιχηρὸν* duodecim Prophetarum ita incipit: Libros Prophetarum majoris perspicuitatis causa per versuum cola dividere, *vetus inventum est S. Patrum.* Nam initio sine ulla distinctione; postea vero viri docti et sacrarum literarum studiosi majoris ut dixi perspicuitatis gratia hujusmodi versuum distinctionem excogitarunt. Ita prophetarum libri ab illis editi sunt: *sic Davidis Psalmi, sic Proverbia et Ecclesiastes et Canticum Cantic., sic liber Jobi per versus distinctus reperitur.*"—Comp. *Jerome*, præf. in Jesaj.: "Nemo cum prophetas *versibus* viderit descriptos, metro eos æstimet apud Hebræos ligari et aliquid *simile habere de Psalmis et operibus Salomonis:* sed quod in Demosthene et in Tullio solet fieri, ut per *cola* scribantur et *commata*, qui utique prosa et non versibus conscripserunt, nos quoque utilitati legentium providentes interpretationem novam novo scribendi genere distinximus." According to this, *Jerome* designates this mode of writing as a custom which had been handed down in the case of the so-called poetical books, but in the prophetical books as a novelty introduced by himself.

§ 168. *Verses, Chapters, and Ecclesiastical Pericopæ.*

I. After the rhythmical division of sentences in the poetical books, there came into use in the prose books, at least in those which were read publicly, *a logical division into periods*, which is also mentioned in the Mishna by the name of פסוקים, and is spoken of as marking a customary place for pausing in the public reading of the Law and the Prophets. Probably it was introduced for the sake of more easily reading and interpreting the Scriptures in the synagogue; but

already in the Gemara it is dated so far back as the time of Moses (1). Our present verses arose out of this division; this follows from the old enumerations handed down in the Talmud (2), which correspond pretty well with our verses (3).

(1) Megilla iv. 4: "Qui legit in lege, non minus legat quam tres versus (פסוקים): ne prælegatur interpreti plus quam unus versus, et in propheta tres; si tres illi fuerint tres Parashæ, legunt quam libet sigillatim." In Megill. fol. 22, c. 1, the division into verses is derived from Moses. Comp. *Hupfeld*, p. 849 ff., and Gramm. § 21.

(2) In Megilla iv. 4 (t. ii. p. 400, ed. *Surenhusius*), Isa. lii. 3–5 is spoken of as three verses. In the Babylonian Gemara, Baba bathr. fol. 14. 2, Menach. fol. 30. 1, Deut. xxxiv. 5–12 is mentioned as the last eight verses in the law. Comp. also § 167, Note 9.

(3) In the Gemara other names occur, along with פְּסוּקִים, for the division according to the sense (פִּיסּוּק), which was taught in the schools as an art. Such are: פִּיסּוּקִים (divisions, pauses), more usually פִּיסּוּקֵי טְעָמִים (divisions according to the sense, or into sentences), also טעמים, *sententiæ;* and once הֲכָרִיעִים (*pausæ distinguentes?*). These seem to denote sometimes reading-divisions in general; sometimes, in a narrower sense, divisions into clauses within the פְּסוּקִים or half verses. Comp. the mode in which the Talmud deals with Neh. viii. 8, in Megill. Hierosol. c. 4, fol. 74. 4; Babylon. fol. 3. 1; Nedarim, fol. 37. 2, and others; and the passages, in the original and translated, discussed by *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, c. 8, 9; *Buxtorf* fil., de punct. antiq. pp. 83–94; *L. Cappellus*, Arcan. punct. ii. c. 4 sqq.; and *Jo. Morinus*, exerc. 15, c. 3, 4.

But it is highly probable that these divisions into verses and periods were not first externally designated, but were merely transmitted by oral tradition. We must infer this from such facts as these: that though the Talmud often speaks of verses and the like, it never mentions any external marks for them; that the synagogue-rolls ignore them, following the ancient practice; that the observance of the divisions is represented as an art learned in the schools, and complaints are made as to the impossibility of controlling the traditional numbering of the verses in our books (4); and that the old translators fluctuate in their division of the verses (5). But if there did exist any such mark of division, it would consist of little spaces or intervals, and nothing else (6). It was not till after the talmudic

period, though before the date of the Masoretic punctuation, that this division of verses was outwardly marked by two points (:), which was introduced even into the poetical books, in so much that, for the most part, it thrust aside the old method of breaking up the writing into *στίχοι* [see § 167, Note 10]. Clearly it is older than the present punctuation and accentuation: for it is mentioned at an earlier period; and also [this mark called] Soph Pasuq is placed in unpointed manuscripts and editions, and has ever been distinguished from the corresponding accents (7).

(4) See the proofs in *Hupfeld*, p. 852 ff. (Gramm. p. 106 ff.). [It has already been noticed, § 167, Note 9, addition, that *Bleek* takes the opposite view.]—Kiddushim, fol. 30. 1: "Prisci (ראשונים) idcirco vocati sunt ספרים, quia numerarunt omnes literas *Legis*, dicentes: Litera *Vav* vocis וָחֹן, Lev. xi. 42, est media litera libri Legis. . . . Quæsivit *R. Joseph: Vav* vocis וחן pertinetne ad hanc vel ad illam partem? respondit, afferamus librum Legis, et numerabo illas. Numquid dixit *Rabba bar bar Channa:* eos (priscos) non recessisse inde donec numerassent eas. Tum ille: Ipsi, ait, exercitati fuerunt in literis defectivis et redundantibus, nos non sumus sic exercitati," etc., in *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, c. 8, p. 44 (ed. 1620).

(5) Examples in the Septuagint: Ps. xlv. 11, 12, xc. 2; Lam. iii. 5; Jonah ii. 6; Obad. 9. In the Vulgate: Cant. v. 5; Eccles. i. 5. Comp. *L. Cappellus*, Crit. sacr., ed. *Vogel*, ii. pp. 545 sqq., 869.

(6) So *Hupfeld*, p. 854 (Gramm. p. 108), against *Prideaux*, Connection of the Old and New Test. i. p. 332 ff.; *Bertholdt*, Einl. i. § 62, who adopt the opinion that there were *στίχοι* or broken lines. Yet in the tract Sopherim iii. 5, "Liber Legis, in quo incisum est (שפסוק), et in quo capita incisorum punctata sunt (שנוקד ראשי פסוקים), ne legas in eo," it is assumed that there were manuscripts in which the divisions of verses were indicated by points.—Only the Decalogue was originally written in ten series, שיטים, *στίχοι*, that is, partly lines, partly larger paragraphs. Targ. Cant. v. 13 (see *El. Levita*, in *Hottinger*, thesaur. philol. p. 228, and *Buxtorf*, Clav. Masor. p. 287): "Duo tabulæ lapideæ scriptæ erant decem lineis שיטין, quæ similes *ordinibus* vel *areolis horti* aromatici."—The division of the prophetical books into greater and smaller paragraphs (*cola* et *commata*), and of the historical books into *commata*, which *Jerome* introduced into his translation of the Bible, was not found by him already existing in Hebrew or Greek manuscripts, but was invented by himself. See his words in § 167, Note 11.

(7) [So *Bleek*, p. 742, referring to the tract Sopherim 3. 7.] Comp. *Hupfeld*, p. 857 ff. (Gramm. § 22).—The verses were first marked with numbers in the Pentateuch of *Sabionetti*, 1557 [but only every fifth verse, *Bleek*, p. 742], and perfectly in the edition of *Athias*, with *Leusden's* preface, Amsterdam 1661. In the Vulgate they were marked so early as in 1558 [*Bleek*, p. 742, says, in the seventh edition of *Rob. Stephanus*, 1555–58].

II. Since the traces in the Hebrew text of *divisions into chapters*, which men have found in the writings of *Jerome*, are proved by closer examination to have no reality (8), the סדרים found by *R. Jacob ben Chayim* in a manuscript, and adopted in his edition of the Bible (the number of which for the whole Old Testament is 447), may furnish us with the first attempt at a division into chapters, whose origin lies wholly in obscurity (9). Our present division is of Christian origin, and proceeds from the thirteenth century (10). It was adopted from the Vulgate by *R. Nathan* [for his Concordance, *Bleek*, p. 745] about the year 1440; and, after the precedent of *R. Jacob ben Chayim*, it was introduced into the editions of the Hebrew Bible [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, says first in *Bomberg's* Bible of 1525, as to which see § 209, III.] (11).

(8) The common opinion, for instance in *Jahn's* Einl. i. p. 369; *Bertholdt*, Einl. i. p. 212; and *Herbst's* Einl. i. p. 79, that *Jerome's* Capitula denoted divisions of the text, has been refuted by *Hupfeld:* comp. § 167, Note 8 [where *Bleek's* adoption of that common opinion is noticed].

(9) Comp. *Jahn, ibid.; Häv.* i. 1, p. 325.

(10) *Gilbert Genebrard*, Chronol. l. iv. p. 644: "Circa hoc tempus (about 1240) Biblia in capitula, quæ hodie habemus, distinguuntur. Scholasticorum videtur esse inventum, eorum fortasse, qui cum *Hugone* Cardinali (*Hugo a St. Caro* [*Bleek*, p. 745, says, Provincial of the Dominicans in Gaul, afterwards Cardinal in Spain], who died in 1262 [1263, *Bleek*]), Concordantium fuere auctores. Nam ante ista tempora theologi superiores ea non usurpant, inferiores frequenter." On the other hand, *Balæus*, Hist. Eccles. Centur. xiii. c. 7, 10, ascribes this invention to his countryman *Stephen Langton*, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1227. *Jahn*, Einl. i. p. 368, combines these two accounts.

(11) *R. Nathan*, præf. Concord. Hebr. [in which, says *Bleek*, *ibid.*, he expressly asserts that he transferred them from the Vulgate]; *El. Levita*, præf. ad Massor. Hammas., p. 17 of *Semler's* edition;

Buxtorf, præf. Concord. Hebr., col. 4–14.—The Jews name them פרקים, סימנים, קפיטולי. Comp. *Carpzov*, Crit. sacr. pp. 152–3.—Before the division into chapters and verses was invented, a section used to be quoted by the accounts which it happened to give. Thus, in the New Testament, Mark ii. 26, xii. 26, Rom. xi. 2, Heb. iii. 8, iv. 4; in Philo, for instance, de agricult. i. p. 316, ed. *Mang.*; in the Rabbins and the classics. Comp. *Döpke*, Hermeneutik der N. Testamentl. Schriftsteller, p. 63 ff.; *Häv.* p. 322.

III. Different from the (small) Parashas which were formed by open spaces (§ 167), and of later origin, are the so-called *great Parashas* (12), or the portions of the Pentateuch now read on successive Sabbaths, which are not mentioned at all in the Mishna, and of which there are but some slight intimations in the Gemara; and which consequently are ignored in the synagogue-rolls. They were introduced solely for the purpose of securing the public weekly reading of the whole Pentateuch within a certain period of time (13).—The *Haphtaras* (הפטרות) in the Prophets have had the same object and origin (14); that is, they are sections for public reading in the synagogue which have been taken from the prophetical books. They are noticed so early as in the Mishna (15).

(12) Hitherto the greater Parashas have been considered to be more ancient than the smaller ones, the latter having been also alleged to be subdivisions of the former. So, for instance, *Jo. Morinus*, exerc. 17, c. 7, p. 493 sqq.; *Huetius*, Nott. ad *Origenis* commentaria, p. 18; and many more recent writers on Introduction—*Jahn*, i. § 100; *Bertholdt*, i. § 59, and others.—An intimation of the correct view was given so early as by *Vitringa*, de Synag. vet. p. 966 sqq.; and it was confirmed by fuller proofs by *Hupfeld*, pp. 843–4 (Gramm. p. 97). [*Bleek*, p. 743, gives this reference to *Hupfeld*, p. 833; and he inclines to the same opinion, as he says *De Wette* also did in his fifth and sixth editions.] The Parashas mentioned in the Talmud are not the greater, but the smaller ones; and it is the smaller ones which are distinguished in the ordinary manuscripts and editions by the marks פ and ס, while the marks פפפ and סססס are placed only in those cases in which the commencement of a smaller Parasha coincides with that of a larger one, or Sabbath-portion.

(13) The practice of publicly reading sections of the law in the synagogues is very ancient (Acts xv. 21, "Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues

every Sabbath-day;" *Josephus*, c. Apion, ii. 17). But the arrangement of these readings, and the division of the portions read, being of later origin, were not always and everywhere alike; for in Palestine the whole Pentateuch was read in three years or three and a half, whereas in Babylonia this was done in a single year. Comp. *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 142 sq.; *Zunz*, die gottesdienstl. Vorträge, pp. 3, 4.—So early as in the Babylonian Gemara, Megill. fol. 29. 2, 30. 2, several of the present names of the Sabbath-lessons occur; and *Hupfeld*, *ibid.*, would find some intimation of them even in the Mishna, Megill. iii. 4 and 6.

(14) An untenable conjecture has been the foundation of the account which *Elias Levita* in his Thisbi gives of the origin of reading the Haphtaras: "Antiochus improbus, rex Græciæ, interdixit Israelitis ne legem legerent. Quid fecerunt Israelitæ? Sumpserunt Parasham ex Prophetis, cujus argumentum simile erat argumento Parashæ illius Sabbathi," etc. (in *Hottinger*, thes. phil. p. 222). Against this, comp. *Vitringa*, de synag. vet. p. 1008; *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 148 sq.; *Jahn*, Einl. i. p. 367; and *Zunz*, pp. 6, 7, and p. 188 ff.—The best explanation of the name [though *Bleek*, p. 744, says the matter must be left doubtful] is given by *Leusden*, philol. Hebr. Diss. iii. § 4, p. 28, following *Elias Levita*: "Sectio prophetica vocatur הפטרה *missa*, *dimissio*, a פטר *dimisit:* a cessando vel finiendo nomen habet, quia lecta hac sectione prophetica lectio Sabbathina cessat ac finitur, et populus dimittitur; et propterea lector hujus sectionis propheticæ vocatur מפטיר *dimittens*, quia ille coetum solet dimittere." Comp. *Vitringa*, de synag. vet. p. 994 sqq.; *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 146 sq.—On the contrary, according to *Frankel*, Vorstudien zu Septuaginta, p. 51, the word signifies Introduction, Entrance; but is this so?

(15) There is evidence in Acts xiii. 15 and Luke iv. 16 that it was a constant practice to read on Sabbath from the prophets; although it seems to follow from the latter passage that the section to be read had not yet been fixed determinately. The Mishna repeatedly speaks of the Haphtaras, Megill. c. 4. 1–3, 5 [so *Bleek*, p. 745; yet adding that it remains questionable what the relation of these was to those now in use]; and so early as in the Gemara, Megill. fol. 29. 2, 31. 1, several Haphtaras are named. Yet in general they cannot then have been fixed determinately, and even now different usages prevail among the Jews of different countries. See the table of them in *Bodenschatz*, kirchl. Verfassung der heutigen Juden, ii. p. 26 ff.

§ 169. *The Masoretic System of Accents.*

Although no historical testimonies exist as to the origin of the Masoretic accentuation (1), yet it stands in such close connection with their vocalization, that it also must have arisen at the same time, and must in like manner have been built up by successive efforts, upon simpler foundations, till it attained that highly complicated form in which it has been handed down to us (2). The proper purpose for which these accents were designed, is to be inferred from the two names for them, טְעָמִים (sensus, *marks for the sense*) and נְגִינוֹת (marks for the *modulation*): it is to regulate and mark the rhythm for the delivery, when the Holy Scriptures are read in public worship. This rhythm, conditioned by the logical sense of the words and clauses, forms a suitable expression for itself, by the varied modulation of the voice, in the reading of even the individual words and syllables of the text of the Bible (3).

(1) There has been much controversy about the age of these accents also. Comp. *Buxtorf* fil., de punct. antiq. i. 14, p. 209 sqq.; *Loescher*, de causis ling. Hebr. ii. 5, p. 331 sqq.; *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 492 sqq., iv. p. 218 sqq., together with *Koecher's* additions, biblioth. ii. p. 123; *Gesenius*, Geschichte der hebr. Sprache, § 57, and Lehrgebäude, § 23, 24; and *Hupfeld*, in the theol. Studien u. Krit. 1837, p. 862 ff., and in Zeitschrift d. deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft, vii. p. 153 ff.

(2) Probably the simpler Syrian system of accents (comp. *Ewald*, Abhandl. z. orient. u. bibl. Lit. i. p. 103 ff., and Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morgenl. i. 2, p. 204 ff., ii. 1, p. 109 ff.) may here again have furnished the occasion and the point of departure for further development. Comp. *Hupfeld*, p. 862 ff., and ausf. Hebr. Gramm. § 23, 24.

(3) Directions for an empirical knowledge of the accents are given by *Hirt*, Systema accent. Hebr., Jenæ 1752, and especially by *A. B. Spitzner*, institutt. ad analyticam s. textus Hebr. Vet. Test. ex accentibus, Halæ 1786, and by *Gesenius*, Lehrgeb. § 25–27. *Hupfeld*, p. 877 ff. (Gramm. § 24), and *Ewald*, Abhandlung, p. 130 ff., and ausf. Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache, § 95 ff., have attempted to lay down the scientific principles on which the whole system is founded. [See more particularly Dr. *A. B. Davidson's* Outlines of Hebrew Accentuation, Prose and Poetical, London and Ed. 1861.]

CHAPTER II.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 170. *Their General Nature or Character.*

The Hebrew manuscripts which have been preserved to us, all proceed from an age later than that of the Masoretes [with exceptions to be noticed at § 172, Note 6] (1), and furnish us with a text in which they all agree; at least the deviations are very minute. Still it exists in two forms: for some of them have preserved unaltered the text in its old, simple ante-Masoretic condition; others, on the contrary, present it in complete Masoretic equipment.—According to this, they fall to be divided into two classes, *sacred* and *common:* or, first, *synagogue rolls;* and secondly, common or *private manuscripts.* These latter are subdivided, according as they are written in the Chaldee square character or in the rabbinical hand (2).

(1) "Ratio enim probabilis reddi potest, cur non habeamus Codd. Hebræos ita antiquos ut Græcos quosdam Vet. et Novi Testamenti; quia sc. post Masoretharum criticam et punctationem ab omnibus receptam, Judæorum magistri omnes Codd. his non conformes, ut profanos et illegitimos damnarunt; unde post pauca secula, omnibus juxta Masoretharum exemplaria descriptis, reliqui rejecti et aboliti. Hinc est quod pauca habemus exemplaria Hebr. 500 vel 600 annorum: quædam tamen affirmat *D. Buxtorfius* se vidisse annorum 700 et 800, quæ rarissima."—*Walton,* Prolegg. iv. 8.

(2) For accounts and descriptions of manuscripts, see *Wolf,* biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 293 sqq.; *Carpzov,* crit. sacr. i. 8; *Houbigant,* Prolegg.; *Kennicott,* dissert. general. in Vet. Test., ed. *Bruns,* p. 334 sqq. [a reprint from the second volume of *Kennicott's* Bible; see § 211, Note 4]; *C. B. de Rossi,* Clavis s. descriptio collatarum MSS., prefixed to his Variæ Lectt.; *O. G. Tychsen,* tentamen de variis codd. Hebraicorum Vet. Test. MSS. generibus, Rostochii 1772; *Eichhorn,* Einl. ii. § 342 ff.—For writings upon individual codices, see *Rosenmüller,* Handbuch f. d. Lit. d. bibl. Krit. u. Exeg. ii. p. 17 ff.

In consequence of the great reverence felt by the Jews for the letter of the Holy Scriptures, very stringent prescriptions—some of them trivial—are laid down so early as in the Talmud with reference

to the manner in which these manuscripts are to be prepared (§ 171); and at a later time attention was given, in multiplying copies of the text as it took shape from the Masoretes, to have them transcribed faithfully from carefully corrected standard manuscripts (3). Nevertheless, in spite of this care, sundry various readings have slipped into the codices, through inattention and negligence on the part of the copyists. This is clear, partly from mediæval rabbinical commentaries (4), partly from comparison of the manuscripts themselves; in respect of which, however, it has been remarked that the older codices represent the Masoretic text more faithfully than the more recent ones do (5).

(3) Of such standard manuscripts the Rabbins mention a Codex *Hillelis*, Codex *Ben Asher* or ספר ישראל, Codex *Ben Naphtali* or ספר בבלי, Codex *Sinaiticus*, and others: comp. *Walton*, Prolegg. iv. 8 sqq.; *Hottinger*, thes. phil. p. 106 sqq.; *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 289 sqq.; *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 368 sqq.—"Probabile est illustrium Academiarum et Scholarum Rectores in emendandis Scripturæ codicibus operam navasse, ac deinde eorum correctionem atque emendationem in totam provinciam dimanasse" (*Richard Simon*, histor. crit. Vet. Test. i. c. 22, p. 115). The Palestinian or Western manuscripts were corrected after the recension of *R. Aaron Ben Asher*, and the Babylonian or Eastern ones after that of *Ben Naphtali*. Comp. *Buxtorf*, de punct. antiq. pp. 264–5, 270–1; *Hottinger*, *l.c.*; *Wolf*, *l.c.* pp. 126–7.

(4) Comp. *Claud. Cappellanus*, mare Rabbin. infidum, Parisiis 1667; *Kennicott*, dissert. super ratione text. Hebr. pp. 226, 232–3, 247–8; *Cappellus*, crit. sacr. ii. pp. 420–1; *Tychsen*, in *Eichhorn*, Repert. i. p. 169 ff.

(5) Comp. *Eichhorn*, Einleit. i. p. 378 ff., and *Häv.* Einleit. i. 1. p. 340.

§ 171. *Synagogue Rolls.*

Manuscripts destined for the synagogue service contain only the Pentateuch. They are written in accordance with stringent prescriptions (1), in the antique size of rolls, in the Chaldee square character (2), without vowels or accents, yet with the extraordinary points, the unusually shaped letters (3), the antique spaces and the paragraphs, upon parchment, with the greatest caligraphic precision, and the most careful correction after authentic exemplars (4). Con-

sequently they all furnish a perfectly uniform text; and for the most part they are not very old, as they are carefully buried when they have grown unfit for use (5). The Haphtaras and the five Megilloth [namely, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther] are written upon separate rolls.

(1) In the tract Sopherim. Comp. *J. G. L. Adler*, Judæorum codicis s. rite scribendi leges ad rite æstimandos codd. Msc. antiquos perutiles e libro Talmud. מסכת סופרים in Latin. convers. et annotatt. explic., Hamb. 1770.—*Maimonides*, Yad Hazaka, P. i. lib. 2; Hilc. Sepher Thora, tract. iii. c. 7 sqq., translated into Latin in *J. H. van Bashuysen*, Observatt. sacr., Francofurti a. M. 1708. Comp. *Schickard*, jus regn. Hebræorum, c. 2, p. 89 sq., ed. *Carpzov*; *Wähner*, Antiqq. Ebr. i. p. 181 sqq.; *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. P. i. c. 8, § 3; *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 343 sqq.

(2) With reference to this, the Jews distinguish the *Tam* style of writing (כתב תם) and the *Welsche* style (כתב ועלש). The former is said to have come from Tam, a grandson of Raschi (comp. *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. i. p. 620); but probably it is כתיבה חמה, *perfect* style of writing—that is to say, perfectly regular (comp. *O. G. Tychsen*, Tentamen, p. 347, and *Hupfeld*, theol. Studien u. Krit. 1830, p. 278), with sharp-pointed corners and perpendicular wreathed ornaments (חגין; comp. *Hupfeld*, p. 276): it is common among the German and the Polish Jews. The latter style is of later origin, with round strokes and wreathed ornaments, and is in use among the Spanish and the oriental Jews. See the engravings in *Tychsen's* Tentamen l. A. B.; and *Bellermann*, de usu palæographiæ Hebr. p. 43, with the copperplates.

(3) Literæ majusculæ, minusculæ, suspensæ, inversæ: these are acknowledged so early as in the Talmud and the Masora. Comp. § 208.

(4) Rules are prescribed for preparing the parchment, from a clean beast, either *Keleph* or *Gewil*, and the individual skins to be sewed together with catgut made from clean animals; for the ink, which is to be black, from pounded charcoal, kneaded with honey, dried, and when about to be used for writing, dissolved in an infusion of gall-nuts; for the ruling of the rolls; for the spaces between the letters, and also between the words; and other like matters. See *Wähner*, *l.c.*

(5) On account of the holiness attributed to them, also, they were not sold to Christians, and consequently they are rare in libraries. Comp. *Carpzov.* crit. sacr. p. 373.

§ 172. *Private Manuscripts in the Chaldee Square Character.*

These are mostly written on parchment, though some are on common paper, or paper made from cotton; and they are of various sizes—folio, quarto, octavo, and duodecimo (1). They are written with black ink, which is, however, not the same for the consonants and for the vowels (2); generally in columns, the poetical portions being mostly in *stichoi*, with careful division of the lines and of the margin, so that the number and the width of the former are different, being regulated in conformity with the size of the book. The square character is pretty much the same in all of them (3). The initial letters and words are often ornamented with gold and other colours, and skilfully surrounded with portions of the Masora. The individual books are separated by spaces, with the exception of the books of Samuel, the books of Kings, the books of Chronicles, and Ezra and Nehemiah. The order of the books is different in different countries (4). These manuscripts contain either the Hebrew text alone, or more frequently that text with a translation, commonly a Targum, more seldom an Arabic or other translation; sometimes this is in a separate column, sometimes interlined with the text, seldom in a smaller hand on the margin. Upon the upper and the under margin there are found the great Masora, at times a rabbinical commentary, and also prayers, psalms, and the like. Upon the outer margin are given the scholia, various readings, corrections, the Parashas and Haphtaras, and rabbinical commentaries. On the inner margin stands the little Masora (5).

(1) This difference of sizes is mentioned so early as in Baba bathr. fol. 13, c. 2. Manuscripts written upon common paper are very modern.

(2) The text and the points were always written separately, even when one person had the charge of both. The text was written by the סוֹפֵר, the points by the נָקְדָן, who also, as a rule, wrote the *Qeri* on the margin, and corrected the text, and added the Masora, the scholia, etc. Yet many codices have also on the margin critical remarks and emendations, in reference to what the scribe and the punctuator had written, also scholia and the like, which show that the Masora and the scholia have been added by different persons. Finally, there are passages in which the faded writing has been

touched up anew. Comp. *Jablonski*, præf. ad Biblia Hebr. § 36; *Michaelis*, Beschreibung der Casseler Handschrift, orient. Biblioth. i. p. 229 ff.; *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 364, 366–370.—The manuscripts, as a whole, have been written by Jewish copyists alone, some of them also by proselytes; but none of them by Christians, as was supposed by *Tychsen*, Tentamen, p. 9 sqq. Comp. *Eichhorn*, § 365.

(3) Nevertheless, recent critics distinguish three styles of handwriting: (*a*) *Spanish*—regular, square, and stronger; (*b*) *German*—sloping more, compressed, finer; (*c*) *French* and *Italian*—occupying an intermediate position. *Kennicott*, Dissert. gener. p. 340, ed. *Bruns*, and the copperplates; *Bruns* in *Ammon's* neu. theol. Journal, vi. p. 755; *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 351; and, upon the peculiar strokes in certain consonants, comp. *Michaelis*, orient. Bibl. i. p. 246 ff., and *Eichhorn*, Einl. § 352.

(4) The German manuscripts follow the Talmud, according to which Isaiah stands *after* Ezekiel: the Spanish manuscripts follow the Masora, according to which Isaiah stands *before* Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Comp. § 156, Note 11.

(5) See the particulars in *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 348, 359, 360.

It is difficult to fix the age of individual manuscripts. The subscriptions, which give the date, the writer's, the owner's names, the place, etc., are often concealed, indistinct, inexact, even incorrect or falsified, or have come to be lost in consequence of the manuscripts becoming mutilated (6). The internal marks, again, by which critics have wished to fix the age, such as the simplicity of the strokes in writing, or the absence of the Masora, of the unusual letters, of the vowel points, etc., are wholly uncertain (7). It is easier to fix the country to which the codices belong, where this is not given in the subscription, by means of the order of the books, the ornamentation, and the character of the writing; yet this can be done only with a measure of uncertainty (8).

(6) Comp. *Schnurrer*, de ætate Codd. MSS. Vet. Test. difficulter determinanda, in his Dissertatt. philol. p. 1 sqq. The antiquity of few existing manuscripts can go beyond the twelfth century. Comp. *Bruns* in *Paulus*, neu. Repert. ii. p. 3 ff., and *Eichhorn*, Einl. § 363. Only there has been found among the Karaites of the Crimea a codex of the three greater and the twelve minor prophets, of the year 916, which has the vowels, the accents, and the Masora; and wanting these, an imperfect roll of the law, of the year 843. Comp. *Pinner*, Prospect.

der Odessaer Gesellsch. f. Geschichte u. Alterthümer gehör. hebr. u. rabbin. Mspte., Odessa 1845, p. 6 ff.; and *Abr. Geiger*, Urschrift u. Uebersetzungen d. Bibel, Breslau 1857, p. 7.

(7) *Jablonski*, præf. ad bibl. Hebr. § 37; *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 326; *Houbigant*, Prolegg. p. 195; *Kennicott*, dissert. super rat. text. Hebr. p. 297; *De Rossi*, Prolegg. p. xiv. sqq. On the other side, *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 376; *Tychsen*, Tentamen, p. 26 sqq.; *Eichhorn*, § 372; *Häv.* p. 343.

(8) Comp. *Eichhorn*, § 371; and *Bruns* at the same place as in Note 3.

§ 173. *Private Manuscripts in the Rabbinical Character.*

These are written on common paper, or paper made from cotton, in the cursive hand of the Rabbins, or in a similar character (1), without points or Masora, provided occasionally with an Arabic translation, and presenting many abbreviations. According to *Kennicott*, they scarcely reach an antiquity of five hundred years (2).

(1) Upon the various kinds of rabbinical writing, comp. *Tychsen*, Tentamen, pp. 267, 313 sqq.; and *Bellermann*, de usu palæogr. Hebr. p. 4.

(2) Such, for instance, among codices collated by *Kennicott*, dissert. general., are Codd. 9, 13, 15, 22, 32, 34, 44, 45, and others.—The codices discovered among the Chinese Jews are partly synagogue rolls, partly private manuscripts in the Masoretic square character; and, as a whole, they coincide with our European copies. See more in *Eichhorn*, § 376–7.

SECOND DIVISION.

DIFFUSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT BY MEANS OF THE ANCIENT VERSIONS.

§ 174. *Value of the Ancient Versions. Classification of them.*

Along with the original text, already at an early period the Old Testament was propagated and widely diffused by means of translations into different languages. In these ancient versions we possess not merely extremely valuable aids to the explanation of the Old Testament, but likewise important witnesses to the nature and condi-

tion of its text; and these dating from times which do not present us with any other written attestations of the text, since the Hebrew manuscripts which have come down to us are very modern.

According to this their critical significance, they are classified into *immediate* and *mediate* versions, that is, into those made from the original and those which have flowed from other versions; with which the classification, according to their country and date, may be combined, in order to take a general survey of them.

With reference to the versions of the Old Testament, comp. *Rich. Simon*, hist. crit. Vet. Test. lib. ii.; *Jac. le Long*, biblioth. sacr. continu. ab *And. Gottl. Masch* (Halæ 1778 sqq.), P. ii. vols. i.–iii.; *Br. Walton*, Prolegg. ix. sqq.; *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. Vet. Test. p. 430 sqq.; *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch f. d. Lit. der bibl. Krit. u. Exegese, Th. ii. p. 277 ff., and Th. iii.; *Eichhorn*, Einl. i. § 159–338; *Jahn*, Einl. i. § 33–67; *Bertholdt*, Einl. ii. p. 516 ff.; *Häv.* Einl. i. 1, § 68–90; *Herbst*, Einl. i. p. 143 ff. And for the more recent translations, see particularly *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, iv. p. 167 ff.; and *Gesenius*, in *Ersch u. Gruber's* Encyclop. der Wissensch., article Bibelübersetzungen.

CHAPTER I.

GREEK TRANSLATIONS.

§ 175.—I. *The Alexandrian Translation, its Origin and Nature.*

According to an account, of which some intimation is given by *Aristobulus* (1), and which is more circumstantially narrated in the pretended letter of *Aristeas* (2), repeated by *Josephus* (3), and adorned more highly by later writers (4), king Ptolemy Philadelphus, at the instigation of his chief librarian, *Demetrius Phalereus*, with a view to a collection of the laws of all nations, had a translation made of the book of the laws of Moses (5), by seventy-two learned scribes summoned from Palestine. Hence the name the Septuagint, οἱ τῶν ὁ, or οἱ ο.

(1) *Aristobulus* [about whom see § 221, Note 2], in *Clemens Alex.* Strom. i. p. 342 [*Bleek*, p. 756, gives the reference, i. 22, § 150], and in *Eusebius*, Præpar. evang. ix. 6, xiii. 12: Διηρμήνευται πρὸ

Δημετρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως δι' ἑτέρων, πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Περσῶν ἐπικρατήσεως, τά τε κατὰ τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἡμετέρων δὲ πολιτῶν, καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγονότων ἁπάντων αὐτοῖς ἐπιφάνεια καὶ κράτησις τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς ὅλης νομοθεσίας ἐπεξήγησις. . . . Ἡ δὲ ὅλη ἑρμηνεία τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων ἐπὶ τοῦ . . . Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως . . . Δημετρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων. On insufficient grounds the genuineness of this testimony of *Aristobulus* has been denied by *Humphrey Hody*, de bibliorum textibus originalibus, versionibus Græcis et Latina Vulgata, libri iv., Oxon. 1705, p. 52; and by *Eichhorn*, allgem. Bibliothek, v. p. 253 ff. On the contrary, it has been defended by *Valckenaer*, diatribe de Aristobulo Judæo, ed. *Jo. Luzac*, Lugduni Batav. 1806, p. 22 ff. Comp. *Jac. Amersfoordt*, diss. de variis lectionibus Holmesian. locorum quorundam Pentateuchi Mos., Lugd. Batav. 1815, 4to, p. 14 sqq.; and *A. F. Dähne*, gesch. Darstellung der jüdisch.-alexandr. Religionsphilos., Halle 1834, ii. p. 73 ff. Also *Häv.* (Einl. i. 1, p. 354) and *Herzfeld* (iii. p. 535 ff.) defend this notice by Aristobulus as an important historical testimony. Yet it remains questionable whether by the phrase *τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου* we are to understand the Pentateuch alone, or the whole Old Testament (so named *à parte potiori*): for the latter, the reasons do not seem to be convincing. According to *Frankel*, Vorstudien der Sept., Leipzig 1841, p. 16 f., Aristobulus is to be understood as speaking, not of a Greek translation of the Pentateuch, but merely of an abridgment, a compendium of the most important points in the history of his native land, and of an *ἐπεξήγησις* for other points not included in this history; and as leaving the complete translation of the whole law to be accomplished first under Ptolemy Philadelphus. [*Bleek*, p. 756, takes a bold course, and says of this testimony of Aristobulus: "If we consider the connection in which he says this, it is pretty clear that he did not know anything more precise about the matter; and that it was a mere supposition or assertion of his own, which he was induced to put forward in the effort to make his opinion good, that even Plato had drawn his wisdom to some extent from the Mosaic writings." Yet see him again, additions to Note 7.]

(2) *Aristeæ* Hist. de Legis divinæ ex Hebr. lingua in Græcam translatione per LXX. interpretes, Græce cum vers. Latina *Matthiæ Garbitii*, 1561; edit. emend. juxta exemplar Vatic. ex recens *Eldani de Parchum*, Francofurti 1610. It is also given in *Hody*, de Bibliorum textibus original., pp. i.–xxxvi.; and in *Ant. van Dale*, Dissert. super Aristea de LXX. interprett., Amstelodami 1705, 4to, pp. 231–333. See in *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch f. d. Lit. ii. p. 344 ff., the rest of the literature connected with this document.

(3) Antiqq. xii. 2, § 2–4 [Præf. ad Antiqq. § 3; c. Apion, ii. 4, adds *Bleek*, p. 751], with divergences arising from his style, and others of little importance. Comp. *Rosenmüller, ibid.* p. 362 ff.

(4) By *Philo*, de vita Mosis, ii. p. 660, ed. Mang.: . . . ἐνθουσιῶντες προεφήτευον, οὐκ ἄλλα ἄλλοι, καὶ τὰ δ' αὐτὰ πάντες ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα, ὥσπερ ὑποβολέως ἑκάστοις ἀωράτως ἐνηχοῦντες. [Philo, however, is earlier than Josephus. *Bleek*, p. 751: "*Philo*, de vita Mosis, l. ii. § 5–7 (p. 657 ff., ed. Par.), refers to the manner in which this translation originated, as proof of the great reputation of the Jewish law even among foreign kings. He certainly does not name Aristeas as his authority; yet he so agrees with his accounts in all essentials, and even in his allusions to many details of which Aristeas has given a fuller report, that we are pretty safe in assuming his acquaintance with this letter, and his unhesitating acceptance of its contents as historical truth. Philo, however, has the following peculiarities: (*a*) that all the translators, as if by inspiration, made use of equivalent or identical expressions, which corresponded to the original, and expressed everything most precisely and distinctly; and (*b*) that, in memory of this event, there still existed an annual festival on the island of Pharos, in order to keep which, not Jews alone, but others also, sailed over to the island to thank God for the grace vouchsafed to them in that translation, and to enjoy themselves at entertainments."] Similarly *Clemens Alex.* Strom. i. p. 342 [*Bleek*, p. 752, again gives the reference i. 22]; *Irenæus*, iii. 25; *Justin Martyr*, Cohort. ad Græcos, c. 13, but without referring to Aristeas. [*Bleek*, p. 752, observes that *Justin* "makes Ptolemy summon from Jerusalem seventy learned men who understood Hebrew and Greek, to whom the king arranged that seventy separate cells (*οἴκισμοι*) should be assigned, in which they laboured; care being taken that they should have nothing in common, and should be unable to concert anything together; nevertheless all the seventy translated quite in the same way, and every passage in the same words, without the slightest variation. That passage in Philo no doubt gave occasion to this ornamenting of the story, although it is not probable that Philo so intended it; yet it became usual to take this view." He also makes additional references to *Augustine*, Civit. Dei, xviii. 42, Doctr. Christ. ii. 22; and he says that the fable is given in tract Megilla, fol. 9 (see at § 176, Note 1), just as it is in *Justin*.] With greater fulness, and with strongly marked divergences from Aristeas, *Epiphanius*, de ponder. et mens. c. 3, 6, 9–11 [placing the translators, two and two, in thirty-six cells; making the king send two embassies, one for the books and another for the translators; having a translation made, not only of the Pentateuch, but

also of the entire Old Testament, and of seventy-two apocryphal books in addition to the twenty-two canonical books. See *Bleek*, p. 752]. Comp. *Rosenmüller*, p. 370 ff.—See *Eichhorn*, in his Repert. i. p. 226 ff., and *Häv.* i. § 71, with reference to the rise of these legendary accounts, which have also passed over into the talmudical and rabbinical writings (comp. *Frankel*, Vorstudien, p. 25 ff., with *Jost*, Gesch. des Judenthums, i. pp. 102–3, note).—A correct judgment was pronounced so early as by *Jerome*, Præf. in Pentat.: "Nescio quis primus auctor septuaginta cellulas Alexandriæ mendacio suo exstruxerit, quibus divisi eadem scriptitarint; quum *Aristeas*, ejusdem Ptolemæi ὑπερασπιστής, et multo post tempore *Josephus* nihil tale retulerint."

(5) *Aristeas*, *Josephus* (especially in the preface to his Antiquities, § 3), *Philo*, the Talmudists (see *Morinus*, exercitatt. bibl. i. p. 352 sqq.), speak only of the law. *Jerome* says, on Ezek. v., "Et Aristeas et Josephus et omnis schola Judæorum quinque tantum libros Moysis a LXX. translatos asserunt;" comp. c. 16, in Jerem. c. 31, in Mich. c. 2, Quæstion. Hebr. in Gen., Procem. On the contrary, *Justin Martyr*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, and others, speak of the whole Old Testament. [*Bleek*, p. 755, says: "We have no reason for adopting the opinion, that the translation undertaken at the instigation of the Ptolemies and Demetrius Phalereus embraced any more books of the Old Testament than the Pentateuch, or the Old Testament as a whole, as *Valckenaer*, *ibid.*, and *Häv.* § 70, still wish to believe." In confirmation of this, he says the words of Aristobulus certainly refer only to the whole book of the law; of which alone also Aristeas, Philo, and Josephus speak. And so he quotes from the Talmud, tract. Megilla, as given in *Hody*, p. 169: "Traditio est, ut dicit R. Judah, quod quum permiserunt (magistri nostri) Legem in Græcum conscribi, permiserunt id tantum libro Legis; atque inde ortum est opus Ptolemæi regis."]

However, the fabulous character of that letter of Aristeas, and its spuriousness, have been proved long ago (6). Consequently no part of its statements can be upheld as historical, except the fact, of which there is evidence from other sources, that the translation of the Old Testament was commenced at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus (7). And it was completed, if not during his reign, at least not long after it; for the grandson of Jesus Sirach, in his Prologue, mentions the translation of the three parts of the Old Testament as already existing (8).

(6) The first to express doubts of its genuineness was *J. Lud.*

Vives ad *Augustini* de Civitate Dei, xviii. 42: "Circumfertur libellus ejus (Aristeæ) nomine confictus, ut puto ab aliquo recentiore." They were repeated by *Jos. Scaliger* ad *Eusebii* Chronic. p. 133, *Calvisius*, *Valesius*, and many others, mentioned in *Buddeus*, Isagoge hist. theol. p. 1318, and in *Fabricii* biblioth. Græc. iii. 665. Fuller proof of its spuriousness was given by *Humphrey Hody*, contra hist. Aristeæ de LXX. interprett. dissert., in qua probatur, illam a Judæo aliquo confictam fuisse ad conciliandam authoritatem Versioni Græcæ, etc., Londini 1685 (wrought up anew in his work, de Bibl. textt. original., lib. i.); and by *Ant. van Dale*, Dissert. super Aristea, etc.—Its genuineness was defended by *Jac. Usser* [*Archbishop Ussher*], de Græca LXX. interprett. versione syntagma, Londini 1655, Lipsiæ 1695, 4to, cap. i.; by *Isaac Vossius*, de LXX. interpretibus eorumque translatione et Chronol. Dissertatt., Hag. Com. 1661, 4to, cap. 2–4, and in his Appendix ad librum de LXX. interprett., *ib.* 1663, 4to; by *William Whiston*, by *Simon de Magistris*, and others in *Masch*, præf. ad Biblioth. sacr. P. ii. vol. ii. p. 10 sqq., and *Rosenmüller*, p. 387 ff. —See the principal reasons for holding it to be spurious, in *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 487 sq., and in *Rosenmüller*, pp. 378–9. It is shown partly by the writer's wish to appear a heathen, as he names himself a worshipper of Zeus, whereas he betrays himself throughout to be a Jew; partly by three forged letters of Demetrius, of Philadelphus, and of Eleazar, whose style and contents bear a marvellous resemblance to one another, and by its many incredible and unhistorical statements. Nevertheless, one contradiction (which has been urged by most critics, following *Hody*, down to *De Wette*) between *Hermippus* in *Diogenes Laertius*, v. 78, and what *Aristeas* relates of Demetrius Phalereus, admits of a reconciliation; comp. *Dähne*, ii. p. 86 ff. [*Bleek*, p. 753, says: "The object of the Jew who wrote it seems to have been not so much to exalt the credit of this translation, as rather in general to glorify his people and their law in the eyes of the Greeks; since he gives prominence to the honour shown to the people by the Egyptian king, and to the great expense to which he exposed himself in order to obtain these holy books of the law in a language which he understood. The motive for assuming precisely the character of Aristeas might very well be, that he was already known as the author of a work upon the Jews, mentioned by *Alexander Polyhistor* (in *Eusebius*, Præpar. evang. ix. 25); and it is this work that is meant by the *pseudo-Aristeas*, when he begins his letter by saying that already, on earlier occasions, he had sent to Philocrates other works about remarkable things which he had learned from high priests of Jewish descent."]

(7) *Herbst*, Einl. i. p. 150, has adduced good reasons for believing in a historical basis on which the legend of *Aristeas* rests. [*Bleek*, p. 754, says that we may receive it as extremely probable that the translation of the book of the law was actually procured by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and that this was effected through the agency of Demetrius Phalereus, resting this on the testimony of *Aristobulus* (already given in Note 1): "I believe there is nothing to justify us in throwing general doubt upon this account of Aristobulus, whose age is perhaps a hundred years after that of Ptolemy Philadelphus." But he says, pp. 756–7: "As for the learned Jews to whose care the king committed the translation of the book of the law, the internal nature of that translation leads decidedly to the conclusion that they were Egyptian, and not Palestinian Jews; at least not such persons as the high priest at Jerusalem would especially have sent with a codex of the books of the law from that city into Egypt for such a purpose." His reasons for saying so are: the nature of the text lying at the basis of the translation, which in numberless cases diverges from our Hebrew text, and agrees with the Samaritan; the probability that the Hebrew copy was written, not in the square character, which alone the Palestinian Jews of that age employed in copies of the Scriptures, but in the old Hebrew or Phœnician character; that the translation evinces a great knowledge of Egypt and Egyptian institutions, such as best suits men born in the country; and that it is less to be expected that in that age men should be found in Palestine than in Egypt, able to make such a translation from Hebrew into Greek. And again he says: "Whether the translation of the Pentateuch was the work of several learned men or of one individual, is not ascertainable. But we may certainly consider this probable, that application was made to the men at the head of the Jewish community in Egypt to take some management of the translation, and that if they did not themselves make it and help it forward, they approved of it: this gives the easiest explanation of the fact, that at a very early time the work must have found access to the Jews in Egypt, and even beyond Egypt, and must have been applauded by them."] Besides these, there is the statement of *Plutarch*, Apophthegm. Reg. t. viii. p. 124, ed. *Hutten*: *Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ παρήνει τὰ περὶ βασιλείας καὶ ἡμεμονίας βιβλία κτᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν, ἃ γὰρ οἱ φίλοι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὐ θαῤῥοῦσι παραινεῖν, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις γέγραπται, κ.τ.λ.* With this comp. *Ælian*, Var. histor. iii. 17, *Δημήτριος . . . ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συνὼν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ νομοθεσίας ἦρξε*; also, the Scholion Plautinum extracted by *Tzetzes* from the writings of *Callimachus* and *Eratosthenes* given in *Joh. Wichelhaus*,

de Jeremiæ versione Alexandr., Halæ 1847, p. 23 sq.—The opinion of *Hody*, *Carpzov*, *Jahn* (Einl. i. p. 151), *Eichhorn* (Einl. i. § 164), and many others, that the translation was made at the time the two Ptolemies, Lagi and Philadelphus, reigned jointly, B.C. 286–5; and the conjecture of *Hug*, de Pentateuchi vers. Alexandrin., Frib. 1818, 4to, that *Aristeas* has by mistake changed Ptolemy Lagi into Philadelphus,—both owe their origin simply to the assumption which has been drawn as an inference from *Hermippus*, that Demetrius Phalereus was banished by Philadelphus at the very commencement of his reign. [*Bleek*, pp. 754–5, inclines to the view, as the most probable, that the translation was made during the joint reign; so that some might ascribe it to the time of Philadelphus, some to that of Lagi. In support of this he says: "So *Irenæus*, iii. 21; comp. *Clemens Alex.* Strom. i. 22, § 148, where he says that according to some the translation was made under Ptolemy Lagi, according to others under Philadelphus; and especially also the passage of *Anatolius*, an Alexandrian, Bishop of Laodicea in the second half of the third century, as given by *Eusebius*, Hist. Eccl. vii. 32, where it is said that the Seventy had interpreted the sacred and divine Scriptures of the Hebrews *Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ καὶ τῷ τούτου πατρί*."]

(8) In the words, *Οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων οὐ μακρὰν ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λεγόμενα*, with which the writer of the prologue claims the indulgence of his readers for his translation. [*Bleek*, p. 758, notices that we are acquainted with no express historical testimony as to the translation of the rest of the Old Testament; yet he rests in the two following affirmations, as partly certain and partly probable: "(*a*) That they also, as a whole, were translated in Egypt: we are induced to accept this opinion by many things arising out of special circumstances, whilst we have nothing to move us to the contrary. (*b*) That the rendering was made by persons different from the translators of the Pentateuch; and also that the whole of the prophets and of the Hagiographa were not made by the same men, nor at the same time." In proof of this, he appeals to those peculiarities which are mentioned at Note 12.]

This translation is written in the "common dialect," which had come to be prevalent in the time of Alexander the Great (9); and there is the highest probability in favour of its Egyptian origin, as well on account of the use in it of certain expressions which point to Egypt (10), as by the complete correspondence of its internal nature with the literary pursuits of the Alexandrians in the time of the first

Ptolemies (11). Along with this observation there is another which should be made, that the translations of the individual books are so strongly distinguished from each other, not only by the renderings of particular expressions, but also in their whole character, that the existence of a plurality of translators must be assumed (12).—The translation of the Pentateuch is, generally speaking, distinguished from that of the other books by literality, care, and elegance (13). The translation of the historical books is a work evincing less care, and also a scantier knowledge of Hebrew. The translation of the prophets is for the most part spiritless, and in difficult passages it is incorrect: it is particularly arbitrary in Jeremiah (14); and in Daniel it is less a translation than a re-written book, so much so that from a very ancient date *Theodotion's* translation of this book was adopted in the Greek Bibles in place of the Alexandrian one (15). Of the poetical books, the rendering of the Proverbs is the best; that of the Psalms, on the contrary, is destitute of poetical spirit, and slavishly literal; as also is Ecclesiastes, in consequence of which it often becomes quite unintelligible; and finally, in Job many difficult passages are wholly omitted.—But in all the books, along with an effort at a false literality, very arbitrary practices prevail, in the way of changing metaphorical (especially anthropomorphic) expressions for others without a figure of speech; avoiding words and ideas which might give offence; omitting, adding for the sake of distinctness, transposing, and the like. And in spite of many good explanations which are peculiar to itself, there is observable everywhere a want of accurate knowledge of the language (16).

(9) Comp. *H. Wilh. Jos. Thiersch*, de Pentateuchi versione Alexandr. libri tres, Erlangae 1840, p. 65 sqq.

(10) The Egyptian words: *κόνδυ*, of Joseph's cup, Gen. xliv. 2; *οἰφί*, Ephah; *ἄχι* or *ἄχει*, reeds, sedge, Nile-grass; *ἀρτάβη* for חֹמֶר, Isa. v. 10; *ἴβις*, Lev. xi. 17, Deut. xiv. 16; *βύσσος*. Expressions pointing to Egypt: *ἀλήθεια* for תְּמִים (comp. *Diodorus Siculus*, i. 75, *ὃ προσηγόρευον Ἀλήθειαν*, speaking of the Egyptians; and *Ælian*, Var. hist. xiv. 34, *καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ ἄγαλμα Ἀλήθεια*); *παστοφορεῖον*, Isa. xxii. 15, 1 Chron. ix. 26, and often; *σχοῖνος*, Ps. cxxxix. 5; and others. Comp. *Ussher*, *l.c.* c. 1, p. 24; *Hody*, de Bibl. textt. originall. lib. ii. c. 4; *Gesenius*, Jesaja, i. p. 60; *Thiersch*, p. 76 sq., compared with p. 28.

(11) Although we can point to but few dogmatic and philosophic representations of the later Alexandrian Judaism (the list in *Dähne*, ii. pp. 11–72, stands greatly in need of sifting), still the syncretistic spirit of the Alexandrians shows itself in the accommodation of the Hebrew to the Hellenistic ideas, and in the free, occasionally arbitrary, treatment of the text. "Manifestly, the LXX. treated the sacred books just as Zenodotus and Aristarchus treated Homer. If these critics set aside what was unworthy of poetry, and of the morals of men and gods, considering subjective taste the supreme judge in textual criticism (according to Cicero's well-known saying, 'Aristarchus Homeri versum negat quem non probat'); no less have the Alexandrian translators, for the sake of the *πρέπον*, changed the text in hundreds of cases, and in fact have frequently done so in passages in which it has been customary to suppose that they had a different text before them" (*Oehler* in the Berlin. Jahrbb. 1846, August, No. 30, pp. 235–6). Further, comp. *Häv.* i. § 68, and *Wichelhaus*, *l.c.* p. 26 sqq. — There is nothing of importance in *Frankel's* objections (Vorstudien, p. 38 ff.) to Alexandria as the place where this translation was made.

(12) Comp. *Hody*, *l.c.* p. 224 sqq.; *Lambert Bos*, prolegg. ad edit. LXX. interpr. c. i.; *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 497 sqq.—*Hody* and *Frankel* (pp. 4, 20–1) go too far when they maintain that even the translation of the Pentateuch has proceeded from several hands, or has arisen out of various fragmentary translations, oral explanations in common circulation, and glosses on difficult passages. Against this opinion, comp. *Thiersch*, p. 36 sqq., and *Herzfeld*, iii. p. 542 ff. But certainly the translation of the historical books betrays a different hand from that in the Pentateuch, by the frequent pleonasm *ἐγώ εἰμι* [for an emphatic *ἐγώ*, says *Bleek*, p. 758], Judg. v. 3, vi. 18, xi. 27, Ruth iv. 4, 2 Sam. xi. 5, xv. 28, xxiv. 12, 1 Kings ii. 2, 2 Kings iv. 13, x. 9.—It is clear that the translators of Isaiah and of the minor prophets are different persons, when we compare Isa. ii. 2–4 with Mic. iv. 1–3; and we infer the same of the translators of Isaiah and the historical books, from a comparison of Isa. xxxvi.–xxxix. with 2 Kings xviii. ff. [*Bleek's* thorough agreement with this opinion of *Keil's* has been already noticed in the additions to Note 8. To the instances here adduced he adds, p. 758, the comparison of the translations of Ps. xviii. and 2 Sam. xxv.; the retention in the Pentateuch and Joshua of the Hebrew word *Φυλιστιείμ*, for which the other books use *Ἀλλόφυλοι*; the use of *φασέκ* always in Chronicles to represent פֶּסַח, whereas in the other books it is *πάσχα*; and the predominant retention in Chronicles of Hebrew gentilic

adjectives without change, *Θεκωί*, *'Αναθωθί*, *Φαραθωνί*, for which in the books of Samuel and Kings we have the addition of the Greek termination *Θεκωΐτης*, etc. He refers to other examples in *Hody*, p. 204 ff., and adds: "Yet indeed all differences of such a kind do not serve to demonstrate a difference of translators; for the same translator does not always keep to the same form in such matters, not even in the same book."] Comp. *Carpzov*, *l.c.*; *Gesenius*, Jesaia, i. p. 57.

(13) "Quos (sc. libros Mosis) nos quoque plus quam cæteros profitemur consonos cum Hebraicis" (*Jerome*, præf. ad quæst. in Genes.).

(14) As already the Fathers have remarked. *Origen*, ep. ad Afric.: *Πολλὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα καὶ ἐν τῷ 'Ιερημίᾳ κατενοήσαμεν, ἐν ᾧ τὴν πολλὴν μετάθεσιν καὶ ἐναλλαγὴν τῆς λέξεως τῶν προφητευομένων εὕρομεν.* *Jerome*, præf. ad comm. Jerem.: "Jeremiæ ordinem *librariorum errore* confusum, multaque quæ desunt Hebræis fontibus digerere, ordinare, deducere, et complere (censui), ut novum ex vetere, verumque pro corrupto atque falsato prophetam teneas." These deviations are also attributed by *Grabe*, de vitiis LXX. interpr. p. 18, to the "error librariorum," but by *Spohn* (Jerem. e. vers. Alex. i. p. 1) to the carelessness and caprice of the translator. Decisive in favour of this view are the many deviations in gender,—for instance, iii. 6, xi. 15, and often; in number, ii. 18, 19, 34, xxii. 7, 26, 30, and often; in person, ii. 25, 30, viii. 6, xxii. 14, xxv. 4, xxx. 5 [according to the Masoretic arrangement throughout these references: see the table of the two arrangements in § 76, Note 1], and often; of tense, vi. 8, x. 17, and often. Also synonymous concepts exchanged: ii. 26, *οἱ υἱοί* for בֵּית; ver. 31, *ἀκούσατε* for רְאוּ; [iii. 7,] *τὸ πορνεῦσαι αὐτήν* for עֲשֹׂתָהּ; iv. 29, *ἡ χώρα* for הָעִיר; xxv. 25, *Περσῶν* for מָדָי; xli. 12, *τὸ στρατόπεδον* for אֲנָשִׁים; and others. Also metaphors resolved: ii. 24, *ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτῆς* for בְּחָרְשָׁהּ; iv. 16, *συστροφαί* for נֹצְרִים; xxiii. 3, *τοῦ λαοῦ μου* for צֹאנִי; xxv. 30, *χρηματιεῖ* for יִשְׁאָג; and others. Or a metaphor introduced in translating an expression which does not contain any figure: i. 14, *ἐκκαυθήσεται τὰ κακά* for תִּפָּתַח הָרָעָה; xxi. 12, *ἀναφθῇ ὡς πῦρ* for תֵּצֵא כָאֵשׁ. Also inexact and false translations: vi. 14, אֵין, *ποῦ*; i. 16, מִשְׁפָּטַי, *μετὰ κρίσεως*; ii. 25, מָיָחַף, *ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ τραχείας*; v. 27, כֶּלֶב, *παγὶς ἐφεσταμένη*; and others. Additions: i. 1, ὃς "*κατῴκει*;" iii. 12, *ἐπιστράφηθι* "*πρός με*;" x. 12, "*Κύριος*" *ὁ ποιήσας*; xv. 1, *ἐξαπόστειλον* "*τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον*" [too severely characterized; the clause is simply transposed]; and others. Omissions: i. 3, *ἕως* "*συντελείας*;" iii. 3, "*γυναικὸς*" *πόρνης*; iii. 8, *Ἰούδα* "*ἡ ἀδελφὴ*

αὐτῆς;" iv. 8, *ὁ θυμὸς* "*τῆς ὀργῆς*;" and others. Transpositions: i. 16, *πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ κρίσεως*; ii. 19, *ἀποστασία καὶ κακία*; xxiv. 10, *τὸν λιμὸν καὶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν*; and others. So also misunderstandings of the unpointed text: ii. 23, קלה, *φωνῇ αὐτῆς*; ii. 34, אלה, *δρύς*; iii. 1, רעים, *ποιμένες*; iii. 2, ערבי, *κορώνη*; iii. 6, משבה, *ἡ κατοικία*; v. 6, זאב ערבות, *λύκος ἕως τῶν οἰκίων*; ix. 5, שבתך בתוך, *ἐπιστρέψαι τόκος ἐπὶ τόκῳ*; xx. 9, כלכל, *πάντοθεν*; xxii. 20, מעברים, *εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης*; xxiii. 33, את מה משא, *ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ λῆμμα*; xxxi. 8, בם עור ופסח, *ἐν ἑορτῇ Φάσέκ*; xlvi. 15, נסחף, *ἔφυγεν ὁ Ἄπις*; and others. So also there are Hebrew words copied in Greek letters: viii. 7, *καὶ ἡ* "*Ἀσίδα*" *ἔγνω τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῆς* ... *καὶ χελιδὼν* "*ἀγροῦ*" (for וְעָגוּר); xxi. 13, *κοιλάδα* "*Σόρ*" (צור); xxii. 15, *ἐν* "*Ἄχαζ*" (בָּאָרֶז); xxxi. 21 [*Στῆσον σεαυτὴν* "*Σιὼν*" (הַצִּיבִי לָךְ צִיֻּנִים)], *ποίησον* "*τιμωρίαν*" (תַּמְרוּרִים); xlviii. 31, *ἐπ' ἄνδρας* "*κειράδας*" *αὐχμοῦ* (קִיר חֶרֶשׂ): comp. also xi. 19, xv. 12, xxvii. 6, xxxi. 13, 21, l. 8 [all very incorrect or unintelligible], and others. So also similar letters and words have been changed, owing to haste and carelessness: ii. 16, יִרְעוּךְ, *ἔγνωσάν σε* (as if ידעוך); ii. 19, פַּחְדָּתִי, *ηὐδόκησα* (as if בָּחַרְתִּי); ii. 24, פֶּרֶא לִמֻּד מִדְבָּר, *ἐπλάτυνεν ἐφ' ὕδατα ἐρήμον* (as if פָּתָה לְמֵי); ii. 31, הַדּוֹר אַתֶּם, *καὶ οὐκ ἐφοβήθητε* (as if וְלֹא יֵרֵאתֶם); ii. 33, לִמַּדְתִּי, *μιᾶναι* (as if לְתַמֵּא); iii. 3, מַלְקוֹשׁ, *πρόσκομμα* (as if מוֹקֵשׁ), etc.—Add to all this the obvious effort to adapt prophecies more thoroughly to the circumstances of the time, especially in the case of those against Egypt: for instance, xliii. 13, *καὶ συντρίψει τοὺς στύλους Ἡλιοπόλεως τοὺς ἐν Ὤν* (instead of, in the land of Egypt), and *τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν* (instead of, the houses of the gods of Egypt); xlvi. 15, *διατί ἔφυγεν ὁ Ἄπις ὁ μόσχος ἔκλεκτός σου* (on which comp. *Hitzig*); l. 16, *μάχαιρα Ἑλληνική* [for חֶרֶב הַיּוֹנָה]; and others. Supposed emendations and contrivances to help the text: ix. 26, *Ἰδουμαίαν*, for Juda; xxv. 11, *ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι* for הַגּוֹיִם, so that the reference might not be to the Jews; the interpolation *γένοιτο κύριε*, iii. 19; the additions, iii. 18, v. 17, vii. 4, xiv. 13, xxiii. 28, xxx. 6, xxxii. 8, 25, and others; the omission of the epithet "my servant," applied to Nebuchadnezzar, xxv. 9, xxvii. 6, and of נָבִיא, xxviii. 5, 6, 10, 11, 15, xxix. 1, and often. In accordance with this, we must also place to the account of caprice, and of not entering into Jeremiah's peculiarities, the omission of passages which are repeated: such are viii. 10–12, comp. vi. 13–15; xvii. 3, 4, comp. xv. 13, 14; xiii. 10, 11, comp. xlvi. 27, 28; and others. Further, comp. *Küper*, Jerem. p. 189 sqq. [See § 76, Note 1, for the principal divergence of the Alexandrian from the Hebrew text; and see more in reference to the character of the Alexandrian translation, at § 204, Note 9. *Bleek*,

p. 489, says that most moderns prefer the Masoretic arrangement, following *Jerome*, Procem. ad comment. in Jerem. (already quoted), and Præf. in Jerem.: "Præterea ordinem visionum, qui apud Græcos et Latinos omnino confusus est, correximus." Of these, one of the latest and most decided is *Joh. Wichelhaus*, de Jeremiæ versione Alexandr., Halæ 1847. To this view *De Wette* also inclined in the first four editions of his Introduction; but in the fifth and sixth editions he took a sceptical view, influenced by *Movers'* high esteem for the Alexandrian, of which *Keil* gives some account, § 76, Note 3. *Bleek's* own opinion, pp. 494–6, is, that "the Masoretic and Alexandrian recensions" cannot have been independent, but that the one has been derived from the other; and he decidedly prefers the Alexandrian, at least in the form in which it presents xxv. 13, and the position it assigns to the prophecies against the nations, and the order in which it gives these.]

(15) Comp. § 176, Note 10, and § 204, Note 9.

(16) See the particulars which vouch for this as to the Pentateuch, in *Tœpler*, de Pentateuchi interpretationis Alexandr. indole crit. et hermen., Halæ Sax. 1830, and *Thiersch*, *l.c.* lib. i.: as to Isaiah, in *Gesenius*, Jesaja, i. p. 57 ff.: as to all the historical books, in *Hottinger*, thesaur. philol. p. 354 sqq.; *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 501 sqq.; and *Frankel*, Vorstudien, p. 132 ff.—That the translator of the historical books was not quite master of the Hebrew is conceded even by *Thenius*, die BB. Samuel, p. xxiv. f., die BB. der Könige, p. xiv. ff., much as he labours to exalt the critical value of this translation at the expense of the Masoretic text, and to lay almost exclusively upon the caprice of the copyists the burden of the undeniable defectiveness of the translation. —As to the peculiar recension of the text which is alleged to form the basis of the Septuagint, see § 204, II.—There is a controversy as to the influence of the Palestinian Halacha upon this translation, between *Frankel* (Vorstudien, p. 189 ff., and über d. Einfluss der palästin. Exegese auf die alexandr. Hermeneutik, Leipzig 1851) and *Herzfeld* (Geschichte, iii. p. 548 ff.).

The observation has been made, that the Alexandrian text in the Pentateuch often agrees with the Samaritan version: see *Castellus*, Animadverss. Samarit., in Polyglott. Lond. iv. p. 19 sqq.; *Hottinger*, thesaur. philol. p. 294 sqq. Out of this has arisen the hypothesis that the Alexandrians translated from a Samaritan manuscript: so *Hottinger*, pp. 302–3, *Postellus*, *L. de Dieu*, *Whiston* (see *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 502), *J. M. Hassenkamp*, Dissert. de Pentateucho LXX. interpr. Græco non ex Hebr. sed Samar. textu converso, Marpurgi 1765, 4to, and the Entdeckter wahrer Ursprung der alten Bibelüber-

setz., Minden 1775, p. 211 ff., *Eichhorn*, Einl. § 338. But it has been shown to be groundless by *Jahn*, Einl. i. pp. 156–7; *Gesenius*, de Pentat. Samarit. origine, etc., p. 11 sqq.; and *Amersfoordt*, p. 60 sqq. Comp. also *Häv.* i. 1, p. 351.

§ 176.—II. *The other Ancient Greek Versions.*

In spite of the high reputation enjoyed by the Alexandrian version (1), not only among the Hellenists outside of Palestine, but also within Palestine itself (2), at a later time it became an object of suspicion to the stricter Jews, owing to polemical reasons (3); so that, against the Christians, they denied its correctness, and set up another translation in opposition to it (4).

(1) To this there is testimony borne by the very legends about its origin, whose aim can be nothing else than to vindicate for it an authority equal to that of the inspired original text (comp. *Herbst*, i. p. 151); and also by the belief in its inspiration, with which *Philo* is already penetrated (comp. *Dähne*, i. pp. 58–9), and of which the Talmud also contains traces: Talmud Hierosol. Megill. f. 62, c. 4; Talmud Babylon. Megill. f. 9; tract Sopherim, c. 1. Comp. *Jo. Morinus*, exercitatt. bibl. lib. i., exerc. 8, c. i. p. 180 sqq.

(2) *Philo* uses it exclusively, and *Josephus* uses it at least more than the Hebrew original. Comp. *Spittler*, de usu version. Alexandr. apud Josephum, Gottingæ 1779; *Scharfenberg*, de Josephi et version. Alexandr. consensu, Lipsiæ 1780; *Gesenius*, Geschichte d. hebr. Sprache, p. 80 ff. It is true that the proof for its being also read in the synagogues is not clear from Targum Hierosol. Sota, f. 21, c. 2 (in *Buxtorf*, Lexicon Talmud. p. 104): "R. Levi ivit Cæsaream, audiensque eos legentes lectionem *Audi Israel* (Deut. vi.) Hellenistice, voluit impedire ipsos. R. Jose id animadvertens irascebatur dicens, 'Qui non potest legere Hebraice, num omnino non leget?'" since this passage relates only to the שמע, a part of the prayer, according to *Lightfoot*, ad Act. Apost. vi. 1, and *Hody*, p. 227. But the proof is clear from *Philo*, de vita Mosis, ii. p. 140, ed. *Mang.*; *Tertullian*, Apologet. c. 18, "Sed et Judæi palam lectitant;" *Justin Martyr*, Apol. i. 72 (p. 248, ed. Otto) [*Bleek*, p. 762, gives the references, Apol. i. 31, Dial. c. Tryph. 72], . . . ἔν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις τῶν ἐν συναγωγαῖς Ἰουδαίων, and Cohort. ad Gentil. c. 13 (p. 54), . . . μὴ ἡμῖν τὰς βίβλους ταύτας ἀλλὰ Ἰουδαίοις προσήκειν, διὰ τὸ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν σώζεσθαι; and from *Justinian's* Novels, 146

[*Bleek*, pp. 762–3, says, giving the Jews liberty, if they pleased, to employ also translations in their synagogues, according to the vernacular of each; and in Greek, it is said expressly, those of the Septuagint and of Aquila]. In such instances, in order to be able to deny that the Greek text was read in public, *Frankel*, Vorstudien, p. 56 ff., is forced to interpret arbitrarily passages like "ii qui Græca lingua recitant, Septuaginta interpretum utentur translatione," as if it spoke only of an explanation given in Greek. Comp. *Hody*, p. 224; *Hottinger*, thesaur. philol. pp. 336–7; *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. pp. 522–3; and *Wichelhaus*, *l.c.* p. 31 sqq.

(3) As we see from *Justin Martyr*, dial. c. Tryph. Jud., comp. c. 68 (p. 236, ed. Otto), . . . *τοῖς διδασκάλοις ὑμῶν, οἵτινες τολμῶσι λέγειν, τὴν ἐξήγησιν ἣν ἐξηγήσαντο οἱ ἑβδομήκοντα ὑμῶν πρεσβύτεροι παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ . . . γενόμενοι, μὴ εἶναι ἔν τισιν ἀληθῆ*; c. 71 (p. 244), *Ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῖς διδασκάλοις ὑμῶν πείθομαι μὴ συντεθειμένοις κακῶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν . . . ἑβδομ. πρεσβυτέρων, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἐξηγεῖσθαι πειρῶνται. Καὶ ὅτι πολλὰς γραφὰς τέλεον περιεῖλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξηγήσεων, κ.τ.λ.* According to this, the Jews pronounced the translation of the LXX. incorrect; on the contrary, the Christians were persuaded that the Alexandrian version everywhere contained the correct reading, and accused the Jews of having corrupted the text. See *Dan. Fr. Zastrau*, de Justini. Mart. studiis bibl., Vratislaviæ 1841, i. p. 27. [In fact, *Bleek*, p. 763, observes that the Septuagint was considered an inspired production, equal to the Hebrew text. To this effect he quotes the language of *Irenæus*, iii. 25; of *Clemens Alex.* Strom. i. 22, § 149; and of *Augustine*, Civitat. Dei, xviii. 43: indeed, *Augustine* "regarded these translations, even in their deviations from the Hebrew text and in their additions to it, as a perfectly authentic exposition of the sense intended by the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament Scriptures." It has been mentioned in Note 1 that such notions prevailed among the Jews themselves, from whom they no doubt were borrowed, with certain exaggerations, by the Christians.]

(4) The opposition of the Jews to it actually reached the intensity of formal abhorrence at a later time. In Megill. Taanith, f. 50, c. 2, ed. Bas. 1578, it is remarked of the fast on the 8th day of Tebeth: "Octavo die mensis Tebeth, quod eo scripta est Lex Græce temporibus Ptolemæi regis, et tenebræ venerunt super mundum tribus diebus." Tract Sopher. c. 1: "Opus quinque seniorum, qui scripserunt Ptolemæo rege Legem Græce, et fuit dies ille gravis Israel, sicut dies quo factus vitulus." Comp. *Hody*, p. 220 sqq.; *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. pp. 443–4; *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. pp. 524–5.

I. *Aquila*, a Jewish proselyte of Pontus, made a version for the use of the Jews in the first half of the second century after Christ (5). It is a version faithful to the letter, aiming at verbal exactness to such a degree as to be sometimes unintelligible (6). It was received by those of his own creed with high approbation (7).

(5) In the rabbinical writings עקילס, occasionally אקילס, and here and there interchanging with אונקלוס, *Onkelos*. According to Jewish tradition, he belonged to Pontus by descent, was a convert from heathenism to Judaism, hence styled הגר [*Bleek*, p. 765, says he is so styled in the Jerusalem Talmud, tr. Kiddush. fol. 59. 1], and lived under the emperor Adrian, being indeed Adrian's sister's son according to later legends in Tanchuma, Shemoth rabba. See the collection of the Jewish accounts in *Montfaucon*, Hexapla, Prælim. p. 46 sqq.; *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. i. p. 958 sqq.; *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 552 sqq., and others; but given with greatest exactness by *Rud. Anger*, de *Onkelo* Chaldaico quem ferunt Pentateuch. Paraphraste et quid ei rationis intercedat cum *Akila* Græco Vet. Test. interprete, Partic. i. de Akila, Lipsiæ 1845, 4to, p. 4 sqq.—This agrees with what is said of Aquila by the Fathers. *Ἀκύλας ὁ Ποντικός*, says *Irenæus*, adv. hær. iii. 24 [which is the first mention of him, according to *Bleek*, p. 764; for he follows *Credner*, as *Keil* also does at the end of this note, in rejecting the supposition that *Justin Martyr* refers to his translation]: comp. *Jerome*, de viris illustr. c. 54; *Philastrius*, de hæres. § 90.—According to *Epiphanius*, de pondd. et mens. § 14, and *Athanasius*, Synops. script. sacr. § 77, his native place was Sinope, and he was Hadrian's sister's son (*πενθερίδης*). See *Anger*, p. 9 sqq.—From the expression in *Irenæus*, *l.c.*, *Οὐχ ὡς ἔνιοί φασι τῶν νῦν μεθερμενεύειν τολμώντων τὴν γραφήν· ἰδοὺ ἡ νεᾶνις, κ.τ.λ.* (Isa. vii. 14), *ὡς Θεοδοτίων ἑρμήνευσεν ὁ Ἐφέσιος καὶ Ἀκύλας ὁ Ποντικός, ἀμφότεροι Ἰουδαῖοι προσήλυτοι*, we cannot infer that Aquila lived in the age in which this Father published his work, between A.D. 177 and 192 (*Häv.* p. 362; *De Wette*, Einl. § 44); for *νῦν* indicates nothing more than recent times in general, in contrast with the more remote period at which the Alexandrian version was made. Comp. *Anger*, p. 8, note x. Yet it is a groundless assertion that Aquila's translation is quoted by *Justin Martyr*, dial. c. Tryph. c. 71 (p. 216, ed. Otto): *περὶ τῆς λέξεως τῆς, ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται, ἀντείπατε λέγοντες εἰρῆσθαι, ἰδοὺ ἡ νεᾶνις ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται.* Comp. *Credner*, Beitrr. zur Einl. in d. bibl. Schriften, Band ii. p. 198.

(6) According to a statement in the Jerusalem Gemara, Megill. i. 11, fol. 71, *c*, he composed his translation *coram* (לפני) *R. Eliezer*,

son of Hyrcanus, and *R. Joshua*, son of Chanania, who lived towards the end of the first century, and probably on to the time of Hadrian. According to the Jerusalem Gemara, Kiddush. i. 1, fol. 59, *a*, it was *coram R. Akiba*, a pupil of Eliezer and Joshua, that is, "ut eorum et judicia et consilia expeteret." Comp. *Anger*, p. 6 sq.—The following are specimens of Aquila's translations: Gen. i. 1, Ἐν κεφαλαίῳ ἔκτισεν ὁ Θεὸς σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν; ver. 4, Καὶ συνεῖδεν ὁ Θεὸς σὺν τὸ φῶς ὅτι καλόν, κ.τ.λ.—*Origen*, epist. ad Africanum, says, Δουλεύων τῇ Ἑβραϊκῇ λέξει. And *Jerome*, ep. ad Pammach. de optimo genere interper., Op. iv. 2, p. 255, says: "*Aquila* autem proselytus et contentiosus interpres, qui non solum verba, sed et etymologias verborum transferre conatus est, jure projicitur a nobis. Quis enim pro *frumento* et *vino* et *oleo* posset vel legere vel intelligere χεῦμα, ὁπωρισμὸν, στιλπνότητα, quod nos possumus dicere *fusionem*, *pomationem*, et *splendentiam*? Aut quia Hebraici non solum habent ἄρθρα, sed et πρόαρθρα, ille κακοζήλως et syllabas interpretatur et literas, dicitque σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν, quod Græca et Latina lingua omnino non recipit." Still more unfavourable is the judgment of *Epiphanius*, *l.c.*: Ἡρμήνευσεν οὐκ ὀρθῷ λογισμῷ χρησάμενος, ἀλλ' ὅπως διαστρέψῃ τινὰ τῶν ῥητῶν, ἐνσκήψας τῇ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα δύο ἑρμηνείᾳ· ἵνα τὰ περὶ Χριστοῦ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς μεμαρτυρημένα ἄλλως ἐκδώσει, δι' ἣν εἶχεν αἰδῶ εἰς ἄλογον αὐτοῦ ἀπολογίαν. See in *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 555 sqq., other judgments of the Fathers, both more and less severe. Sometimes, indeed, *Jerome* reproaches him; as Præf. in Joh.: "Multa mysteria Salvatoris subdola interpretatione celasse." But yet elsewhere he gives a preference to his translation over the Alexandrian version; and he says, Epist. ad Marcell., Opp. iv. 2, p. 61: "Jam pridem cum voluminibus Hebræorum editionem Aquilæ confero, ne quid forsitan propter odium Christi synagoga mutaverit; et, ut amicæ menti fateor, quæ ad nostram fidem pertineant roborandam plura reperio." In spite of this, it cannot well be denied that his translation has a polemic tendency.—*Jerome*, in Ezech. c. 3, speaks also of a second edition of it, "*Aquilæ* secunda editio, quam Hebræi κατ' ἀκρίβειαν nominant;" and elsewhere besides. Comp. *Carpzov*, p. 560; *Eichhorn*, Einl. i. § 188.

(7) *Origen*, ep. ad Afric.: Φιλοτιμότερον πεπιστευμένος παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις ἡρμηνευκέναι τὴν γραφὴν, ᾧ μάλιστα εἰώθασιν οἱ ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν Ἑβραίων διάλεκτον χρῆσθαι ὡς πάντων μᾶλλον ἐπιτετευγμένῳ. [To the same effect, *Bleek*, p. 762, refers to *Philastrius*, Hæres. 90, in *Hody*, p. 236.] *Augustine*, de civit. Dei, xv. 23: "Aquila . . . quem interpretem Judæi ceteris anteponunt." Comp. *Anger*, p. 10, note *e*. [*Bleek*, pp. 765–6, says that, according to the Jerusalem Talmud, tr.

Megilla, fol. 71. 3, Aquila's translation met with such approbation, that the words in Ps. xlv. 3 were applied to it, "Thou art fairer than the sons of men."]

II. Not much later, *Theodotion*, a Jewish proselyte of Ephesus (8), furnished a new translation; or, more correctly speaking, he re-cast and improved that of the LXX. (9). At a later period his version of the book of Daniel was universally adopted in the Greek Bible among Christians, instead of the Alexandrian version (10).

(8) Comp. *Irenæus*, in the passage quoted in Note 5.—*Jerome*, præf. comm. in Daniel.: "*Theodotionem* . . . qui utique post adventum Christi incredulus fuit, licet eum quidam dicunt *Ebionitam*, qui altero genere *Judæus* est." In accordance with this, Præf. in Esram: "*Judæos* et *Hebionitas*, Legis veteris interpretes, *Aquilam* videlicet et *Symmachum* et *Theodotionem*." Præf. in Jobum: "Judæus Aquila et Symmachus et *Theodotio Judaizantes* hæretici." And comm. in Habac. c. 3: "*Theodotio* quasi pauper et *Hebionita*, sed et Symmachus ejusdem dogmatis, pauperem sensum secuti Judaice transtulerunt. Isti *Semi*-Christiani Judaice transtulerunt; et Judæus Aquila interpretatus est ut Christianus." [*Bleek*, p. 766, thinks it most probable that *Theodotion* was a Judaizing heretic, a semi-Christian and Ebionite, according to *Jerome's* prevailing description of him. His reasons for thinking it probable that he professed to belong to the Christian Church are these two: (*a*) "We find no trace of the Jews ever making use of his translation, and still less of its having been held in esteem by them: much more this was the case in the Christian Church, which accepted his translation of Daniel for ecclesiastical use. (*b*) He has translated a clause in Isa. xxv. 8, *κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῖκος*, precisely as in 1 Cor. xv. 54, but thoroughly deviating from the Septuagint. . . . This concurrence is probably not purely accidental, but is to be explained by Theodotion having appropriated to himself the Pauline translation of the passage; and this again makes it extremely probable that he was a Christian at the time of making the translation."] On the contrary, *Epiphanius*, de pondd. et mens. c. 17: *Θεοδοτίων τις Ποντικὸς ἀπὸ τῆς διαδοχῆς Μαρκίωνος, μηνιῶν καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ αὐτοῦ αἱρέσει καὶ εἰς Ἰουδαϊσμὸν ἀποκλίνας, καὶ περιτμηθεὶς, κ.τ.λ.* This can scarcely be a statement according to certain historical tradition, but is probably an inference by an error of memory from Irenæus; comp. *Credner*, Beitrr. ii. p. 256. According to *Epiphanius*, *l.c.*, *Theodotion* published his translation under the emperor Commodus (A.D. 180–192), which is not impossible, and can perfectly

well be reconciled with the mention of him by *Irenæus* (comp. *Credner*, p. 254): yet it is by no means certain; and it does not obtain confirmation from the use of the word *νῦν* by *Irenæus*, *l.c.* (see above, in Note 5). In any case, his translation is not so ancient as that of Aquila, but more ancient than that of Symmachus.

(9) *Jerome*, in Eccles. ii.: "Septuaginta et Theodotio, sicut in plurimis locis, ita in hoc quoque concordant." Præf. in Psalt.: "Simplicitate sermonis a LXX. interpretibus non discordat." Præf. in Evang.: "Inter novos (Aquil. et Symm.) et veteres (LXX.) medius incedit." *Epiphanius*, *l.c.* c. 17: *Τὰ πλεῖστα τοῖς οβ′ συνᾳδόντως ἐξέδωκε· τριβὰς γὰρ εἶχε οὗτος τὰς πλείστας ἀπὸ τῆς συνηθείας τῶν οβ′.* Compare further, *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 564.—There is not any certain testimony to the existence of a second edition of his translation in the words of *Jerome* on Jer. xxix. 17: "Theodotio interpretatus est *sudrinas:* secunda *pessima*, Symmachus *novissimas*." For manifestly the text of Jerome here is corrupt; and according to the conjecture of *Hody*, p. 584, after "sudrinas" we should insert "Aquilæ prima editio."

(10) [*Bleek*, p. 767, says that this change occurred some time between the age of Origen and that of Jerome.] *Jerome*, præf. in Daniel.: "Danielem juxta LXX. interpretes Domini Salvatoris ecclesiæ non legunt, utentes *Theodotionis* editione, et *cur hoc acciderit nescio.* Sive enim quia sermo Chaldaicus est, et quibusdam proprietatibus a nostro eloquio discrepat, noluerunt Septuaginta interpretes easdem linguæ lineas in translatione servare; sive sub nomine eorum a nescio quo non satis Chaldaicam linguam sciente editus est liber, sive aliud quid causæ exstiterit ignorans; hoc unum affirmare possum, quod *multum a veritate discordet, et recto judicio repudiatus sit.*" Comp. *Häv.* Comm. über d. B. Daniel, p. xliv. ff.; *C. v. Lengerke*, d. B. Daniel, p. cvi. ff. —According to *Credner*, *ibid.* p. 257 ff., the Christians were so long under the pressure of contradictions, assaults, and mockeries, from Jews and heathens combined, that finally (though, to be sure, not in general before the end of the third century) they gave up their Greek translation by the LXX., and set that of *Theodotion* in its place. [Observe, accordingly, in § 182, Note 2, that it is *Theodotion's* version which lies at the foundation of the Coptic version from the Septuagint, which *Keil* dates in the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century.]

III. Very soon afterwards, *Symmachus*, an Ebionite (11), made a freer translation, which expressed the sense rather than the words; of which also a second edition is mentioned (12).

(11) *Eusebius*, Hist. Eccles. vi. 17, and Demonstr. Evang. vii. 1, calls him *Ἐβιωναῖος*. Comp. *Jerome* in Note 8. With this agree some Syrian notices in *Assemani* Biblioth. orient. ii. p. 278, iii. 1, p. 17. According to others, he was a Samaritan. *Epiphanius*, *l.c.* c. 16 [to whose accounts, however, *Bleek*, p. 767, attaches no weight whatever, pronouncing his details fabulous]: *Σαμαρείτης . . . νοσήσας φιλαρχίαν . . . προσηλυτεύει καὶ περιτέμνεται δεύτερον.* Similarly *Athanasius*, Synops., *Chronicon Paschale*, and *Euthymius Zigabenus*, in *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 567. According to *Epiphanius*, *l.c.*, he lived under the emperor Severus: with this agree the circumstances, that *Irenæus* does not name him [when he names the other two, in the sentence already quoted in Note 5], and that already *Origen* found his translation in existence. [*Bleek*, p. 767, says we may infer from *Eusebius*, *l.c.*, "that the translation of Symmachus was little known before the time of Origen; and that Origen had obtained it from a certain woman Juliane, to whom it had come from Symmachus himself."]

(12) *Jerome*, præf. in Psalter.: "Aquila, *Symmachus*, et Theodotio vel verbum ex verbo, vel *sensum ex sensu*, vel ex utroque commixtum et medie temperatum genus translationis expresserunt." Comm. in Amos iii.: "Non solet verborum *κακοζηλίαν* sed intelligentiæ ordinem sequi." In this respect his translation is commended [by the ancient writers, especially by *Jerome*, says *Bleek*, *ibid.*] as *σαφέστερον*, *θαυμαστῶς*, "manifestius," "apertius." Comp. *Hody*, p. 588; *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 569. Still we cannot characterize his style as being pure Greek, or elegant (comp. *Thieme*, de puritatate Symmachi, Lipsiæ 1735, 4to; *Eichhorn*, Einl. i. § 193–4): comp. *Herbst*, Einl. i. p. 160. The second edition is mentioned by *Jerome*, on Nah. iii. 1, and on Jer. xxxii. 30; comp. *Carpzov*, pp. 570–1.

All three [often quoted by the ancient writers as "the three," says *Bleek*, p. 767] translate more faithfully than the LXX., avoid their habit of resolving metaphors, and often agree together, in opposition to the LXX. (13). But they have been preserved to us only in fragments, collected from the remains of the Hexapla (14).

(13) *Theodoret*, in Jes. vii.: *σαφέστερον οἱ τρεῖς ἡρμηνεύκασι.* Again, in Abdiam, c. i.: *καὶ τοῦτο δὲ σαφῶς οἱ τρεῖς ἑρμηνευταὶ νόητον ἡρμηνεύκασι.* Comp. *Hody*, *l.c.* p. 589.

(14) Comp. § 177, Note 7. The fragments of Aquila's translation, which occur in the rabbinical writings, have been collected and elucidated by *Anger*, *l.c.* p. 13.

Besides, there exist fragments of three anonymous translations, which have received the designations *Quinta*, *Sexta*, and *Septima*, on account of their position in Origen's Bible-work. Their authors were no longer known to so early a writer as Origen, and it is probable that they did not extend over the whole Old Testament (15). [One other Greek translation, the *Veneta*, will be described in § 185.]

(15) *Jerome*, præf. ad *Origen.* Homil. in Cantic. Cantic.: "*Quintam* editionem, quam in Actæo litore invenisse se scribit" (Origen). *Epiphanius*, *l.c.* c. 17: *Εὑρέθη ἡ πέμπτη ἐν πίθοις, ἐν Ἰεριχῷ κεκρυμμένη . . . ἐν χρόνοις Καρακάλλου τε καὶ Γέτα* (*Eusebius*, Hist. Eccl. vi. 16, merely says that one of these three translations was found there). Of the *Sexta*, *Epiphanius*, *l.c.*, says: *Εὑρέθη ἕκτη ἔκδοσις καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν πίθοις κεκρυμμένη ἐν Νικοπόλει τῇ πρὸς Ἀκτίᾳ* (*Eusebius*, *l.c.*, makes one of the three translations, of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, be found there). As to their translators, *Jerome*, comm. ad Titum iii., says with reference to Origen's Hexapla: "Nonnulli vero libri, et maxime hi qui apud Hebræos versu compositi sunt, tres alias editiones additas habent, quam *Quintam*, *Sextam*, et *Septimam* translationem vocant, auctoritatem sine nominibus interpretum consecutas." Apolog. c. Rufin. ii. 34: ". . . Aquila et Symmachus et Theodotio *Quintæque* et *Sextæ* editionis *Judaicos* translatores." The translator of the *Sexta*, however, was a Christian, as we infer from the fragment, Habak. iii. 13, *Ἐξῆλθες τοῦ σῶσαι τὸν λαόν σου διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου.* To judge from the fragments collected by *Montfaucon*, the Quinta and Sexta extended over no more than the Pentateuch, the Minor Prophets, the Psalms, and Canticles; and the Septima embraced the Psalms and Canticles. [*Bleek*, p. 767, substitutes the Minor Prophets for Canticles in the Septima; and he adds that the Quinta, and perhaps also the Septima, contained the books of Kings.]

On the margin of Greek codices of the Bible there occur a number of fragments of translations bearing the following names:— (1) *Ὁ Ἑβραῖος*, that is, remarks on the text of the Septuagint resulting from a comparison of the Hebrew text. These are principally from *Jerome;* see *Eichhorn*, Einl. i. § 206. [*Bleek*, p. 778, says *Eichhorn* is right in this opinion: "but yet it is very probable that some one had gathered these out by themselves, and published them under this title, which accounts for their being constantly quoted by this name."] (2) *Ὁ Σύρος*, that is, the old Syriac translation. Comp. *Herbst*, Einl. i. p. 162, against the opinion of *Doederlein*, Quis sit ὁ Σύρος Vet. Test. Græcus interpres, Altdorf 1772, 4to, and *Eichhorn*,

i. § 207, that it is the translation into Greek by *Sophronius* [Patriarch of Byzantium] of Jerome's new Latin version,—a translation which was much used in Syria. [*Bleek*, however, p. 778, considers *Doederlein's* opinion probable in the highest degree. He observes that this was already the conjecture of *Semler*, Vorbereit. zur theol. Hermeneutik, 2 Stück, p. 421. In regard to that translation, he refers to *Jerome*, de viris illustr., and epist. 134 ad Sophron. And as for the appellation ὁ Σύρος, he compares the name Ἀράμ given to Jerome by *Theodore* of Mopsuestia (in *Photius*, Bibl. Cod. 227), probably with an allusion to his long residence in Palestine. And he notices that many a time ὁ Σύρος and ὁ Ἑβραῖος are adduced as in perfect agreement.] (3) Τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν; comp. § 195 [and *Bleek's* remarks in the addition to Note 5 there]. (4) Ὁ Ἑλληνικός; according to *Eichhorn*, § 208 [§ 209 in *Bleek*, p. 779], an unknown Greek translation.

§ 177. *History of the Septuagint to the Time of Origen.*

The wide-spread use of the Septuagint among the Hellenists, and afterwards in the Christian churches, and the want of any critically established text (which enabled copyists and readers to alter and add to it at their pleasure), exerted a highly pernicious influence upon the text, and produced numerous corruptions in the manuscripts (1).

(1) Individual traces of corruptions in the text are found already in *Philo* and *Josephus:* see *Grabe*, de vitiis LXX. interpr. ante Origenis ævum illatis, Oxon. 1710, 4to, p. 3 sqq.; *Häv.* Einl. i. 1, p. 365; *Frankel*, Vorstudien, p. 62 ff. More various readings are presented in the writings of the New Testament, and in the oldest Fathers—*Barnabas, Clemens Romanus*, and *Justin Martyr*. Some of these are still found in certain codices of the Septuagint (see *Amersfoordt*, *l.c.* p. 95 sqq.), and many agree with the versions of Theodotion and Symmachus (from which circumstance *Stroth*, in *Eichhorn*, Repert. ii. p. 75 ff., has concluded too hastily that Justin was acquainted with these translations); but others undoubtedly lead to the assumption that the Septuagint had been touched up anew and corrected, especially in the Messianic passages, so as to keep near the Hebrew original: comp. *Credner*, *ibid.*, especially p. 312 ff. The rise of new translations led to increased confusion, for men could use these to amend the Septuagint. Hence the complaint of *Origen*, Comm. in Matth. tom. xv. (Opp. iii. p. 671, ed. *De la Rue*): Νυνὶ δὲ δηλονότι πολλὴ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορὰ, εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥαθυμίας

τινῶν γραφέων, εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν μοχθηρᾶς τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δικοῦντα ἐν τῇ διορθώσει προστιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων.

In consequence of this, *Origen* undertook a *διόρθωσις* of this translation, in the interest of Christian Apologetics as against the Jews (2). To accomplish this, in his great Bible-work, the *Hexapla* (3), he placed in parallel columns the Hebrew text, in Hebrew and in Greek characters; the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion; and in addition, in some books, the Quinta, the Sexta, and the Septima. And he corrected the text of the Septuagint by the other translations in the following manner: he inserted what was awanting, marking it with an asterisk, and naming the source from which he took it; and though he did not remove what was superfluous, yet he marked it with an obelus as a spurious addition (4).

(2) His object was not to restore a critically emended text by collating manuscripts, but to set forth the true relation of the Alexandrian version to the original, and in some measure to compensate to the Christians, in their polemic against the Jews, for the want of the original text. This he himself says, Epist. ad Afric. p. 16 sq.: *Ταῦτα δέ φημι, οὐχὶ ὄκνῳ τοῦ ἐρευνᾶν καὶ τὰς κατὰ Ἰουδαίους γραφὰς, καὶ πάσας τὰς ἡμετέρας ταῖς ἐκείνων συγκρίνειν, καὶ ὁρᾶν τὰς ἐν αὐταῖς διαφοράς· εἰ μὴ φορτικὸν γοῦν εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦτο, ὅση δύναμις, πεποιήκαμεν· γυμνάζοντες αὐτῶν τὸν νοῦν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκδόσεσι καὶ ταῖς διαφοραῖς αὐτῶν, μετὰ τοῦ ποσῶς μᾶλλον ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τῶν ὁ, ἵνα μή τι παραχαράττειν δοκοίημεν ταῖς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ προφάσεις διδῶμεν τοῖς ζητοῦσιν ἀφορμὰς, ἐθέλουσι τοὺς ἐν μέσῳ συκοφαντεῖν καὶ τῶν διαφαινομένων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ κατηγορεῖν· ἀσκοῦμεν δὲ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις, ἵνα πρὸς Ἰουδαίους διαλεγόμενοι, μὴ προφέρωμεν αὐτοῖς τὰ μὴ κείμενα ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις αὐτῶν, καὶ ἵνα συγχρησώμεθα τοῖς φερομένοις παρ' ἐκείνοις, εἰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὐ κεῖται βιβλίοις· τοιαύτης γὰρ οὔσης ἡμῶν τὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς ζητήσεσι παρασκευῆς, οὐ καταφρονήσουσιν, οὐδ' ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, γελάσονται τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν πιστεύοντας, ὡς τ' ἀληθῆ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀναγεγραμμένα ἀγνοοῦντας.* Comp. *Jahn*, Einl. i. pp. 164–5.

(3) The common name was *Hexapla*, along with which *Octapla* also occurs [*Bleek*, p. 769, says that the words of *Epiphanius* about to be cited do not decide whether this was an appellation then actu-

ally in use; though in later scholia *Ὀκτασέλιδον* occurs], but not Enneapla. *Epiphanius*, de pondd. et mens. c. 18, 19: *Ὅτε καὶ τὰ ἑξαπλᾶ, καὶ τὰς δύο τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν σελίδας ἀντικρὺ ἐκ παραλλήλου μιᾶς ἑρμηνείας πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν συνέθηκε, ἑξαπλᾶς τὰς βίβλους. . . . Τετραπλᾶ γάρ εἰσι τὰ Ἑλληνικά, ὅταν αἱ τοῦ Ἀκύλα καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ τῶν ὁ καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἑρμηνείαι συντεταγμέναι ὦσι. Τῶν τεσσάρων δὲ τούτων σελίδων ταῖς δυσὶ ταῖς Ἑβραϊκαῖς συναφθεισῶν, ἑξαπλᾶ καλεῖται. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἡ πέμπτη καὶ ἡ ἕκτη ἑρμηνεία συναφθῶσιν, ἀκολούθως τούτοις ὀκταπλᾶ καλεῖται.* But the Tetrapla was a different work from this, and not merely another name for the Hexapla, as *Eichhorn*, i. § 16, and others maintain. [*Bleek*, p. 770, pronounces this opinion of *Eichhorn* and *Augusti* "decidedly wrong;" and he does so for the same reason as *Keil*.] This follows clearly from what *Eusebius* says, and from other notices by the ancients. *Eusebius*, Hist. Eccl. vi. 16: *Ταύτας δὲ ἁπάσας ἐπὶ ταὐτὸν συναγαγὼν, διελὼν τε πρὸς κῶλον, καὶ ἀντιπαραθεὶς ἀλληλήλαις μετὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἑβραίων σημειώσεως, τὰ τῶν λεγομένων ἑξαπλῶν ἡμῖν ἀντίγραφα καταλέλοιπεν, ἰδίως τὴν Ἀκύλα καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἔκδοσιν ἅμα τῇ τῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς Τετραπλοῖς ἐπικατασκευάσας.* Schol. Cod. Coislin. ad Psalm. 86: *Μήτηρ Σιὼν τὸ (ῥῶ) κατὰ προσθήκην ἔκειτο εἰς τὴν τῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ Τετρασελίδῳ, ἐν δὲ τῷ Ὀκτασελίδῳ μὴ Σιὼν ἤγουν δίχα τοῦ ῥῶ.* There is, however, a controversy whether Origen first prepared the Tetrapla, and then the Hexapla by the addition of the Quinta, Sexta, and Septima, after discovering these (*Hody*, *Ussher*, *Montfaucon*, and others); or whether he began with the Hexapla, and added the Tetrapla later (*Valesius* ad *Eusebium*, *l.c.*; *Herbst*, Einl. i. pp. 165–6). [*Bleek*, pp. 770–1, adopts the first of these two views, appealing to *Eusebius*, *l.c.*, and to *Jerome*, præf. in Paralip., for proof that Origen prepared the Tetrapla as a separate work, a synoptical edition of the four translations; and to the frequent quotations from these four translations by the Fathers, for proof that works of this kind existed in order to facilitate comparisons of this nature. "Now, as scholia often describe the Septuagint text in the Tetrapla as deviating from the Hexaplar text in the edition of Eusebius and Pamphilus, it is scarcely possible to assume that Origen himself first prepared the Tetrapla as an extract from the Hexapla, giving the Septuagint with the critical signs, etc.: for in that case, also, the labour of Eusebius and Pamphilus at a later time would have been quite unnecessary. Much rather the assumptions of *Montfaucon* are the most probable: (*a*) that Origen composed the Tetrapla before the Hexapla,—an opinion to which also we are led by the words of *Eusebius*; and (*b*) that the Tetrapla merely brought

these four translations together synoptically, and contained the Septuagint in the common text, without the critical signs, and without the supplements from the other translations."]

(4) *Origen*, Comm. in Matth. tom. xv. Opp. iii. p. 672: *Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης διαφωνίαν . . . εὕραμεν ἰάσασθαι, κριτηρίῳ χρησάμενοι ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐκδόσεσιν· τῶν γὰρ ἀμφιβαλλομένων παρὰ τοῖς ὁ διὰ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφωνίαν τὴν κρίσιν ποιησάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκδόσεων, τὸ συνᾴδον ἐκείναις ἐφυλάξαμεν, καί τινα μὲν ὠβελίσαμεν ἐν τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ μὴ κείμενα, οὐ τολμήσαντες αὐτὰ πάντα περιελεῖν.* More distinctly *Jerome*, Comm. in Tit. iii.: "Unde nobis curæ fuit omnes Veteris Legis libros, quos vir Adamantius in Hexapla digesserat, de Cæsariensi Bibliotheca descriptos, ex ipsis authenticis emendare, in quibus ipsa Hebræa propriis sunt characteribus verba descripta, et Græcis litteris tramite expressa vicino. Aquila etiam et Symmachus, Septuaginta et Theodotio suum ordinem tenent. Nonnulli vero libri," etc. (see the rest given in § 176, Note 15). Præf. in Paralip.: "Et certe Origenes non solum exemplaria composuit quatuor editionum, e regione singula verbo describens, ut unus dissentiens statim cæteris inter se consentientibus arguatur; sed, quod majoris audaciæ est, in editione LXX. Theodotionis editionem miscuit: asteriscis designans quæ minus ante fuerant, et virgulis quæ ex superfluo videbantur apposita." [For the external arrangement of the different translations, in the manner about to be shown in a table, *Bleek*, pp. 768–9, refers to *Rufinus*, Hist. Eccl. vi. 13, and to *Jerome*, in Ep. ad Tit. iii.]—Upon the position assigned to the various translations, it is rightly remarked by *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 575: "Ordinis rationem non versionum ætas subministrat, sed indoles, qua vel ab Hebræo textu longius absunt, vel propius accedunt. *Aquilæ* translatio primum locum tenet, proxime a columnis Hebræis, quia ille scrupulosius quam ceteri omnes Hebraicam scripturam verbum e verbo reddere studuerat. Post hunc *Symmachus* incedit, quia ille propius quam LXX. et Theodotio ad veritatem Hebraicam accedebat. Denique LXX. præmittuntur *Theodotioni*, quia Theodotio LXX. interpretes e vestigio pæne sequi videbatur." *Epiphanius*, *l.c.*, states it differently, but he is certainly in error: *Ὠριγένης πυθόμενος τὴν τῶν οβ' ἔκδοσιν ἀκριβῆ εἶναι, μέσην ταύτην συνέθηκεν, ὅπως τὰς ἐντεῦθεν ἑρμηνείας διελέγχῃ.*—As to the use of the critical signs, the asterisk and obelus, borrowed from the Greek grammarians, especially the Platonists (comp. *Häv.* i. 1, p. 368), see *Montfaucon*, Prælegg. i. p. 28 sq.; *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 580 sq.; *Holmes*, præf. ad T. i. edit. LXX. c. 1, sect. 6, 7. There is uncertainty as to the use of the Lemnisci, ÷, and the Hypolemnisci, –,

Τὸ Ἑβραϊκόν.	Ἑβραϊκόν.	Ἀκύλας.	Σύμμαχος.	Ο.	Θεοδοτίων.	Ε.	ϛ.	Ζ.
Gen. i. 20.	Ἑλλ. γρ.							
ויאמר אלהים ישרצו המים שרץ נפש חיה ועוף יעופף על-הארץ על-פני רקיע השמים :	Ουιωμερ ελωειμ ισρσου αμωιμ σαρες ναφες αια ουωφ ιεωφεφ αλααρες αλφαυη ρακυη ασαμωιμ.	Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· ἐξερψάτω τὰ ὕδατα ἑρπετὰ ψυχῆς ζωσῆς καὶ πετηνὸν ἱπτάμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τοῦ στερεώματος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.	Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· ἐξερψάτω τὰ ὕδατα ἑρπετὸν ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, καὶ πετηνὸν πετόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, κατὰ πρόσωπον στερεώματος οὐρανοῦ. Καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.	Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· ἐξαγαγέτω τὰ ὕδατα ἑρπετὰ ψυχῶν ζωσῶν, καὶ πετεινὰ πετόμενα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, κατὰ τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.	Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· ἐξερψάτωσαν τὰ ὕδατα ἑρπετὰ ψυχὰς ζώσας, καὶ πετηνὸν πετόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, κατὰ πρόσωπον στερεώματος οὐρανοῦ. Καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.			
Hab. ii. 4.								
וצדיק באמונתו יחיה :	ουσαδικ βημουναθω ιειε.	Καὶ δίκαιος ἐν πίστει αὐτοῦ ζήσεται.	ὁ δὲ δίκαιος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πίστει ζήσει.	ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πιστεώς μου ζήσεται. Jer. xi. 13. * Α. Σ. Θ. θυσιαστήρια. Ps. xviii. 7. δραμεῖν ὁδὸν—αὐτοῦ :	ὁ δὲ δίκαιος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πίστει ζήσει.	ὁ δὲ δίκαιος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πίστει ζήσει.	ὁ δὲ δίκαιος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πίστει ζήσει.	ὁ δὲ δίκαιος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πίστει ζήσει.

which are mentioned by no one but *Epiphanius* [and by *Isidorus Hispalensis*, Origg. i. c. 20, says *Bleek*, p. 769. He adds: "It is very questionable whether these marks proceeded from Origen's own hand. We are pretty safe in inferring from *Augustine*, Civ. Dei, xviii. 43, that he knew of no such marks in the Hexaplar text, but only of obeli and asterisks."] Comp. *Hody*, *l.c.* pp. 595–6; *Häv.* p. 369. The scheme on the opposite page may serve to present the arrangement to the reader's eye.

This extremely voluminous work, at which Origen laboured for many years (5), was certainly multiplied only to the extent of a few copies, on account of its great bulk, and was diffused almost exclusively in the extracts made from it under the care of *Eusebius* and *Pamphilus* (6); and thus it came to be lost, except a few fragments (7).

(5) It is not known how long Origen laboured at it. *Huetius* (Origenian. p. 17) makes him begin the Hexapla at Cæsarea of Cappadocia, and finish it at Tyre. But Origen makes a reference to the Hexaplar work in the Epistle to Africanus, which was written earlier in Nicodemia; and on this account *De Wette*, Einl. p. 69, finds it not improbable that it was at least begun already at Alexandria. *Epiphanius*, i. c. 18: *Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ γεγονότος διωγμοῦ τοῦ Δεκίου . . . καὶ αὐτὸς Ὠριγένης πολλὰ πεπονθὼς, εἰς τέλος τοῦ μαρτυρίου οὐκ ἔφθασεν. Ἐλθὰν δὲ εἰς Καισάρειαν τὴν Στράτωνος, καὶ διατρίψας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα χρόνον ὀλίγον, εἶτα ἐλθὼν εἰς Τύρον ἐπὶ ἔτη κή, ὡς ὁ λόγος ἔχει, τὴν μὲν πολιτείαν ἐνησκεῖτο τὰς δὲ γραφὰς ἡρμήνευσεν, ὅ τε καὶ τὰ ἑξαπλᾶ . . . συνέθηκεν.* But the twenty-eight years of a stay at Tyre are incorrect (*Huetius*, Origenian. p. 15). *Montfaucon*, *l.c.* p. 13: "Verisimile est Origenem Hexaplis edendis manum admovisse, postquam Sextam edit. repererat: reperit autem Epiphanio (*l.c.*) teste anno Alexandri Severi septimo, i.e. Christi 228. Et quia adhinc ad annum 231, quo Cæsaream se recepit, non sat otii et commodi habuisse videtur, ut tam arduam rem susciperet, opportuno in annum 231, cum Cæsareæ ageret, Hexaplorum opus remittitur."

(6) *Jerome*, de viris illustr. § 75: "Pamphilus Presbyter tanto bibliothecæ divinæ flagravit amore, ut maximam partem Origenis voluminum sua manu scripserit, quæ usque hodie in Cæsariensi bibliotheca habentur." Præf. in libr. Jos.: "Græcorum *ἑξαπλοῖς*, quæ et sumtu et labore maximo indigent."—Jerome saw it and made use of it in the library at Cæsarea (Comm. in Tit. iii., as quoted already in Note 4).—About the diffusion of the codices of the Sep-

tuagint made from the Hexapla under the care of Eusebius and Pamphilus, *Jerome* says, præf. in Paralip.: "Mediæ inter has"—namely, between Alexandria and Constantinople [as to which see more in § 178, Note 2]—"provinciæ Palæstinos legunt codices, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt."—Procem. comm. in Daniel.: "... omnes Christi ecclesiæ tam Græcorum quam Latinorum Syrorumque et Ægyptiorum hanc sub asteriscis et obelis editionem legunt." Epist. 74 [89, according to *Bleek*, p. 770] ad Augustin., ii. 626: "Et miror, quomodo LXX. interpretum libros legas non puros, ut ab eis editi sunt, sed ab Origene emendatos, sive corruptos, per obelos et asteriscos.... Vis amator esse verus LXX. interpretum, non legas ea quæ sub asteriscis sunt: imo, rade de voluminibus, ut veterum te fautorem probes. Quod si feceris, omnium Ecclesiarum bibliothecas damnare cogeris. Vix enim unus vel alter inveniatur liber, qui ista non habeat."

(7) [Bleek mentions that *Jerome* consulted it, as is said here in Note 6; and he adds, p. 770, "After this time there is no further mention of it." It has been conjectured (*Jahn*) that it perished in 653, when Cæsarea was taken and destroyed by the Arabs.] Probably when Cæsarea was taken by the Arabs, A.D. 653; comp. *Montfaucon*, *l.c.* p. 76.—The Hexaplar fragments were collected first by *Petrus Morinus*, in the Sixtine edition of the Septuagint, Rome 1587; then by *Jo. Drusius*, Vet. interpretum Græc. in totum Vet. Test., etc., fragmenta coll., versa et notis illustr., Arnheim 1622, 4to; by *Bern. de Montfaucon*, Hexaplorum Origenis quæ supersunt multis partibus auctiora, quam a Flam. Nobilio (a P. Morino) et J. Drusio edita fuerint; ex MSS. et ex libris editis eruit et notis illustravit. Accedunt opuscula quædam Origenis anecdota et ad calcem Lexicon Hebr. ex Veterum interpretationibus concinn., itemque Lex. Gr., etc., t. i. ii., Parisiis 1714, fol.; by *C. F. Bahrdt*, Hexapl. Origenis quæ supersunt auctiora et emendatiora, quam a Flam. Nobilio, J. Drusio, et tandem a Bern. de Montfaucon concinnata fuerant, ed. notisque illustr., P. i. ii., Lipsiæ 1769–70, 8vo. [*Bleek*, p. 777, calls this work an extract or abridgment of *Montfaucon's*, which has printed the Greek fragments given by the learned Benedictine, but has omitted his remarks, and the Hebrew words written in Greek characters.] There have been more recent contributions to this collection by *Doederlein*, in *Eichhorn's* Repert. i. vi.; by *Scharfenberg*, 2 Specim., Lipsiæ 1776, 1778; by *Matthæi*, in the Repert. iv.; by *Bruns* and *Adler:* see in *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch f. d. Liter. ii. p. 465 ff. [*Bleek*, p. 177, refers for this subject to *De Wette*, § 45 fin., and *Eichhorn*, § 174.] Add to these, *J. F. Schleusner*, Opuscula crit. ad vers. Gr. Vet. Test.

pertinentes, Lipsiæ 1812; and *Jezeciel*, sec. LXX. ex Tetraplis Orig., e sing. Chisiano codice [as to which codex, see again at § 178, Note 7, end], op. *A. Vincentii* de Regibus, Romæ 1840, fol. The following work is an attempt to restore the Hexaplar text: Jeremias vates e versione Judæorum Alex. ac reliquorum interpr. Gr. emend. notisque crit. illustr., a *G. L. Spohn*, Lipsiæ 1794, vol. ii. ed. *Fr. A. Spohn*, 1824.

§ 178. *History of the Septuagint after Origen.*

Besides Origen, and, as it would seem, independently of his labours (1), the Presbyter *Lucian* in Antioch (who died in 311) and the Egyptian bishop *Hesychius* endeavoured to improve the text of the Septuagint, by means of recensions which met with approbation, and came into public use, the one in Syria and Asia Minor, and the other in Egypt (2); but these have not been preserved to us in any memorial, by means of which their character could become known to us (3).

(1) The opinion of *Huetius* (Origenian. p. 261), that Origen's critical signs were found in Lucian's and Hesychius' copies, cannot be proved from *Jerome*, Epist. 74 ad Augustin. (*Häv.* i. 1, p. 370). And against the assumption of *Holmes*, *l.c.* sect. 8 sqq., that Lucian and Hesychius took the Tetrapla for a basis, see *Amersfoordt*, p. 113 sq.

(2) *Jerome*, de viris illustr. § 77: "*Lucianus* vir doctissimus . . . tantum in Scripturarum studio laboravit, ut usque nunc quædam exemplaria Scripturarum *Lucianea* nuncupentur." Præf. in. Paralip.: "Alexandria et Ægyptus in LXX. suis *Hesychium* laudat autorem: Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam *Luciani* martyris exempla probat. Mediæ inter has provinciæ Palæstinos codices legunt . . . (see the following words in § 177, Note 6) totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat." Epist. ad Sunniam et Fretelam, ii. 627: "In quo illud breviter moneo, ut sciatis aliam esse editionem, quam Origenes et Cæsar. Eusebius omnesque Græciæ tractatores κοινήν, i.e. communem appellant atque vulgatam, et a plerisque nunc Λουκιανός dicitur; aliam LXX. interpretum, quæ in ἑξαπλοῖς codicibus reperitur." [See more about the *Κοινή* in Note 5. *Bleek*, p. 771, says that, beyond what we are told in these notices by *Jerome*, and again on Isa. lviii. 11, where they are quoted as "exemplaria Alexandrina," little or nothing is known of the edition of Hesychius; compare

Keil's acknowledgment of ignorance at the end of Note 3. Of that of Lucian, *Bleek* goes on to say, "It is often named: and by later writers of the Greek Church it is sometimes described as being a new translation from the Hebrew, which is decidedly erroneous; sometimes as a correction of the Septuagint from the Hebrew text,"—which latter description he seems equally to reject, on account of its being identified with the *Κοινή* by *Jerome*. *Bleek* himself surely falls into a slight chronological error, when, alluding to the men in the same page, he speaks of Lucian dying as a martyr in the persecution by Diocletian (*Euseb.* Hist. Eccl. viii. 13, ix. 6) *in the end of the third century*. Hesychius suffered death in the same persecution (*Euseb.* viii. 13).]

(3) Of *Lucian's* labours *Suidas* says, *sub voce Λουκιανός*, according to *Simon Metaphrasta*: *Οὗτος τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους ἰδὼν πολὺ τὸ νόθον εἰσδεξαμένας τοῦτε χρόνου λυμηναμένου πολλὰ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς, καὶ τῆς συνεχοῦς ἀφ' ἑτέρων εἰς ἕτερα μεταθέσεως, καὶ μέν τοι καὶ τινῶν ἀνθρώπων πονηροτάτων . . . παραστρέψαι τὸν ἐν αὐταῖς νοῦν πειρασαμένων καὶ πολὺ τὸ κίβδηλον ἐν αὐταῖς σπειράντων αὐτὸς ἁπάσας ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραΐδος ἀνενεώσατο γλώττης, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν ἠκριβωκὼς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἦν, πόνον τῇ ἐπανορθώσει πλεῖστον εἰσενεγκάμενος*. *Nicetas*, Proœm. Comm. in Psalm.: *Τὰς Ἰουδαίων βίβλους εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεξιν μετατίθησιν*. [See *Bleek* upon such statements, as quoted in Note 2.] Of *Hesychius'* mode of procedure nothing is known. Comp. *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. pp. 532–3.

And yet, by all these various critical labours, the corruption of the text was not removed; nay, by these very means it was only augmented. For readers and copyists partly disregarded or changed Origen's critical marks, partly they mingled the different recensions together (4); so that neither the *Κοινή*, that is, the text without reference to recensions (5), nor any one particular recension, lies before us pure in any manuscript that has come down to us (6). And as for the printed editions, they do not once represent the manuscript text faithfully and trustworthily (7).

(4) [*Bleek* says the same, p. 772, referring for proof to *Jerome*, Epist. 89 ad Augustin., from which a quotation has already been made in § 177, Note 6; and also to *Augustine*, Civit. Dei, xviii. 43.] *Jerome*, præf. in Paralip.: "Nunc cum pro varietate regionum diverso fruantur (*τῆς κοινῆς*) exemplaria, et germana illa antiquaque translatio corrupta sit atque violata; nostri arbitrii putas, aut e pluribus

judicare quid verum sit, aut novum opus in veteri opere cudere." Consequently *Jerome* adhered in his translation exclusively to that Hexaplar text which had been extracted by Eusebius, with which also the most of the Fathers contented themselves. It was only individuals like Basil the Great (according to *George Syncellus*, Chronogr. p. 203) who appear to have taken pains to procure correct transcripts of a recension. Comp. *Carpzov*, p. 533; *Amersfoordt*, p. 21; *Häv.* p. 371.

(5) "Κοινή, hoc est, communis editio ipsa est quæ et Septuaginta. Sed . . . pro locis et temporibus, et pro voluntate scriptorum veterum *corrupta* editio est" (*Jerome*, ad Sunniam et Fretelam, ii. 627). [*Bleek*, pp. 771–2, says it is plain, from utterances of *Jerome*, that the Κοινή assumed very various forms in different localities. In proof he quotes this passage, and another, proœm. in L. xvi. comm. in Jes.: " . . . in editione vulgata, quæ Græce κοινή dicitur, et in toto orbe diversa est."]

(6) Comp. *Hody*, *l.c.* p. 634; *Carpzov*, p. 533. Consequently very various judgments (indeed, to some extent they are contradictory) have been pronounced upon the text of the two principal manuscripts, the Alexandrian and the Vatican: comp. *Stroth*, in *Eichhorn*, Repert. v. p. 96 ff.; *Amersfoordt*, p. 132 sqq. Lists of manuscripts have been given by *Stroth* in the Repert. v., viii., xi., and by *Holmes*, *l.c.* c. 2, 3; and *Credner*, Beitrr. ii. p. 93 ff., gives a critical estimate of the manuscripts of the Pentateuch which were compared by *Holmes*. There is a *fac-simile* of the Alexandrian codex: " Vet. Test. Gr. e codice MS. Alex. qui Londini in Biblioth. Musei Britann. asservatur, typis ad similitudinem cod. scripturæ fideliter descriptum. Cur. *Henr. Ilerveji Baber*," tom. iii., Londini 1812–26, fol. It is faulty, according to *Tischendorf*, Vet. Test. Græc., ed. 2, prolegg. p. lxix. sqq.

(7) Lists of editions are given in *Le Long*, Biblioth. Sacr. ed. *Masch*, ii. 2, p. 262 sqq.; in *Carpzov*, p. 533 sqq.; in *J. A. Fabricii* Biblioth. Græc. cur. *Harles*, iii. p. 673 sqq.; in *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, ii. p. 279 ff.; in *Amersfoordt*, p. 23 sq.; in *Frankel*, Vorstudien, p. 242; and elsewhere. There are four primary editions, and others are derived from these:—

I. Biblia Polyglott. Complutens. 1514–17, fol., from unknown manuscripts, with peculiar readings, which differ from both the Alexandrian and the Vatican codices, but which are often confirmed by the Syrian-hexaplar text; comp. *Eichhorn*, Einl. i. § 181. This edition is followed by (1) Biblia Polyglott. *Antverp.* (Regia) 1572, fol.; (2) Polygl. *Bertrami* (Vatabl. Heidelberg), 1586 or 1587, fol.; (3) Biblia Polygl. *Wolderi*, Hamburg 1596, fol.; (4) Biblia Polygl. *Paris.* 1645, fol.

II. Biblia Græc. Venet., in ædibus *Aldi* et Andr. *Asulani* soceri, (*Aldina*) 1518, fol.; ex vetustissimis exemplaribus; adhibitâ etiam quorundam eruditissimorum hominum cura. It is said, however, to have been interpolated; comp. *Rosenmüller*, pp. 281–2. [*Bleek*, pp. 774–5, says: "It has been censured on account of the text here and there being interpolated from the other Greek translations, and even from the New Testament. Yet here also," that is, as well as in the case of the Complutensian, "the suspected readings have actually been found in more recently published various readings of manuscripts."] From it have proceeded the *Strassburg* edition of Wolph. Cephalæus (cur. Loniceri), 1526; the *Basel* edition, by Joa. Hervag (c. præf. Phil. Melanchthon), 1545; the *Frankfurt* edition, 1597; and others. [*Bleek*, p. 775, says the Aldine edition is itself rare.]

III. Vet. Test. juxta LXX. ex auct. Sixti v. ed., Romæ 1587, fol. (*Sixtina*), following the Vatican manuscript, yet with alterations here and there; comp. *Stroth* in the Repert. v. p. 105, and *Tischendorf*, *l.c.* p. xix. sqq., l. sqq.—It has been followed by (1) the *Paris* edition, cur. Jo. Morini, 1628, and others; (2) the London Polyglott of *Walton*, 1657, with the various readings of the Alexandrian codex; (3) the edition of *Lambert Bos*, Franeker 1709 [*Bleek*, p. 775, adds, in his description of this edition, "large 4to, with prolegomena upon the history and criticism of the Septuagint: under the text stand Greek scholia from the Roman edition, and various readings from the London Polyglott. The text of the Septuagint is not everywhere exactly that of the Roman edition, though Bos assures us that it is"]; (4) the *Leipzig* edition of Reineccius, 1730 and [2d ed., says *Bleek*,] 1757; (5) that of *Leander van Ess*, 1824; and others.

The Vatican text is given, along with a rich (yet neither complete nor careful) apparatus of various readings, in the Vet. Test. Græc., cum variis lectt., ed. *Rob. Holmes*, continuit *Jac. Parsons*, Oxon., 5 vols. fol., 1798–1827. Comp. *Amersfoordt*, libr. cit.; *Gesenius* in the Allg. Lit. Zeitung, 1816, 1 St., 1832, 1 St.; and *Tischendorf*, *l.c.* p. lii. sqq.

The same text, with various readings and corrections from the Alexandrian Codex, the Codex Rescriptus of Ephræm, and the Codex Friderico-Augustanus, is given in the Vet. Test. Græc. juxta LXX. interprett., ed. *Const. Tischendorf*, Lipsiæ 1850, ii. tomi 8vo; ed. 2, corr. et auct., 1856.

IV. Septuaginta interprett. ex antiquiss. MS. *Codice Alexandrino* accurate descript., et ope aliorum exemplarium ac priscorum scriptorum, præsertim vero hexaplaris ed. Origen. emend. atque supplet. addit. sæpe asteriscorum et obelorum signis, ed. *J. Ern. Grabe*, Oxon.

1707–1720, 4 vols. fol. [*Bleek* says, p. 775, he died in 1711, having published only vols. 1 and 4; the second appeared under the care of Francis Lee, and the third anonymously, but from materials in Grabe's papers], also in eight volumes. It follows the Alexandrian codex, yet with changes adopted from others, and with conjectures: comp. *Rosenmüller*, p. 303 ff.; *Amersfoordt*, p. 31 sq.; *Tischendorf*, *l.c.* p. lxvi. sqq. This edition is followed by that of *J. J. Breitinger* [*Bleek*, p. 776, says, Professor at Zürich, died 1776], Zürich 1730–32, 4 vols. 4to (with various readings). [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, pronounces this a very valuable edition, especially as errors in printing Grabe's are removed, and the divergent readings of the Roman edition are given. He adds: "The editor promised a fifth volume besides, with critical discussions, and with various readings from manuscripts at Basel, Augsburg, and Zürich; but it did not appear."]

All these editions give Theodotion's version of the book of Daniel. The Alexandrian version of Daniel, discovered in the Codex Chisianus at Rome, appeared under the title, "Daniel sec. LXX. ex Tetrapl. Origenis, nunc primum ed. e singulari Chisiano cod. annorum supra DCCC." [*Bleek*, p. 776, says, by no means correctly transcribed from that codex, which is hexaplar, furnished with Origen's additions and critical signs, which are given in the printed copy. He adds that the editing is probably] by *Simon de Magistris*, Rome 1792 [a slip in printing, apparently for 1772, as in *Bleek*]. This was reprinted, cur. *J. D. Michaelis*, Gottingæ 1773, 8vo [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, says only the Greek text; but with the most important of the additional matter in the Roman edition, in the second ed.], 1774, 4to; cum animadverss. et præf. *C. Segaar*, Trajecti 1775, 8vo; post *Seg.* ed., secundum versionem Syriaco-hexapl. [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, says, taken from a Milan codex, which had been published by Cardinal *Cajetan Bugati*, Milan 1788; see § 180, Note 7] recogn., annotatt. crit. et philol. illustr. *Henr. A. Hahn*, Lipsiæ 1845; and in the second edition of *Tischendorf's* Greek Old Testament, ii. p. 589 sqq.

III. *Versions derived from the Septuagint.*

§ 179.—A. *The Itala.*

After Christianity had been diffused in the West, Latin translations were soon made from the Septuagint, which was there universally held in reputation (1). Among these Augustine gave the preference to the *Itala*, because it was remarkable for great literality

and distinctness (2). Its origin lies within the earliest times of Christianity (3).

(1) Comp. *Tertullian*, de præscript. hæret. c. 36; *Hilary*, Comment. in Psalm. 2, 118. 5.—*Philastrius*, hær. catal. c. 93, 94: "Sunt hæretici, qui Theodotionis et Symmachi itidem interpretationem diverso modo expositam sequuntur, non illorum beatissimorum priorum, quam ecclesia catholica colit et prædicat."

(2) *Augustine*, de doctr. Christ. ii. 11, speaks quite distinctly of several translations: "Qui scripturas ex Hebræa lingua in Græcam veterunt, numerari possunt: Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuivis primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Græcus et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari." [Other striking examples are given by *Bleek*, p. 780, from the beginning of this chapter, as also from c. 12, c. 13, c. 14.] C. 15: "In ipsis autem interpretationibus *Itala* cæteris præferatur: nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ." [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, gives other passages referring to the multiplicity of translations, from *Augustine*, Epist. 71 ad Hieronym., ed. Benedict.; from *Jerome*, Ep. 140 ad Principiam; and from *Hilary*, Comment. in Ps. liv.] Against *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 321, who adopts the view that there was only one ancient translation of the Old Testament, see *Jahn*, Einl. i. p. 215 ff., and *Scholz*, Einl. i. p. 483. [Yet *Bleek*, pp. 780–1, seems disposed to an intermediate opinion: "On the other hand, the comparison of the fragments preserved to us from these old Latin versions, shows that they were not different independent versions, but only various forms of one and the same translation. It was probably made in proconsular Africa, in rude and barbarous Latin, and afterwards was variously worked up anew in other countries. In these varied forms it was in predominant use in different localities; and thus they came to be regarded as different translations."]—It no doubt received the name *Itala* from the Fathers of the African Church, because it came to them from Italy, so far as acknowledgment for ecclesiastical use was concerned; comp. *Häv.* i. 1, p. 374. Against the conjectures *illa* or *usitata*, instead of Itala, see *Hug*, Einl. ins Neue Test. i. § 115; *Leander van Ess*, pragmatisch-krit. Geschichte der Vulgata, Tübingen 1824, p. 21 ff. [*Bleek*, p. 781, also rejects these conjectures. And he thinks a guess of *Reuss* (Gesch. d. Neu. Test. § 452, 2d ed.) scarcely can be correct, that by the Itala Augustine meant the translation as revised by *Jerome* from the Hexapla. His own supposition is, that it was a translation in common use in Italy, especially in Upper Italy, where

it had assumed its definite shape; and that Augustine had come to be acquainted with it, and had recognised its superiority to the African form in style and accuracy, during his stay in Rome and Milan.] What *Eichhorn* (§ 323) says in favour of its African origin has not been proved. Yet comp. *Scholz*, pp. 484–5.

(3) Comp. *L. van Ess*, p. 4 ff., and *Häv. ibid.* [*Bleek*, p. 780, says, in the absence of direct evidence, we may suppose that the Old Testament was translated into Latin at the same time as the New, and that there was such a translation as early as the age of *Tertullian*, which was in common use at least in his neighbourhood, referring to a sentence in his de monogamia, c. 11.]

This translation proceeded from the κοινή of the Alexandrian version, and pre-eminently attaches itself to the Vatican text of the Septuagint (4). It is preserved, however, only in some individual books, and in fragments found in the Fathers (5).

(4) Comp. *Eichhorn*, § 324–5; *Gesenius*, Jesaj. i. p. 98; and *Scholz*, p. 488. Hence it is important for the criticism of the Septuagint. [So also says *Bleek*, p. 782.]

(5) [*Bleek*, pp. 781–2, observes: "Frequently, indeed, the whole of what has been preserved of old Latin translations from the Septuagint, of dates earlier than *Jerome's* age, is comprehended under the title 'Itala.' This is inexact, if we look at the use of the word in Augustine; and except in him, this title does not occur in ancient writers. Still we cannot distinguish among the fragments preserved of these translations older than *Jerome's*, what has belonged to the Itala, and what to the other forms of the translation."] They have been collected most completely in the Bibliorum S. Lat. verss. antiquæ, seu vetus *Itala* et cett., quæcunque in codd. MSS. et antiquorum libris reperiri potuerunt: quæ cum vulgata Lat. et cum textu Gr. comparantur . . . op. et stud. *D. Petri Sabatier*, 3 vols. fol., Remis 1743; editio auctior, 1749–51. (The third volume contains the New Testament.) The following works are supplements to it:—*Fr. Münter*, Fragmenta vers. antiq. Latinæ antehieronym. Prophetarum Jerem., Ezech., Dan., et Hos., e cod. rescr. Wirceburg., Hafniæ 1819, in Miscell. Hafn. i. 1, 81 sq. *Ang. Mai*, in nova collect. script. Vet. Test. iii. Spicileg. t. ix. *Er. Ranke*, Fragm. Lat. Vet. Test. versionis antehieron. proph. Hoseæ, Am., et Mich., e cod. Fuldensi eruta, Marpurgi 1856, 4to (Progr.) [*Bleek*, p. 782, adds, Fascic. ii. 1858], and theol. Studien u. Krit. 1858, p. 301 ff. [*Bleek, ibid.*, pronounces this a very valuable work. He agrees with *Ranke* in

thinking it very probable that much which Sabatier has brought up from *Jerome's* writings did not belong to the old translation, at least in its present shape, but has been amended by him in the act of quoting it.] And there are others. Comp. *Scholz*, p. 486.—With reference to the older collection by *Flamin. Nobilis*, and also to various editions of the Psalter, see *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, iii. p. 176 ff.

But manifold use made of this translation, and arbitrary alterations in it, led to its text being even more corrupted than that of the Septuagint before Origen (6). Consequently, about the year 382, *Jerome* undertook a critical revision of it [*Bleek*, p. 782, says, perhaps induced to do so by Pope Damasus]. After having completed the New Testament, he first corrected the Psalter, yet only cursorily (Psalterium Romanum). At a later time [*Bleek*, p. 783, says, at Bethlehem, whither he retired to live after the death of Damasus in 384] he revised it more diligently, following the Hexaplar text with Origen's critical marks: this is named Psalterium Gallicanum, because it was received by the Churches in Gaul (7). In like manner he afterwards revised Chronicles, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Proverbs, and Job (8): but the greater part of this work was lost so early as in his own lifetime (9); and, besides the two Psalters, only Job remains and is found in print (10).

(6) *Jerome*, præf. in Jos.: "Quum apud Latinos tot sint exemplaria quot codices, et unusquisque pro arbitrio suo vel addiderit vel subtraxerit quod ei visum est."—Præf. ad Paralip.: "Ita in Græcis et Latinis codicibus hic nominum liber vitiosus est, ut non Hebræa quam barbara quædam et Sarmatica nomina conjecta arbitrandum sit."—Præf. alter in Job.: "Cæterum apud Latinos, ante eam translationem, quam super asteriscis et obelis nuper edidimus, septingenti ferme aut octingenti versus desunt."—*Augustine*, Ep. 88 ad Hieronym. t. iv. P. 2, pag. 611: "Per hoc plurimum profueris, si eam Scripturam Græcam, quam LXX. interpretati sunt, Latinæ veritati addideris, quæ in diversis codicibus ita varia est, ut tolerari vix possit, et ita suspecta, ne in Græco aliud inveniatur, ut inde aliquid proferri aut probari dubitetur."

(7) Comp. *Hody, l.c.* p. 332 sq.—*Jerome*, præf. ad edit. poster. Psalm.: "Psalterium, Romæ dudum positus, emendaram, et juxta LXX. interpretes, licet *cursim*, magna tamen ex parte, correxeram. Quod quia rursus videtis, o Paula et Eustochium, scriptorum vitio

depravatum, plusque antiquam errorem quam novam emendationem valere; cogitis, ut veluti quodam novali scissum jam arvum exerceam, et obliquis sulcis renascentes spinas eradicem. . . . Notet sibi unusquisque vel jacentem lineam vel radiantia signa, id est, vel obelos vel asteriscos: et ubicunque viderit virgulam præcedentem ab ea usque ad duo puncta quæ impressimus, sciat in LXX. translatoribus plus haberi: ubi autem stellæ similitudinem perspexerit, de Hebræis voluminibus additum noverit æque usque ad duo puncta, juxta Theodotionis duntaxat editionem, qui simplicitate sermonis a LXX. interpretibus non discordat."

(8) It is only of these six books that *Jerome* speaks in his Apologia adv. Rufinum, and says that he had revised them; and also, it is of these alone that we find double prefaces. In others of his writings he speaks quite generally of his revision and translation of the Septuagint. For instance, Ep. 23 ad Lucinium, iv. 2, p. 574: "*Septuaginta interpretum editionem* et te habere non dubito, et ante annos plurimos diligentissime *emendatam* studiosis tradidi." Ep. 135 ad Sunniam et Fretelam: "Ea autem (editio LXX. interpr.) quæ habetur in Hexaplis et quam *nos vertimus*, ipsa est quæ in eruditorum libris incorrupta et immaculata LXX. interpretum translatio reservatur."

(9) *Jerome*, Ep. 94 ad Augustin. iv. 2, p. 644: "Grandem Latini sermonis in ista provincia notariorum patimur penuriam: et idcirco præceptis tuis parere non possumus, maxime in edit. LXX., quæ asteriscis verubusque distincta est. *Pleraque enim prioris laboris fraude amisimus.*"

(10) The two Psalters and Job in *Jerome's* div. Opp. ed. *Mart.* i. p. 1186 sqq.: the Roman and Gallican Psalters in *Fabri Stapulensis* Psalterium quincuplex, Parisiis 1508, 1513; ed. 3, Caen 1513.—*Jos. Mar. Cari* (*Tommasi*), Psalter. juxta duplicem edit., Rom. et Gallic., etc., Romæ 1683, and often afterwards. Comp. *Rosenmüller*, p. 190 ff.

§ 180.—B. *The Syriac Mediate [or Indirect] Translations.*

Until the sixth century the Syrians possessed only the Peshito translation, which was made direct from the Hebrew text (1). But in consequence of the separation of the Monophysites from the Nestorians, a translation of the Old Testament came to be made from the Septuagint.

1. [*Bleek*, p. 793, says we are indebted to a codex of this version, discovered at Paris, for the information that] in the year 617, at the

instance of *Athanasius* the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, *Paul* the bishop of Tella [or Tela, as it is written by *Bleek*] in Mesopotamia (2), during his stay at Alexandria, made a Syriac translation from the Greek (3). It follows the Hexaplar text word for word, even to the length of neglecting the laws of the Syriac language, and retaining Greek words; and it also contains the Hexaplar critical marks. It agrees for the most part with the Alexandrian codex, yet often also with the Vatican and the Complutensian texts: and it is of great value for the restoration of the Hexaplar text (4). All that now is extant of this translation is an Ambrosian manuscript at Milan (5), containing the Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom of Solomon, and Wisdom of Sirach, the twelve Minor Prophets, Jeremiah, Baruch, Daniel, Ezekiel, Isaiah; and a Paris manuscript containing the fourth book of Kings. They have been printed, with the exception of the Apocrypha (7).

(1) *Ephræm Syrus* repeatedly mentions the *Greek:* but this does not prove the existence of a Syriac translation made from the Septuagint; it only presupposes a text of the Peshito furnished with isolated glosses, partly from the Hebrew original, partly from Greek translations. Comp. *C. A. Credner*, de prophetarum minor. versionis Syr., quam Peschito dicunt, indole, Göttingen 1827, p. 48 sq.; *Cæs. a Lengerke*, Commentat. crit. de Ephræmo Syro SS. interpr., Halæ 1828, 4to, p. 10 sq.; and *Häv.* i. 1, p. 376.

(2) About this place, see *Döpke*, Glossar. ad *Michaelis*, chrestomath. Syr. p. 143.

(3) According to the testimony of *Bar Hebræus*, Proœm. ad horreum myster.: "Testamentum vero Vetus Septuagintavirale *Paulus* Episcopus Tellæ *Mauzaleth*, ex Græco in Syriacum transtulit." See the passage in the original in *Wiseman's* horæ Syriacæ, p. 87 sq., and in *Bernstein's* chrestomath. Syr. i. p. 145.—About the author of the Syriac Hexaplar translation, comp. also *Eichhorn*, in the Repert. vii. p. 225 ff.

(4) Comp. *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 265.

(5) See a paper by *Bruns*, on a Syrian Hexaplar manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, in the Repert. iii. p. 166 ff.; *De Rossi* Spec. ineditæ et hexaplaris Bibliorum vers. Syro-Estranghelæ . . . edid. ac diatribam de rariss. codice Ambros. præmisit, Parmæ 1778, 4to, reprinted by *Eichhorn* in the Repert. iii. p. 187 ff.; *Adler*, kurze Uebersicht s. bibl. krit. Reise nach Rom, p. 194 ff.

(6) See the description of this, and of the critical use made of it, in *Bruns*, Curæ hexaplar. in iv. libr. Regum, in *Eichhorn*, Repert. viii. p. 85 ff., ix. p. 157 ff., x. p. 58 ff.—Another codex of this translation was in the possession of *Andr. Masius*, Josuæ imper. histor. illustr. 1573, and was used by him. "Interpretem Syrum ubique certissimum habui, qui ea Græca ad verbum expressit ante annos nongentos, quæ in Adamantii Hexaplis ab Eusebio in nobili illa Cæsariensi bibliotheca fuere collocata. . . . Habeo enim ab illo interprete Syro etiam Judicum historias et Regum; præterea Paralip., Esdram, Esther, Judith; denique Tobiæ et Deuteron. bonam partem" (Epist. dedic. p. 6). And, "Habeo aliquot sacræ historiæ libros, qui et conversi in linguam Syr. et scripti sunt Alexandriæ ab Alexandro M. novies centesimo vicesimo septimo, hoc est, ante hos nongentos et quinquaginta annos. Sunt, inquiam, conversi ad verbum de Græco exemplari, quod manu Eusebii ad Origenis libros, qui in Cæsariensis ecclesiæ biblioth. asservabantur, fuerat emendatum, cum huic ad eam rem adjutor fuisset suus Pamphilus. In quibus libris meis Syricis, cum omnes ubique notæ, quas dixi, summa cura atque incredibili diligentia sint appositæ, neque magno labore neque ullo errore deprehendi a me judicarique—potuerunt" (Præf. in Græc. edit. Josuæ, p. 123). This codex has since disappeared, and no trace of it is left. Comp. *Middeldorpf*, codex Syr. Hexapl. i. præf. p. 1 [a work to be mentioned in Note 7].

(7) Codex Syr. Hexapl. Ambrosiano-Mediol., ed. et Latin. vers. a *Matth. Norberg*, t. i. (Jer. et Ezech.), Lundis et Gothæ 1787, 4to. —*Daniel*, sec. ed. LXX. interpr. ex Tetraplis desumptam. Ex cod. Syr. . . . ed. et Latin. vert., præf. notisque crit. illustr. *Caj. Bugatus*, Mediolani 1788, 4to.—Liber Psalmorum sec. ed. LXX. interpr., ex cod. Syr. ed. cum vers. Latina *Caj. Bugatus*, Mediolani 1798, 4to [*Bleek*, p. 793, says, 1820]. Comp. *Plüschke*, de Psalterii Syr. Mediolani a Caj. Bugato editi pec. indole ejusdem usu critico, Bonnæ 1835.—Libri Regg. Syro Hexapl. spec. e manuscripto Paris. Syriace ed. . . . notisque illustr. *J. Godfr. Hasse*, Jenæ 1782.—Codex Syr. Hexaplaris lib. iv. Regum e cod. Paris., Jesaj., xii. proph. min., Provv., Job, Cant., Threni, Ecclesiast., e cod. Mediol. ed. et commentariis illustr. *H. Middeldorpf*, t. i. text. Syr., t. ii. Commentt. Berolini 1835 [*Bleek*, p. 793, says, 1834–5], 4to. Comp. his Curæ Hexaplares in Jobum, Vratislaviæ 1817, 4to. [*Bleek's* editor, *ibid.*, says: "Lately *Thomas Skat Rordam* has published the following from the translation by *Paul* of *Tela*: Libri Judicum et Ruth sec. vers. Syr. Hex., etc., editi, Græce translati, notisque illustrati; fascic. i. Jud. i.–v., Kopenh. 1859, 4to. He has followed a manuscript

brought from the Nitrian desert, and lying for some years now in the British Museum. In the British Museum there are still to be found the books of Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, 1st Samuel, and a part of Genesis."]

From the Syro-hexaplar text an Arabic translation was made in the year 1486 by *Hareth Ben Senan*. Of this there are preserved two manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, two in the Paris Library, and one in that of the Vatican; but only some fragments have been printed. Comp. *Hottinger*, thes. philol. p. 274 sqq.; *Schnurrer*, in *Holmes*, præf. ad T. i. ed. LXX. cap. iv.—*Paulus*, Comment. crit., exhibens e Biblioth. Oxon. Bodlej. specimina verss. Pentateuchi septem Arab., Jenæ 1789. Comp. *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. p. 293 ff.

2. Identical [at least it is highly probable that it is so, says *Bleek*, p. 793] with this Syro-hexaplar translation, is that which the western Syrians used along with the Peshito, according to *Abulpharagius*. *Pococke* had so read and translated his statement, that it has been usual hitherto to name this "Versio figurata," and to consider it a peculiar translation (8).

Already at an earlier period, and probably in consequence of a commission from *Philoxenus* or *Xenajas*, Bishop of Mabug or Hierapolis in Syria, A.D. 488–518, his chorepiscopus *Polycarp* translated the Psalter, besides the New Testament, from Greek into Syriac (9). But no translation of the whole Old Testament exists, either by Philoxenus or by Polycarp (10).

(8) *Abulfaragius* (Bar Hebræus, the Jacobite Maphrian, died in 1286) Historia dynast., ed. *Pococke*, Oxon. 1663, p. 100: "Syri occidentales duas habent versiones: *Simplicem*, quæ ex Hebraico in Syriacam translata est post adventum Domini Christi, tempore Addæi Apostoli, vel, ut alii dicunt, tempore Salomonis filii Davidis et Hirami; et *Figuratam secundum Septuaginta*, e Græco in Syriacum traductam, longe post incarnationem Salvatoris intervallo." But according to the correct reading, confirmed by manuscripts (comp. *Jahn*, Einl. Vorrede, vi. sqq.), and adopted by *White* in the new edition of *Pococke's* Specim., Addenda, p. 100, the sense is: "Tempore Salomonis, filii David et Hirami *regis Tyri; et alteram secundum LXX. dictam.*" This reading, indeed, was already given by *Abraham Ecchelensis* in the note to *Ebedjesu*, catal. libr. Chaldæorum, Romæ 1653, p. 240; and at a later time it was proposed by *Sylv. de Sacy* in *Eichhorn's* allg. Biblioth. viii. p. 588, according to *Renaudot*, Perpet. de la Foi,

v. 554: comp. *Wiseman*, *l.c.* p. 92 sqq., and *Gesenius*, in Allg. Lit. Zeitung, 1832, Nr. 1, p. 8. [*Bleek*, p. 794, besides noticing *De Sacy's* conjecture, and its confirmation by manuscript authority, observes that *Pococke's* reading had been interpreted by *Bertholdt*, "bene formata, egregie condita," in contrast with a mere simple, faithful translation.]

(9) As is related by *Moses* of *Aghelle* in Mesopotamia, in the sixth century: his statement is given in *Assemani* biblioth. orient. ii. p. 83; comp. *Häv.* i. p. 376.

(10) The assumption of its existence rests on a marginal note in the Ambrosian manuscript of the Hexaplar Syriac version, at Isa. ix. 6, "from another translation, which was made for the Syrians by Saint Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabug." Comp. *Eichhorn*, Repert. iii. p. 175, Einl. ii. § 266; *Jahn*, Einl. i. p. 204. Yet not only is *Bar Hebræus*, in the preface to his Horreum myster. (reprinted by *Wiseman*, p. 84 sqq.), acquainted with only *two* translations, the Peshito and that of Paul of Tella; but also *Moses bar Cepha*, in the tenth century, speaks only of these two ("Syriace vero redditum altera quidem interpretatione ex ipso Hebræo, altera vero ex Græco;" see *Assemani*, ii. p. 130). Nor in the copious accounts given by *Assemani*, ii. p. 10 sqq., and p. 83, of the writings of Philoxenus and Polycarp, is there any mention made of a translation of the Old Testament by these men. The notice in that scholion must therefore rest on a mere error. Comp. *Häv.* p. 377; *Herbst*, Einl. i. p. 208.

3. A Syriac translation from the Greek is said to have been made also by the Nestorian patriarch Mar Abba, who died in 552 (11); but it seems never to have come into ecclesiastical use, and it is known to us only by name (12). On the contrary, a translation of the Old Testament by *Thomas* of *Charkel* (Heraclea) cannot be proved to have existed. The "versio Heracleensis" of the story of Susannah, mentioned in a manuscript of *Pococke's*, has turned out to be Theodotion's version touched up freely (13).—Also *Jacob* of *Edessa*, at the beginning of the eighth century, is not the author of a peculiar translation of the Old Testament; but judging from the fragments with which we are acquainted (14), his revision of the Bible consisted of a new recension of the Hexaplar translation used by the Monophysites, composed from the Syrian-Hexaplar text and the Peshito (15).

(11) According to *Bar Hebræus* and *Ebedjesu* in *Assemani*, iii. 1, p. 75.

(12) Comp. *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 267; *Häv.* p. 379.

(13) See *Pocqcke*, præf. in Joel, fol. 6, reprinted in *Walton's* London Polyglott, tom. iv. On the contrary, *Wiseman*, p. 204, says, "Harklensis, quam Karkaphensi jungit *Assemani* (biblioth. orient. ii. p. 283) nullibi prorsus in Veteri Test. a Barhebræo citatur." Comp. *Häv.* p. 377; *Herbst*, Einl. i. p. 209 f.

(14) Communicated by *Caj. Bugatus* in his Syr. Hexaplaric Daniel; comp. *Eichhorn*, allg. Biblioth. ii. p. 270 ff.: and by *Sylv. de Sacy*, Notice d'un MS. Syriaque du Pentat., etc., in *Eichhorn*, allg. Biblioth. viii. p. 571 ff., printed again in Notices et extraits de MSS. de la bibliotheque nationale, iv. p. 648 sqq.

(15) Comp. *C. v. Lengerke*, comment. crit. de Ephræmo Syr. p. 19 sq.; *Rhode*, *Barhebræi* Schol. in Psalm v. et xviii. pp. 70 and 76; *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 260, *a*, *b*, *c*; *Häv.* p. 380.

About the Syriac translation of the Abbot *Simeon*, see *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 271; and about the "versio Karkaphensis," see § 191, Note 9.

§ 181.—C. *The Ethiopic Translation.*

When Christianity spread among the Ethiopians, they also procured a translation of the whole Bible into their ancient (sacred) language, the Geez, in the fourth century (1), probably by *Frumentius* (2). It adheres to the Alexandrian version of the Septuagint (3). It has come into Europe in many manuscripts, which are complete (4); but the whole of it has not yet been printed (5).

(1) The most ancient testimony borne to it is that of *Chrysostom*, Homil. ii. in Joannem: *Καὶ Σύροι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Πέρσαι καὶ Αἰθίοπες καὶ μυρία ἕτερα ἔθνη εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν μεταβάλλοντες γλῶτταν τὰ παρὰ τούτου δόγματα εἰσαχθέντα ἔμαθον ἄνθρωποι βάρβαροι φιλοσοφεῖν.*

(2) Ethiopian legend names *Abba Salama*, that is, *Frumentius*, as the author. *Ludolph*, histor. Æthiop. l. iii. c. 2.—"De auctore et tempore versionis nihil certi compertum habemus: probabile tamen est, eam tempore conversionis Habessinorum, vel paullo post, non vero tempore Apostolorum, ut quidam tradiderunt, concinnatam fuisse et quidem a diversis interpretibus; quia vocabula rariora et difficiliora, ut sunt gemmarum nomina, non uno modo in diversis libris exponuntur" (Histor. Æth. ii. c. 4, § 5). Comp. Comment. in histor. Æth. iii. 4, p. 295 sq.

(3) Comp. *Ludolph*, Comment. *l.c.*—See the contrary opinion of *Bruce*, in *Eichhorn*, Allg. Biblioth. iii. p. 120 ff.—According to *J. A.*

B. Dorn, de Psalterio Æthiop., Lipsiæ 1825, 4to, the translator must often have had recourse to the Hebrew text: on the opposite side, comp. *Gesenius* in the Allg. Lit. Zeitung, 1832, No. 2, p. 9; *E. Rödiger*, *ibid.* No. 8, p. 58 ff. It contains not only all the books in the Alexandrian translation, but also several pseudepigrapha, of which the fourth book of Ezra, the book of Enoch, and the *Ἀναβατικὸν Ἡσαΐου*, have up to this time become known to us with more precision. Comp. *Fr. Lücke*, Einl. in die Offenbarung Johann., 2d ed. pp. 89 ff., 144 ff., 274 ff., and *A. Dillmann* in *Herzog's* Realencykl. i. p. 168 ff.

(4) Catalogues of these are given in *Ludolph*, Comment. p. 298; *T. Pell Platt*, Catalogue of the Ethiopic Bible manuscripts in the Royal Library of Paris and the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and of those in the Vatican Library, etc., London 1823, 4to.

(5) The edition of *A. Dillmann*, Vet. Testamenti Æthiopici, t. i., Octateuchus, Lipsiæ 1853-5, fasc. 1–3, is not yet completed. Previously there were only individual books printed: the Psalter, with Canticles, so early as 1513, and often since; Ruth, Jonah, Joel and Malachi, and others. Comp. *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, iii. p. 65 ff.; *Häv.* i. 1, p. 381 f.

§ 182.—D. *The Egyptian Translations.*

As Christianity spread into the inner provinces of Egypt, towards the end of the third century and in the beginning of the fourth, there also came into existence *Egyptian* translations of the Bible (1): one in the dialect of Lower Egypt, the *Coptic* or *Memphitic*; and one in that of Upper Egypt, the *Sahidic* or *Thebaidic*. Both have proceeded from the Septuagint (2); and hitherto they have been printed only in individual books and in fragments (3).

(1) Comp. *Münter*, über das Alter der kopt. Uebersetzungen des Neuen Test., in *Eichhorn*, allg. Biblioth. iv. p. 24 ff. Comp., on the contrary, his earlier assertions in Specim. verss. Danielis Copt., Romæ 1786, p. 23 sqq.; and *Woide* in *J. A. Cramer's* Beitrr. iii. p. 1 ff.

(2) According to *Woide's* comparison in *Holmes'* edition of the Septuagint. The translation of Theodotion lies at the foundation of that of Daniel. Comp. *Adler*, bibl. krit. Reise, pp. 187–8. *Münter*, Specim., finds in it the Hesychian recension [of which *Keil*, § 178, Note 3, and *Bleek*, quoted there in the additions, say that we know nothing].

(3) Of the Coptic translation there have been printed, *Quinque*

libri Mosis, etc., ed. a *Dav. Wilkins*, London 1731, 4to; La version cophte du *Pentateuque*, avec des variantes et des notes, par *A. Fallet*, 1 livre, Paris 1854. The *Psalms*, Rome 1744. Psalterium Coptice, ad cod. fidem rec. lectionis varietate et Psalmos apocryphos Sahidica dialecto conscriptos ac primum a Woidio editos adj. *J. L. Ideler*, Berolini 1837.—*Psalterium* in dialectum Copticæ ling. Memphiticam transl. ed. *M. G. Schwartze*, Lipsiæ 1843. (The Psalms are also quoted by *Barhebræus*, and were therefore also known to the Syrians; comp. *Wiseman*, *l.c.* p. 144 sq.)—*Duodecim poph. minorum* libri in linguæ Ægypt. vulgo Coptica seu Memphit. ex MSS. Paris. descr. a *Henr. Tattam*, Oxon. 1836.—*Bardelli* Danielis versio Coptico-Memph., Pisæ 1849.—*Prophetæ majores* in dialecto linguæ Ægypt. Memphitica seu Coptica, ed. cum vers. Latina *Henr. Tattam*, ii tomi, Oxon. 1852.—Passages from *Jeremiah*, edited by *Mingarelli*, Bologna 1785; and from *Daniel*, in *Münter's* Specim.—As to the manuscripts of it, see *Zoëga*, Catal. codd. Coptic. manuscript. in Museo Borgiano, Romæ 1810.—Of the *Sahidic* translation there are only fragments in *Münter*, *Mingarelli*, and *Zoëga*. As to the manuscripts of it, see *Engelbreth* in the neu. theol. Journ. of *Ammon*, etc., vi. p. 834 ff.; *Zoëga*, *l.c.* pp. 172 sqq., 621.

Besides, there is a translation in the *Basmuric* dialect,—a mixed dialect formed from the other two. As to this, see *Zoëga*, *l.c.* p. 140 sq.; *Quatremère*, recherches crit. et histor. sur la langue et la literature de l'Egypte, Paris 1808, p. 228 sqq.; and *Engelbreth*, fragm. Basmurico-Copt. Vet. et Nov. Test., Hafniæ 1811.

§ 183.—E. *The Arabic Mediate [or Indirect] Translations.*

The Alexandrian version has been also followed by several *Arabic* translations of single portions of the Old Testament:—1. The translation of the *Prophets*, printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts (1), made by an Alexandrian clergyman whose name and age are unknown, perhaps about the tenth century (2). 2. The *Solomontic writings* in the same Polyglotts. 3. The book of *Ezra*, which is also found there (3). 4. The *Psalms:* (*a*) according to the Egyptian recension, in the same Polyglotts; (*b*) according to the Syrian recension in *Justinian's* Psalterium Octaplum (Genevæ 1546), in the liber Psalmorum a *Gabriele Sionita* et *Victor. Scialac* (Romæ 1614). 5. The translation of the *Psalms* in use among the *Melchites* (the orthodox sect of the oriental Christians), made by *Abdalla Ibn Alfadl*, at all events

before the twelfth century (4). And there are several Arabic versions still unprinted (5).

(1) Also printed separately at Newcastle in 1811, at the expense of the Bible Society. Comp. *Benary* in the Berliner Jahrbb. 1831, No. 63.

(2) According to *Gesenius*, Jesaj. i. p. 98 ff., the Hexaplar text lies at the basis of this translation. With reference to Jeremiah, comp. *Spohn*, Jerem. vates, etc., i. p. 21 sq. In reference to Daniel, comp. *Wald*, in *Eichhorn*, Repert. xiv. p. 204 ff.; *Hav.* i. 1, p. 385.

(3) *E. Roediger*, de origine et indole Arab. librorum Vet. Testamenti histor. interpretationis, Halæ 1829, 4to, p. 35.

(4) Printed in Haleb, 1706, 1735, Padua 1709, and often. Comp. *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, iii. p. 49 ff.; *Döderlein* upon Arabic Psalters, in *Eichhorn*, Repert. ii. p. 176 ff., iv. p. 87 ff.

(5) See *Adler*, bibl. krit. Reise, pp. 68 and 179; *Paulus*, Specim. verss. Pentateuchi septem Arab., p. 58 sq.

§ 184.—F. *The remaining Versions derived from the Septuagint.*

I. The *Armenian* translation. In the fifth century, by means of *Miesrob* (*Mesrop*), the Armenians obtained, along with an alphabet, a translation of the Bible (1), which follows the Septuagint (following Theodotion, however, in Daniel), but presents a mixed text (2), which yet is not interpolated in accordance with the Syriac Peshito (3). It has been repeatedly printed, entire or in part (4).

(1) Miesrob made use in this of two disciples, *Johannes Ekelensis* and *Josephus Palnensis*, whom he had sent to Alexandria that they might the better acquire the Greek language. See *Moses Choronensis* histor. Armeniæ, ed. *Whiston*, c. 54, p. 299; comp. c. 61, p. 313.—*Jo. Bapt. Aucher*, in the preface to the Armenian [version of the] Chronicle of *Eusebius*, p. 11, says of its origin: "Cum enim Christi anno CCCCVI. s. Mastosius sive Mesropes singulari Dei beneficio Armenici alphabeti elementa reperisset, suæque genti tradidisset, mirum profecto dictu est qua cura atque æmulatione universi fere Armeniæ eruditi una cum universorum magistro s. Isaaco Patriarcha in antiquorum scriptorum libros vertendos incubuerint, ita ut initio ducto a versione sacrarum literarum, quas e Græca LXX. interpretum translatione deduxere, ultra sexcenta veterum scriptorum volumina ante annum CCCCL., hoc est, xliv annorum spatio in Haicanum linguam translata sint."

(2) *La Croze*, Thesaur. epistol. iii. p. 201: "Codicem Alexan-

drinum presse sequuntur versiones *Armeniacæ* et Slavonicæ." The contrary is asserted by *Bredenkamp*, in *Eichhorn*, allg. Biblioth. iv. p. 630 ff.; *Whiston*, præf. ad Mosen Chorenensem, p. xii. sq.; *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. p. 332; *Herbst*, Einl. i. p. 223.

(3) Against this opinion (which is an inference from a conjecture of *Barhebræus*, Schol. ad Psalm. xvi., in *Walton*, prolegg. xiii. 16), see *Wiseman*, *l.c.* p. 142, and *Rhode*, Gregor. Barhebræi Schol. in Ps. v. et xviii. p. 74. Also the truth of the assertion of *La Croze*, *l.c.* iii. p. 4, that the Armenian Bible was corrected after the Vulgate, in the thirteenth century, is uncertain. Against it, see *Alter*, philol. krit. Miscellen, p. 140 ff.; *Holmes*, præf. in edit. LXX. c. 4; and *Herbst*, pp. 224–5.

(4) First the Psalms, Rome 1565, Venice 1642, Amsterdam 1661, 4to, and often; the entire Bible by *Uskan* (Osgan), Amsterdam 1666, Constance 1705, Venice 1733; the prophet Obadiah, with a Latin translation, by *Andr. Acoluthi*, Leipzig 1680, 4to. Comp. *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, iii. p. 78 ff.

II. The *Georgian* or *Grusinic* translation was prepared in the sixth century from the Septuagint, in the sacred or ecclesiastical language of the country, in the priestly (that is, the Armenian) written character (5).

(5) About this version, see *Eichhorn*, allg. Bibliothek, i. p. 153 ff., and Einl. ii. § 318, *b.*—The whole Bible appeared in print, only revised after the Slavonic, Moscow 1743, fol.

III. From the Gothic translation of Bishop *Ulphilas*, only of late small fragments of several books of the Old Testament have been discovered (6).

(6) Of the Pentateuch; of Ezra and Nehemiah, Job, Psalms, Proverbs; and of the prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Habakkuk, and Malachi. They have been collected in *Ulfilas*, Vet. et Novi Testamenti versionis Goth. fragmenta quæ supersunt, etc., ed. *H. C. de Gabelenz* et Dr. *J. Loebe*, Leipzig 1843, vol. i. prolegg. p. xxiii.; and in *Ulfilas*, die heilige Schriften Alt. u. Neu. Bundes in goth. Sprache, by *H. F. Massmann*, Stuttgart 1857, pp. 1–35.

§ 185.—IV. *Versio Veneta.*

In the Library of St. Mark at Venice, a manuscript of the fourteenth century exists,—a Greek translation of several books of the Old

Testament, by some unknown author in the middle ages. It renders the Masoretic text with slavish accuracy into a strange mixture of elegant Attic Greek and barbarisms. For criticism it is worthless (1).

(1) The Pentateuch has been published by *Chr. Fr. Ammon*, Nova versio Græca Pentateuchi, Erlangæ 1790–99 [*Bleek*, p. 779, says, 1790–1], 3 vols.; and the rest by *J. Bapt. Ansse de Villoison*, Nova versio Græca Proverbiorum, Ecclesiastis, Cantici Cant., Ruthi, Threnorum, Danielis, et selectorum Pentateuchi loc., etc., Argentorati 1784.—As to its origin, see the conjectures in *Eichhorn*, allg. Bibliothek, iii. p. 370 ff., v. p. 743 ff., and by *Pfannkuche*, *ibid.* vii. p. 193 ff.; also *Häv.* i. § 78. [*Bleek*, p. 779, says: "The author was probably a learned Christian, who had acquired his knowledge of Hebrew from Jewish Rabbins."]

CHAPTER II.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATIONS.

I. CHALDEE PARAPHRASES OR TARGUMS (תַּרְגּוּמִים).

§ 186. *Their Origin.*

After the exile, it became the practice to read the law in public to the people, with the addition of an *oral* paraphrase in the Chaldee dialect (1). Out of this practice *written* translations and paraphrases also arose, and certainly very soon, as the synagogues flourished more and more, together with the public schools in which the study of the law was principally carried on (2). If, with all this, the high antiquity of the Targums which have come down to us has not yet been proved; still there is no well-founded reason for doubting the existence of written Targums before Christ, though these may not have attained to general reputation, and may have been at a later time supplanted by others, and so have perished (3).

(1) The first trace of this practice is furnished by Neh. viii. 8. Comp. *Rambach* in the Annotatt. uberiores on this passage, and *Hengstb.* Beitrr. i. p. 299 ff. "The practice of publicly reading sections from the books of Moses in the synagogues, on certain appointed days of the week, is ascribed by tradition partly to Moses and partly to Ezra. This much may safely be accepted, that it is not more

recent than the Maccabean age, in which already the public reading of parallel sections from the prophets was introduced" (*Zunz*, die gottesdienstl. Vorträge, p. 3). "To the unlearned, to the mass of the people, who spoke Aramaic, the sacred language had long since become strange; and for them were those Aramaic translations destined, the *Targums*, by the use of which the reading of a passage from the original text was accompanied, *perhaps immediately after they had been introduced.* The text of Scripture which had been publicly read, either all of it beforehand, or else paragraph by paragraph, was translated by rote to the congregation, by a translator as a general rule appointed for the purpose; so that the reader and the translator delivered their discourses alternately" (*Zunz*, p. 8). In this exercise great freedom was at first allowed to the interpreter; but this was afterwards restricted by the establishment of fixed hermeneutical rules. *Zunz*, pp. 74–5; *Häv.* Einl. i. p. 388.

(2) "Written Aramaic translations of the most of the books in the Bible certainly existed already under the Hasmonæans" (*Zunz*, p. 61). Already the Mishna, tract Jadaim, iv. 5, treats of the language and the character in which the Targums must be written. [*Bleek*, p. 787, says: "*Häv.*, § 79, thinks that the Mishna, tr. Jadaim, c. 4, § 5, also quotes written Targums; but it is impossible to think of such a thing there. We find the first express mention of written Targums, and, indeed, partly too of those which now exist, in the Babylonian Gemara. But in it accounts are to be found which are in part thoroughly contradictory, or which have a very fabulous air. This shows that nothing was any longer known with certainty, even to the Talmudists, about their origin, or the historical relations of their authors; and also, upon the other hand, that the age in which they were composed must have considerably preceded that of the Talmudists." He disbelieves the traditions of the later Jews which ascribe a high antiquity to the written Targums; and greatly doubts whether they were in public use in the first centuries of the Christian era. "Otherwise it is difficult to conceive how the Septuagint could at that time have arrived at so high a reputation even in Palestine, and how it could have been so widely diffused among the Jews, as we have seen was the case; and it is just as difficult to conceive how there should be no mention at all of them in Josephus, or the Fathers, or the Mishna."] In the Gemara, Shabb. fol. 115. 1, mention is made of a written Targum on Job, belonging to the middle of the first century (the time of Gamaliel); "and as a beginning would scarcely have been made with Job, a still higher antiquity may probably be rightly assumed for the first translations of the law" (*Zunz*,

p. 62). The trace of a Targum's rendering at Matt. xxvii. 46 is uncertain.—There is a conjecture that Josephus used the Targums, by *Pfannkuche*, in *Eichhorn*, allg. Bibliothek, viii. p. 427. According to *Frankel* (on the age of the earliest translators of the Old Testament, in the Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung deutschen u. ausländ. Orientalisten, Leipzig 1845, 4to, p. 10 ff.), originally there was no complete translation in Palestine, but only renderings of difficult passages, which formed the ancient Targum that was traced up by tradition to Ezra; and not incorrectly so, at least so far as its commencements are concerned.

(3) [See the doubts of *Bleek* in the additions to Note 2.] The objections of *Jo. Morinus*, exercitatt. bibl. ii. p. 321 sq.; of *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. p. 15 ff.; and of others, against the origination of the Targums in the first centuries after Christ, have been refuted by *Aug. Pfeiffer*, crit. sacr. c. 8, sect. 2, quæst. 1; by *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 1137; by *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 438 sqq.; by *Jahn*, Einl. i. 190 ff.; and by *Häv.* p. 390.

Of the existing Targums, not one extends over the whole Old Testament. [But collectively, says *Bleek*, p. 786, "we do possess such Targums on the whole of the books of the Old Testament, with the exception of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah: on the Pentateuch, and on the book of Esther, we possess two or three different ones."] Their text, especially their punctuation, is in a very uncritical condition (4).

(4) *Elias Levita*, præf. ad Methurg.—Formerly they were unpointed. *Buxtorf* was the first to introduce a consecutive vocalization on the model of the Chaldee sections of Daniel and Ezra.

§ 187. *The Targum of Onkelos* (אונקלוס).

The statements as to the person of *Onkelos*, and of the age in which he lived, are in the highest degree uncertain. They agree only in this, that he lived about the time of the destruction of the second temple (1).

(1) These accounts are collected by *Anger*, de Onkelo Chaldaico quem ferunt Pentateuchi paraphraste, etc., Partic. ii., Lipsiæ 1846; where also, at p. 1, the more recent writers on this subject are named. According to the most ancient accounts, Onkelos was a proselyte and a disciple of the older Gamaliel, the celebrated assessor in the Sanhedrim, and the teacher of the Apostle Paul (Acts xxii. 3, comp.

v. 34 sqq.). Gamaliel died not long before the destruction of the temple; comp. *Anger*, p. 13. Tosiphta Shabb. c. 8: "Accidit ut quum R. Gamaliel senex mortuus esset, *Onkelos prosel.* (הגר) ejus causa septuaginta minas amplius combureret." And so, too, in the Babylonian Gemara, Aboda Sar. fol. 11.—Tosiphta Demai, c. 6, § 9: "Onkelos prosel. postquam hæreditatem paternam cum fratre diviserat, partem suam in Mare Mortuum abjecit." Also comp. *G. Ben. Winer*, de Onkeloso ejusque paraphrasi Chald., Lipsiæ 1820.—The age of Onkelos is brought much too low down by *Jo. Morinus*, exercitatt. bibl. p. 343. The opinion of *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 222, and *Bertholdt*, ii. p. 537, that he lived in Babylonia, cannot be proved; comp. *Winer*, *l.c.* p. 8 sq. [*Bleek*, p. 788, says: "Generally he is supposed to have been a Babylonian; *Winer*, on the contrary, makes him a man of Palestine. No decisive reasons can be adduced in favour of either the one opinion or the other." And, *ibid.*: "*Gfrörer* (das Jahrhundert des Heils, i. pp. 55–6), and after him *Ebrard* (Kritik der evang. Geschichte, pp. 855–6, 2d ed. p. 659 f.), infer from the paraphrase of Gen. xlix. 27, Num. xxiv. 9, Deut. xxxiii. 18, 19, that his Targum must have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. That is quite possible, but I do not think it can be proved from these passages. But, at all events, it was considerably later of attaining to ecclesiastical reputation."]

His Targum on the Pentateuch is a translation written in pure Chaldee (2), so faithful as to be almost word for word, paraphrastic only here and there, and free from heterogeneous additions (3). The dogmatic exposition bears a simple character, and manifests itself principally in setting aside anthropomorphisms, and in the Messianic idea (4). Only in the poetical parts is it very paraphrastic, and rich in additions, many of which, however, may be later interpolations (5).

(2) The language still approaches in many respects to the Chaldee in the Bible; it contains as yet few Greek words, and no Latin ones at all: yet alongside of this, it presents many obscure expressions, which were partly unintelligible already to the Talmudists. Comp. *Winer*, *l.c.* pp. 10–35.

(3) See the collection of examples in *Winer*, p. 36 sqq.

(4) Consequently מלאכא דיי׳, יקרא דיי׳, שכינתא דיי׳, מאמרא דיי׳: comp. *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 456; *Winer*, p. 43 sqq. He expounds only two passages of the Messiah, Gen. xlix. 10 and Num. xxiv. 17: whilst the later Targums explain seventeen passages in a Messianic sense; see in *Buxtorf*, Lex. Talmud. p. 1268 sq.

(5) *Winer*, p. 42, has unfolded the reasons which led to this freer treatment. And that also there are later interpolations here, and that all the codices do not agree in them, has been shown by *Helvicus*, de paraphrasi Chald., Giessen 1612, c. 3, and by *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 456.—There is a critique at great length by *Sam. Dav. Luzatto*, Philoxenus, seu de Onkelosi Chald. Pentateuchi versione dissertat. herm. crit., etc., Viennæ 1830, 8vo. Comp. Allg. Lit. Zeitung, 1832, St. 3.—Editions: first, Bologna 1482, fol., with the Hebrew text and Jarchi's Commentary; then often in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; printed from manuscripts in the Complutensian and in the Bomberg Bibles of the years 1518, 1526, 1547–49; printed from these in the Antwerp, Paris, and London Polyglotts, and in the rabbinical Bible of *Buxtorf*, 1619. See *Le Long*, ed. *Masch*, P. i. c. 1, s. 2, P. ii. vol. i. s. 2, p. 34 sqq.; *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, iii. p. 3 ff.

[*Bleek*, p. 787, observes, in proof of the very high esteem entertained for this Targum by the later Jews, that it has a Masora of its own, like that upon the Hebrew Bible, Massoreth hattargum.]

§ 188. *The Targum of Jonathan the Son of Uzziel* (יונתן בן עזיאל).

Jonathan ben Uzziel, who is named as the author of the Targum on the earlier and later prophets, is said to have been a disciple of *Hillel* (1). Consequently he is said to have been more ancient than Onkelos (2), and to have lived before Christ.

(1) Baba bathr. c. viii. fol. 134, *a* (comp. Succa, f. 28, *a*): "Tradunt Rabbini nostri, octaginta discipuli fuerunt *Hilleli* Senioris, quorum triginta digna erant, super quos habitaret Shechina ut super Mosen præceptorem nostrum p. m.: triginta autem digni propter quos sol consisteret, sicut propter Josuam fil. Nun; viginta denique inter illos medii. Maximus omnium fuit *Jonathan fil. Uzzielis;* et minimus omnium, Jochanan fil. Saccai." Megilla, c. i. fol. 3, *a:* "Targum prophetarum *Jonathan fil. Uzzielis* fecit, et commota fuit terra Israelis ad quadringentas parasangas. Tunc egressa est vox cœlestis (בת קול) et dixit, 'Quis ille qui revelavit secreta mea filiis hominum?' Constitit Jonathan fil. Uzz. super pedes suos et dixit, 'Ego sum ille qui revelavi secreta tua coram filiis hominum,'" etc. Comp. *A. Pfeiffer*, crit. sacr. c. viii. qu. 10; *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 1159 sqq.

(2) From the agreement of the two Targums in Judg. v. 26 and Deut. xxii. 5, in 2 Kings xiv. 6 and Deut. xxiv. 16, in Jer. xlviii. 45, 46, and Num. xxi. 28, 29, *Zunz*, p. 63, infers that Jonathan seems

to have been already acquainted with the version of Onkelos, [which is also the decided opinion of *Bleek*, p. 789]; while *Hävernick*, i. 1, p. 391, takes the reverse view, that Onkelos has made use of Jonathan.

Jonathan's translation is more paraphrastic and less simple than that of Onkelos: yet in the historical books it is more nearly word for word than in the prophetical books (3); from which the inference has been erroneously drawn, that there were various translators (4). That it is of comparatively late origin does not follow from the occurrence of representations of a later age, and of rabbinical tales and legends (5); for many things seem to have been introduced by later interpolation (6). His language is pretty much like that of Onkelos (7).

(3) "The freer treatment of the text was admissible in the prophetical writings, since they contain nothing that is binding like the law [?]; indeed, it was unavoidable, because their language is more obscure, and because their contents point to the future of Israel. Already, in the historical books, Jonathan often acts the part of the expositor; in the prophets, strictly so called, this exposition proceeds almost uninterruptedly, and is seen passing into actual Hagada" (*Zunz*, pp. 62–3). [Hagada is explained at § 220, especially Notes 3 and 4.]

(4) *Eichhorn*, Einl. § 217; *Bertholdt*, ii. pp. 580–1. On the opposite side, see *Gesenius*, Jesaj. i. p. 69 ff., and *Häv.* p. 393 [or i. 2, § 80, as *Bleek* quotes, p. 789, agreeing with him]. He finds the principal proof of unity of authorship in this: not only that parallel passages, like Isa. xxxvi.–xxxix. with 2 Kings xviii. 13 ff., and Isa. ii. 2–4 with Mic. iv. 1–3, agree word for word; but also that already in the historical books the poetical passages (Judg. v.; 2 Sam. xxiii.) are richly provided with additional matter, and that these additions often bear a great resemblance to one another. Comp. Judg. v. 8 with Isa. x. 4; 2 Sam. xxiii. 4 with Isa. xxx. 26.

(5) See examples of such Hagadas in *Gesenius*, p. 76; *Zunz*, p. 63; and *Häv.* p. 394. The Messianic passages are collected in *Buxtorf*, Lexicon Talmud. p. 1270 sqq.

(6) *Jo. Morinus*, exercitatt. bibl. p. 221 [p. 321, says *Bleek*, p. 789; and he adds *Isaac Vossius*, de LXX. interpr. c. 28, as of the same opinion,—namely, that it belongs to the seventh or eighth century of the Christian era], holds that this Targum is later than the Talmud.

Against his opinion, see *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 1160 sqq.—*Eichhorn*, § 226, and *Jahn*, Einl. i. p. 193, bring it down at least to the third or fourth century. Against their view, see *Gesenius*, p. 66; *Herbst*, Einl. i. p. 178. [*Bleek*, p. 789, also rejects these late dates, and explains what is plausible in favour of them by interpolations. He says, *ibid.*: "By several passages, as especially 1 Sam. ii., Jer. ii. 3, Ezek. xxxvi. 38, Hab. iii. 17, we are led to a time preceding the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans; and by the last-named passage, to a time when the Jews were under the necessity of paying tribute (*censum*) to the Romans, and so to a time when Judea was a Roman province: yet by Isa. xxxii. 14, liii. 4, we are not improbably led to the time after the temple had been destroyed. Hence . . . Jonathan would seem to have lived at a time shortly before and shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem." And he adds that *Gfrörer*, das Jahrhundert des Heils, i. p. 39 ff., probably dates it too early, when he tries to show that it was composed in the early part of the reign of Herod the Great, before the rebuilding of the temple.] There are no grounds for asserting that Jonathan sought to explain away the Messiah from the Messianic passages.—Already *Raschi* on Ezek. xlvii. 19 speaks of falsifications in the text of Jonathan. Of this nature, *Zunz*, pp. 63 and 282, reckons everything hostile to Rome, the mention made of Armillus, and the like. Yet comp. *Häv.* p. 395.

(7) *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 461: "Cujus nitor sermonis Chaldæi et dictionis laudatur puritas, ad Onkelosum proxime accedens, et parum deflectens a puro tersoque Chaldaismo biblico." Already *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 1165, had spoken similarly, with the addition, "Quæ vero, vel quod ad voces novas et barbaras, vel ad res ætate ejus inferiores, aut futilia nonnulla, quamvis pauca triplicis hujus generis exstent, ibi occurrunt, ea merito falsarii cujusdam ingenio adscribuntur."

Editions:—The oldest, Leiria 1494, fol., with the Hebrew text and rabbinical comment.; then in the rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg and Buxtorf, and in the Antwerp, Paris, and London Polyglotts.—Several of the prophets have also been published separately. Comp. *Wolf*, *l.c.* p. 1166; *Le Long*, ed. *Masch*, ii. 1, p. 39 sqq.; and *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, iii. p. 9 ff.

§ 189. *The Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch (Pseudo-Jonathan).*

Later writers ascribe to the same *Jonathan ben Uzziel* a Targum on the Pentateuch (1). Closer investigations have shown this to be

identical with the *Jerusalem Targum;* since that which is known by this name, the so-called *Targum Jerushalmi,* consists of mere fragments from another recension of it (2).

(1) *R. Azaria,* Meor En. iii. 9, appealing to *R. Menahem Rekanatensis,* comment. ad Lev. xiv. 7; *R. Gedalia,* Shalshel. Hakkab. f. 28. 1, in *Pfeiffer,* de Targumim, Opp. ii. p. 875; *Carpzov,* crit. sacr. p. 446.

(2) *Drusius* (in *Carpzov,* p. 448) had already given expression to this conjecture. *Zunz,* pp. 66–72, has thoroughly proved their identity; and he has shown that this Targum, wrongly ascribed to Jonathan, is mentioned by older writers under the name of *Targum Palœstinœ* and *Targum Jerushalmi;* also that several recensions of it exist, of which one is preserved entire, our Pseudo-Jonathan, and the others only in fragments.

But its exegetical character (3), its barbarous language teeming with foreign words (4), the numerous legends, fables, representations, and objects belonging to a much later period, which are interwoven (5), and the use unmistakeably made of Onkelos, betray an author in the second half of the seventh century (6).

(3) *Winer,* de Jonathanis in Pentateuchum paraphrasi Chald., spec. i., Erlangæ 1823, p. 8: "Noster (Pseudo-Jonathan) omnia sibi licere ratus, vix quinque aut sex versiculos de verbo reddidit, plurima in summum arbitrium effusus, addendis, mutandis, pervertendis sententiis integris ad ingenia popularium ita accommodavit, ut persæpe non libros sacros sed commenta Rabbinorum legere tibi videaris."—*Zunz,* p. 72: "The relation of the Jerusalem Targum to Onkelos is that of Midrash to plain understanding of the words: Onkelos is only occasionally an expositor, the Jerusalem Targumist is only occasionally a translator; the basis of the work with the latter is the *Derûsh,* with the former it is the *Peshat.* Yet the Jerusalem Targumist has no Hagada, and still less has he any commentary to elaborate. But he wished to deliver to the public a work in which the exposition of Scripture, corresponding to the prevalent ideas, should satisfy equally the demands of Halachaistic accommodation and of Hagadaistic amplification; and his whole labour becomes, in consequence, a free translation with Midrash partially predominating."

(4) See the collection in *Petermann,* de duobus Pentateuchi paraphrasibus Chald., P. i., de indole paraphraseos quæ *Jonathanis* esse dicitur, Berolini 1829, p. 64 sq.—According to *Zunz,* p. 73, the lan-

guage is a Palestinian dialect of the Aramaic; and in expressions, style, and grammar, it is akin to the Jerusalem Talmud, to the works of the older and newer Hagada, and to the Targums on the Hagiographa.

(5) The most of his additions and legends are to be found also in the Talmud: comp. *Carpzov*, p. 447; *Winer*, *l.c.* p. 25; and *Petermann*, *l.c.* p. 39.—"We meet in the Hagadaistic writings with almost all of his interpretations and embellishments which have reference to the Hagada. The few which are peculiar to him have been no more devised by him than the peculiar interpretations of the prophets have been devised by Jonathan: in both there is revealed the culture of the age and the power of traditional ideas" (*Zunz*, pp. 72–3).

(6) According to *Zunz*, pp. 75–6, this Targum is more recent than the name Constantinople (Num. xxiv. 19, 24); than the settlement of the Jewish calendar; than the fall of the Western Roman empire; and even than the Babylonian Gemara, whose style, contents, and studies come into view in it very prominently: yet it is older than our Masoretic text, than the Arabizing of Western Asia, and than the dying out of the Aramaic.

Both these Targums are printed in the London Polyglott, tom. iv. For other editions, see *Le Long*, ed. *Masch*, ii. 1, p. 37 sq.; and *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, iii. p. 8 f.

According to various accounts in the Rabbins, the Jerusalem Talmud also extended over the prophets. Comp. *Bruns*, in *Eichhorn*, Repert. xv. p. 175, and *Zunz*, p. 77 ff.

§ 190. *The Targums on the Hagiographa.*

These all belong to a later age, partly agreeing with the Jerusalem Targum: and their authors are unknown (1). We possess: 1. A Targum on the *Psalms*, *Job*, and *Proverbs*. Of these, that on the Proverbs keeps pretty close to the text, and is quite free from Hagadaistic exposition (2): the two others, on the contrary, follow Jonathan's paraphrastic method, and agree with the Jerusalem Talmud on the Pentateuch in language and style (3). 2. A Targum on the *Five Megilloth* (Ruth, Esther, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles), of an age subsequent to that of the Talmud: it almost entirely disowns the character of a translation, and becomes a Hagadaistic commentary (4). 3. Two Targums on the book of *Esther*; one of them a Jerusalem Targum (5). 4. A Targum on *Chronicles*, which

likewise makes itself manifest to be a Jerusalem Targum, by its language, its style, and its Hagadaistic paraphrase (6).

(1) Comp. *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 1171 sqq.; *Zunz*, pp. 64–5 and 79 ff.; *Häv.* i. § 82.—They are printed (with the exception of that on Chronicles, which was discovered more recently) in the rabbinical Bibles, and in the Antwerp, Paris, and London Polyglotts; and also most of them have been printed separately.

(2) The Targum on Proverbs agrees in part with the Syrian translation. Some have explained this fact by supposing that the writer made use of that translation: so *Dathe*, de ratione consensus vers. Chald. et Syr. Proverbb. Salom., in his Opuscc. p. 109 sqq.; *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. p. 106 ff.; *Bertholdt*, ii. p. 600. Against their view, see *Häv.* i. 1, p. 400.

(3) See the individual editions in *Le Long*, ed. *Masch*, ii. 1, p. 42 sqq.

(4) The opinion that *Joseph the blind* (who died in 325) was the author of this Targum, was refuted already by writers of the thirteenth century. See *Zunz*, p. 65.—See the individual editions in *Le Long*, ed. *Masch*, ii. 1, p. 45 sq.

(5) *Targum prius* et *posterius* in Estheram, nunc primum in ling. Lat. transl. stud. et op. *Franc. Taileri*, Londini 1655, 4to. Other editions are named in *Le Long*, ed. *Masch*, ii. 1, p. 46 sq.

(6) Paraphrasis Chald. i. et ii. libr. Chronic., e Cod. Erford., ed. *M. F. Beck*, Aug. Vindeb. 1680, 1683, 4to (with lacunæ); more complete and correct, e Cod. Cantabrig., ed. *Dav. Wilkins*, Amstelodami 1715, 4to.

II. THE OLD SYRIAC TRANSLATION, AND THE VERSIONS DERIVED FROM IT.

§ 191. *The Syriac Peshito.*

The *Peshito* (פשיטא), that is, *simple* or *faithful* (1), the version accepted by the whole Syrian Church, belongs to the most ancient translations of the Old Testament which have proceeded from Christians. It was probably made by a Christian (2), at Edessa, about the middle of the second century (3).

(1) *Bertholdt*, Einl. ii. p. 593, is mistaken when he explains this, *κοινή, the widely diffused.* *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. p. 125, is more correct,

rendering it "*simplex, i.e.* litteralis," or the translation which keeps to the words and follows their sense, in opposition to allegorical translations and expositions. Comp. *Gesenius*, Jesaj. i. p. 81; *Hirzel*, de Pentat. vers. Syr. indole, p. 17; *Häv.* i. 1, pp. 402–3.

(2) According to *Rich. Simon*, hist. crit. lib. ii. c. 15, it was written by a Jew, [an opinion maintained by many recent writers, according to *Bleek*, p. 791: he names *Frankel*, *Rapoport*, *Grätz*, and last of all, *Jos. Perles*, Meletemata Peschitthoniana, Breslau 1859; but he himself reckons it to be probably the work of Christians]. According to *L. Dathe*, præf. in Psalter. Syr. p. xxiii. sqq., it is by a Jewish Christian. According to *Kirsch* (præf. in Pentat. Syr. p. vi.); *Michaelis*, Abhandl. v. d. Syr. Sprache, p. 59; *Bertholdt*, p. 595; *Gesenius*, p. 85; *Hirzel*, *l.c.* p. 127; *Häv.* p. 406 [or, as quoted by *Bleek*, *ibid.*, *Häv.* i. 2, pp. 94–5]; *Wichelhaus*, de Nov. Test. vers. Syr. p. 73,—by a Christian: and this is especially clear from the interpretation of the Messianic passages, Isa. vii. 14, lii. 15, liii. 8, Zech. xii. 10, and others.—*Wiseman*, *l.c.* pp. 100–1, does not give a decision. —In accordance with a remark of *Ephræm Syrus* on Josh. xv. 28 (Opp. i. p. 305), "Quia nesciebant, *qui in Syriacum transtulerunt*, quænam sit vis vocis Hebraicæ בזיותיה, ipsam retinuerunt," we must assume a plurality of authors. The internal reasons for believing this, as given by *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 250, are weak. [*Bleek*, p. 792, is inclined to think Ephræm correct: only he says "we must hold that the translation was not made in fragments at different times, but, speaking generally, at the same time, and as a work done by them in common for the Christian Churches of Syria, just as in the case of the translation of the New Testament."]

(3) *Barhebræus*, horr. myster., or thesaur. arcan., procem., gives legends of the Syrians as to its origin: "*Tres* fuerunt sententiæ: *prima*, quod tempore *Salomonis* et *Hirami* regum conversa fuerit; *secunda*, quod *Asa* sacerdos, quum ex Assyria missus fuit in Samariam, eam transtulerit; *tertia* tandem, quod ætate *Addæi* [Addai = Thaddeus, says *Bleek*, p. 791] Apostoli et *Abgari* regis Osrhoeni versa fuerit, quo tempore etiam Nov. Test. eadem simplici forma traductum est." See this in *Wiseman*, pp. 86–7, 90. With this should be compared the most ancient testimony of *Jacob of Edessa* in *Barhebræus* on Ps. x., *ibid.* p. 103; and the other testimonies in *Häv.* p. 404.—*Ephræm Syrus* (who died in 378) is also a witness to its origin in Edessa, towards the end of the second century: for, according to him, it was universally received by the Syrians—he names *it our translation;* and many of its expressions had already become obscure to him. Add to this the high antiquity of the Syrian Church, and

the early appearance of a Syriac literature at Edessa. Comp. *Häv.* pp. 403–4.

For the most part it adheres closely to the Hebrew text from which it has been derived (4), keeping free from the current Jewish paraphrases, usually rendering the original text very happily; and where it does give explanations, as a rule confining itself to what is most necessary, without bringing heterogeneous matter into the text (5). It often approaches to the Alexandrian translation; but it is precisely in the difficult passages that this agreement does not exist: so that it is as much out of the question to think that use has been made of the Septuagint, as to think of its being dependent on the Chaldee, to which also at times it approaches (6). These appearances are to be explained, partly by exegetical tradition, by which all the ancient translators were more or less guided, partly by later interpolations, from which it has not remained wholly free.—Originally it embraced the canonical books alone: only at a later time was the Syriac translation of the Apocrypha added, which *Ephræm Syrus* indeed quotes, but does not consider canonical (7).

(4) The passage which has been adduced [in Note 2] from *Ephræm Syrus* on Josh. xv. 28 is already an argument for its being translated from the Hebrew direct. Comp. *Barhebræus*, in *Assemani*, biblioth. orient. ii. p. 274, Histor. dynast. p. 100, [quoted in § 180, Note 8. *Bleek*, p. 791, says this is confirmed by the fact that it follows the Hebrew Canon; the translation of the apocryphal books being later, and the apocryphal additions to Daniel being not yet in the Peshito at the time of *Ephræm Syrus*, not even at that of Polychronius, about A.D. 410: see Note 7.]—There is no foundation for the judgment expressed by *Semler*, Vorbereit. z. theol. Hermeneutik, i. p. 382 ff., that it was made from the Hebrew text of the Hexapla; against which, see *Dathe*, præf. ad Psalter. Syr. p. xi. sqq.; *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 249.

(5) See the proofs of these statements in *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 626 sqq.; *Gesenius*, p. 81; *L. Hirzel*, de Pentat. versionis Syr. quam Peschito vocant indole commentat., Lipsiæ 1825, p. 18 sq.; *Credner*, de prophetarum minorum versionis Syr., quam Peschito vocant, indole diss. i., Gottingæ 1827, p. 82 sqq. The most of the deviations from the Hebrew original are to be found in the Psalms. In these, not only are the musical and historical elements of the superscriptions

omitted; instead of which there are given others, both longer and shorter, which often agree with the interpretations of the Fathers (comp. *Clarisse*, Pss. xv., Hammaaloth, p. 14), which vary in different codices, and which were probably not added till a later time (comp. *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 633 sq.): but besides, the translation of the text frequently does not agree with the Hebrew original. Comp. *Dathe*, Psalter. Syr. præf. p. xxvii. sqq., and on Ps. lvi. p. 129. These are deviations to be explained partly by the liturgical use of the Psalter, which brought such changes in its train; partly by the more frequent copying of this book, so requisite for the worship of God, in which process changes and errors might easily arise: "Imprimis cum admodum probabile est homines monachos in describendis his libellis, quos maximam partem memoria tenebant, non adeo diligenter fuisse in conferendis aut inspiciendis codd., ex quibus describebant" (*Dathe*, *l.c.* p. xxix.).

(6) Comp. *Rich. Simon*, *l.c.*; *Stark*, carmina David, i. p. 209; *Eichhorn*, § 254; *Hirzel*, p 100 sq.; *Credner*, p. 107 sqq.; *Gesenius*, p. 82. The two last writers adopt the opinion that the Septuagint has been used, yet without sufficient reasons. Comp. *Hirzel*, *l.c.*; *Häv.* p. 405; and especially *Herbst*, Einl. i. pp. 196–7. [*Bleek*, pp. 791–2, having noticed that there are "such cases of agreement with the Septuagint, in not a few passages, as are undoubtedly owing to an influence exerted by the latter," says: "It is indeed not improbable that many things of this nature have come in by interpolation at a later time: yet I do not believe that everything is to be traced back to this, but very probably there was use made of the Septuagint when the translation was being composed. Besides, *Gesenius* (Jesaj. i. 83–4) endeavours to show that use was made of the Targum of Jonathan on the prophets; and this also is not unlikely, considering the close affinity of the two idioms, the Chaldee and the Syriac, since that Targum undoubtedly was in existence before the Peshito: yet any such use can have exerted an influence merely on the apprehension and rendering of individual passages, and not upon the character of the whole version."]

(7) *Ephræm Syrus* had not the apocryphal additions to Daniel in his copy. Comp. *Assemani* biblioth. orient. i. p. 72; *Polychronius*, in *C. von Lengerke*, Daniel, p. cxii., and de Ephræmi Syri arte herm. p. 3. With this compare the remark of *Pococke* in *Häv.* p. 408.

As the Peshito was used by various ecclesiastical parties, in the course of time it became the subject of various recensions. Of these, the *Nestorian recension*, which has become well known through the

Scholia of *Barhebræus*, had reference only to the points (8). That which proceeded from the *Monophysites*, the so-called *Karkaphensian* (mountain version), is distinguished from the common text, as well by a peculiar punctuation accommodated to the Greek orthography, as by a peculiar arrangement of the books, and other unessential particulars (9).

(8) Comp. *Wiseman*, horæ Syr. p. 139 sqq.: "Variantes lectiones accurate in codice Barhebræi—contuli, nec unquam inveni punctorum et apicum discrepantiam excedere, excepto uno forsan alteroque loco, quem nunc memoria non teneo, in re tamen nullius prorsus momenti" (p. 141).

(9) The Karkaphensian text, which had been held to be a distinct version by *Assemani*, *Michaelis*, and *Eichhorn*, was more closely examined for the first time by *Wiseman*. He followed a Vatican manuscript in this investigation, and made known to us that it is only a recension of the Peshito, which probably obtained its name, *mountain version*, from the place of its origin, the mountain Sigara, in the monastery of the Jacobites which was to be found there (Horæ Syr. p. 119 sqq.).—In general, in the Syriac translations the books of the Bible are differently arranged. Comp. *Assemani*, biblioth. orient. iii. 1, p. 4 sq.; *Adler*, bibl. krit. Reise, pp. 103–4; *Wiseman*, p. 212 sqq.

Editions:—In the Paris Polyglott, with the Latin version of *Gabriel Sionita*, from a faulty and defective manuscript; supplemented from manuscripts in the London Polyglott; critically improved in Vet. Test. Syriace, eos tantum libros sistens qui in canone Hebr. habentur, ordine vero, quoad fieri potuit, apud Syros usitato dispositos . . . recogn. et ad fidem Codd. MSS. emend. S. Lee, Londini 1823, 4to. Comp. *Roediger* in Allg. Litter. Zeitung, 1832, No. 5. —The Pentateuch alone was published by *Kirsch*, Hof. 1787, 4to; and the Psalms by *Dathe*, Halle 1768.—Contributions to the criticism of the Peshito, after Ephræm Syrus, have been furnished by *Credner*, p. 65; by *C. von Lengerke*, commentat. crit. de Ephræmo Syro, Halæ 1828, c. 2; and by others who are named by him there at p. 9.

§ 192. *Versions derived from the Peshito.*

Such are: I. The *Arabic* translations of single books, in the Paris and the London Polyglotts. These are, not only translations of Job and Chronicles (1); but also others, proceeding from various Christian authors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, of Judges,

Ruth, the books of Samuel and Kings (in part, namely 1 Kings i.–xi., 2 Kings xii. 17–xxv.), and Neh. ix. 28–xiii. (2). [For other Arabic translations, see § 183, 193, 195.]

(1) Comp. *Michaelis*, Einl. in d. Alte Test. p. 140 ff.; *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 290.

(2) According to *Rödiger* (in the work quoted at § 183, Note 3), libr i. c. 2, ii. c. 2, 4, 5.

II. Two *Arabic* translations of the *Psalms:* that in the Syriac edition of the Psalms from Mount Lebanon, of the years 1585 and 1610; and an unprinted Psalter in the British Museum (3).

(3) *Döderlein* on Arabic Psalters, in *Eichhorn*, Repert. ii. pp. 159 and 170 ff.; *Schnurrer*, biblioth. Arab. pp. 341–2, 351–2.

III. Certain Arabic Pentateuchs, partly unknown, partly unprinted (4).

(4) See *Schnurrer*, de Pentat. Arab. polygl., in his dissertatt. philol. p. 203; and *Paulus*, Specim. verss. Pentateuchi Arab. p. 36 sqq.

III. ARABIC TRANSLATIONS FROM THE ORIGINAL TEXT.

§ 193.

Such are three which are already well known to us:—I. That of *R. Saadia Gaon* (died in 942), in a paraphrastic style, and approximating to the explanations of the Targums and the Rabbins: for the understanding of dark passages it is an important monument of rabbinical philology and Bible knowledge in the tenth century (1).—Only individual books of it have been preserved to the present time: the Pentateuch (2) and Isaiah (3) are printed; the book of Job is not (4).

(1) As to its character, see *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 646 sq.; *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 280; and *Gesenius*, Jesaj. i. p. 90 ff.—The translation of the Pentateuch in the Paris and the London Polyglotts has an affinity with the Samaritan-Arabic. Comp. *Adler*, bibl. krit. Reise, pp. 148–9; *Eichhorn*, § 281.

(2) First at Constantinople 1546 [1516, according to *Bleek*, p. 795] (in the Hebrew character: comp. *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 354; *Le Long*, ed. *Masch*, i. p. 393; *Adler*, bibl. krit. Reise, p. 221); then in the Paris Polyglott, tom. vi., and in the London Polyglott, tom. i.

[*Bleek*, p. 795, says: "A codex of the Pentateuch is found in the Wolfenbüttel Library, in the Arabic character, whose text deviates greatly from that of the London Polyglott.]—The doubts expressed by *O. G. Tychsen*, in *Eichhorn*, Repert. x. p. 95, xi. p. 82 ff., whether the author was Saadia, are refuted by *Schnurrer*, dissertatt. phil. crit. p. 191 sqq., and by *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 279.

(3) *R. Saadiæ* Phijumensis versio Jesaj. Arab. . . . edid. *H. E. G. Paulus*, fasc. i. ii., Jenæ 1790–1 (faulty); comp. *Gesenius*, *ibid.* [*Bleek*, p. 795, says it was edited from a Bodleian manuscript, written in A.D. 1244, in Hebrew letters, which *Paulus* "changed to Arabic, but often incorrectly, especially towards the commencement; so that a new edition is much to be desired. This has been promised by *Dan. Breithaupt* ever since 1819; but, so far as I know, it has not appeared. *Rapoport* possesses another codex of the Isaiah."]

(4) Found by *Gesenius* at Oxford, and transcribed; see the preface to his Commentary on Isaiah, p. x. [*Bleek*, p. 795, observes that Gesenius used this often in his Thesaurus. He adds that there exist other portions of Saadia's work in manuscript. "The Minor Prophets, likewise at Oxford. And the Psalms at Oxford, in two manuscripts; and at Munich in one, from which *Schnurrer*, and more recently *Ewald*, have published some things."] *David Kimchi* also quotes the translation of Hosea; see *Eichhorn*, allg. Bibliothek, ii. p. 181 ff.

II. The translation of *Joshua* printed in the Polyglotts, which renders the meaning faithfully; and the portion *1 Kings xii.–2 Kings* xii. 16 by a Jew of the eleventh century, and Neh. i.–ix. 27 by a Jewish author, yet afterwards interpolated from the Peshito by a Christian (5).

(5) [These complete what was wanting in the translations mentioned in § 192.] As to the first, comp. *Maurer*, comment. üb d. B. Josuæ, p. 185; and as to the latter two, *Rödiger*, *l.c.* lib. i. c. 3, lib. ii. c. 3.

III. The *Pentateuch* published by *Erpenius* (Arabs Erpenii), by an African Jew of the thirteenth century, translated into the vulgar Arabic dialect in accordance with the Masoretic text (6).

(6) Pentateuchus Mosis Arabice, Lugduni Batavorum 1622. As to its character, comp. *Erpenius* in the preface, and *Hottinger*, thesaur. philol. p. 271 sq.

For other Arabic translations of Genesis, the Psalms, and Daniel, which have become known to us merely by individual specimens, see *Döderlein*, in *Eichhorn*, Repert. ii. p. 153 ff.; *Schnurrer*, in *Eichhorn*, allg. Bibliothek, iii. p. 425 ff.; and *Rink* in the same work, p. 665 ff.

IV. TRANSLATIONS OF THE PENTATEUCH WHICH FOLLOW THE SAMARITAN RECENSION.

§ 194. *The Samaritan Translation of the Pentateuch.*

Of the Pentateuch according to the Samaritan recension (§ 204), there exists a translation in the Samaritan dialect (1), which follows that text word for word. Only it imitates the manner of the Targums in the circumlocutions for the divine names, in the removal of anthropopathisms, and in the use of euphemisms (2); also it frequently agrees with Onkelos, and yet in difficult passages it diverges from him (3). Its author and its age are both unknown (4).

(1) Comp. *Gesenius*, de Pentateuchi Samar. origine, indole, et auctoritate, Lipsiæ 1815, 4to, p. 18 sq.; and *G. B. Winer*, de versionis Pentat. Samar. indole, Lipsiæ 1817.

(2) See the proofs of this in *Winer*, p. 29 sqq.; *Gesenius*, p. 19.

(3) Consequently the agreement must be explained, not (with *Hottinger*, and *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. pp. 326–7) by the use made of Onkelos, but solely by the influence of the hermeneutical tradition of the Jews upon the theology of the Samaritans. Comp. *Winer*, p. 64 sqq.; *Häv.* Einl. i. 1, p. 422; *Juynboll*, commentarii in histor. gentis Samar., Lugduni Batavorum 1846, 4to, p. 55.

(4) According to the later accounts given by the Samaritans, the high priest Nathanael (who died about B.C. 20) is said to have been the author: comp. *Paulus*, neu. Repert. i. p. 148 ff., and *Winer*, p. 9 sq. According to *Gesenius*, *l.c.* p. 18, it seems to have been made "paucis post Christum natum annis." According to *Juynboll*, Orientalia, ii. p. 116, in the second century after Christ it had already been long in use, since at that time a Greek translation in conformity with it was prepared in Egypt. On the contrary, according to *Häv. ibid.*, the Græco-Samaritan translation was older than the Samaritan. *Frankel*, üb die Zeit der frühsten Uebersetzer des Alten Test. (in the Verhandll. d. ersten Versammlung deutscher u. ausll. Orientalisten, p. 10), makes it come into existence only after the time of Mohammed.

In Europe it became known by a codex which *Della Valle* brought

to Rome in 1616, together with a codex of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and which *Jo. Morinus* printed in the Paris Polyglott along with a faulty Latin version; from which it passed over into the London Polyglott. Besides, the first eighteen chapters of Genesis were printed at Halle in 1705; as also single portions in *Christ. Cellarii* horæ Samaritanæ, Ciz. 1705, and in *Fr. Uhleman*, Chrestomathia Samaritana, Lipsiæ 1837. As to the codices and editions, comp. *Winer*, p. 10 sqq.

§ 195. *Greek and Arabic Translations of the Samaritan Pentateuch.*

I. Among the Greek Fathers of the third and fourth centuries, and in manuscripts which contain the Septuagint, along with fragments of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, there are found scholia, [or fragments of a Greek translation of the Pentateuch, bearing the name τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν (1). From this some have inferred the existence of a continuous translation of the Pentateuch derived from the Samaritan (2); while others doubt whether such a translation ever existed, and reckon these scholia to be translated extracts from the Samaritan version (3). And even on this point there is also a division of opinion,—namely, whether they have been directly derived from the Samaritan version, with which for the most part they agree (4), or whether they are merely from a recension of it made for the correction and explanation of the Septuagint (5).

(1) There is a list of these scholia in *Br. Walton*, Prolegg. xi. 14. Comp. *Winer*, *l.c.* p. 9, and *Eichhorn*, Einl. i. § 208.

(2) So *Gesenius*, de Pentat. Samar. p. 21; *Winer*, p. 6 sqq.; *Juynboll*, Commentt. p. 56, and Orientalia, ii. p. 116.

(3) *Edm. Castell*, ad Lev. xxv.; *Isaac Vossius*; *Herbst*, Einl. i. p. 191.

(4) *Winer*, *l.c.* p. 9.

(5) *Eichhorn*, *ibid.*; *Häv.* i. p. 421. According to *Hengstb.* Beitrr. ii. p. 33, it was merely the Alexandrian translation altered in individual passages. [*Bleek*, p. 779, says: "τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν is the designation for readings of the Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch, translated into Greek: it may very well have been a collection of such readings in this recension (whether in the Hebrew Pentateuch or in the Samaritan translation), as exhibited deviation from the Septuagint. A complete Greek translation of this recension it could scarcely be."]

II. After the decline of the Samaritan language, about the year 1070, a Samaritan in Egypt, *Abu Said*, made an Arabic translation of the Pentateuch for his countrymen (6). In doing so he took for his basis the translation of Saadia [see § 193, I.], which he often reproduces word for word, where the Samaritan Pentateuch agrees with the Jewish: but where there is a divergence he follows the Samaritan text, and, with the assistance of the Samaritan version, he translates it faithfully on the whole; only, like the Chaldee paraphrasts, he removes the anthropopathisms, uses euphemisms, and permits himself to make various little alterations, especially in the proper names (7).

(6) According to the Præfatio of the Paris codices of this version, Nos. 2 and 4. Comp. *De Sacy*, de versione Samarit. Arab. librorum Mosis, etc., in *Eichhorn*, allg. Bibliothek, x. p. 1 ff., iii. p. 1 ff.; in French, and improved, in the Mémoires de l'Academie Française, xlix. pp. 1–199: *Guil. van Vloten*, Specim. philol., contin. descriptionem Cod. MS. bibliothecæ Lugduno-Bat., partemque inde excerptam versionis Samaritano-Arabicæ Pentateuchi Mos., Lugd. Batavorum 1803, 4to; and *Juynboll*, commentatt. de versione Arabico-Samarit., et de Scholiis quæ Codicibus, Paris. N. 2 et 4 adscripta sunt, in his Orientalia, ii. p. 114 sqq.

(7) The proofs of this are to be seen in *De Sacy*, ll. cc.; in *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 287–8; and in *Juynboll*, p. 119 sqq.

Yet, as the Samaritans in Syria still used the translation of Saadia after the diffusion of this other of *Abu Said*, about the year 1208 *Abul Baracat* composed scholia upon it, so as to recommend it to the people, and to shake the credit of Saadia's version. Hence there came to be *two recensions* of the Arabic-Samaritan translation,—an *Egyptian* one by Abu Said, and a *Syrian* one by Abul Baracat. Afterwards these two became intermingled in the manuscripts, and they cannot any more be distinguished with accuracy (8).

(8) See more particularly about the two recensions in *Juynboll*, *l.c.* p. 135 sqq.—For the first accounts of the codices of this translation, and specimens of it, compare what is written in *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 286.—All that is as yet fully published is only, Lib. Geneseos sec. Arabicam Pentateuchi versionem ab *Abu Saido* conscr. . . . ed. *Abr. Kuehnen*, Lugduni Batavorum 1851; and Libri Exod. et Levit., by the same, 1854. [*Bleek* says, p. 747, that *Kuehnen* enjoyed in this

the direction of *Juynboll*, and that Genesis was published from three manuscripts. Of the translation there exist seven copies in Europe, he says, referring to *De Wette*, § 67.]

V. THE PERSIAN TRANSLATION OF THE PENTATEUCH.

§ 196.

In the London Polyglott, tom. iv. (1), there is found a Persian translation of the Pentateuch by a Jew, *Jacob son of Josephus Tawus* (2). At the earliest, it may have proceeded from the ninth or tenth century (3). It translates the Masoretic text literally, even admitting Hebrew constructions which are not in harmony with the genius of the Persian language, and also many Hebrew words; it follows Onkelos in the explanation of difficult passages, and here and there it coincides with Saadia (4).

(1) It had formerly been printed in the Hebrew character, in that Pentateuch which appeared at Constantinople in 1546 (comp. § 193, Note 2, and see the full title in *Adler*, biblisch krit. Reise, pp. 221–2); and having been transcribed in the Persian character by Thomas Hyde, and the *lacunæ* having been filled up, it was received into the London Polyglott. Comp. *Rosenmüller*, de versione Pentateuchi Persica, Lipsiæ 1813, 4to, p. 5.

(2) *Tawus* means "peacock." The name is usually explained *Tusensis*, from *Tus*, a city in Khorasan famed for its Jewish academy. Comp. *Rosenmüller*, *l.c.* p. 4. Against this, see *Lorsbach*, in the Jena Allg. Lit. Zeitung, 1816, No. 58, p. 459.

(3) According to *Rosenmüller*, *l.c.*, because בָּבֶל in Gen. x. 10 is explained to be Bagdad, which was built A.D. 762. On the contrary, *Lorsbach* places it in the sixteenth century.—For traces of more ancient Persian translations of the Old Testament, in Chrysostom, Theodoret [*Bleek*, p. 796, also names the Talmud], and Maimonides, see *Häv.* i. § 86; *Zunz*, die gottesdienstl. Vorträge, p. 9, note.—A hitherto unknown Persian translation of the Proverbs of Solomon has been found in Paris manuscripts by *Hassler*; see the theol. Studien u. Krit. 1829, p. 469 ff.

(4) See the proofs of this in *Rosenmüller*, *l.c.* p. 6 sqq.; *Lorsbach*, *ibid.*

CHAPTER III.

THE LATIN VULGATE, AND THE VERSIONS DERIVED FROM IT.

§ 197. *Origin, Nature and Character, and Ecclesiastical Recognition of the Vulgate.*

While *Jerome* was still busily engaged in the emendation of the Itala (§ 179), by the persuasion of his friends he formed the resolution to work out a new Latin translation immediately from the original Hebrew text (1). Subsequent to the year 385 he began this labour by translating the books of Samuel and Kings, and it was completed in the year 405 (2).

Furnished for the task with a good knowledge of Hebrew (3), he translated from exact Hebrew manuscripts (4), making use of the Jewish exegetical tradition (5), and of the earlier translations (6); and proceeding upon right principles, he avoided equally an excessive literality, such as tends to become unintelligible, and arbitrary deviations from the original (7). And in consequence, although he sometimes was very hasty at his work (8), and sometimes sacrificed preferable translations to the authority of older writers, owing to a dread of innovations, he still excels all [other] ancient versions in exactness and fidelity (9).

(1) *Jerome* ad Sophron. Præf. in Psalm., Opp. i. p. 835: "Quia nuper cum Hebræo disputans quædam pro Domino salvatore de Psalmis protulisti testimonia, volensque ille te illudere per sermones pene singulos asserabat, non ita haberi in Hebræo, ut tu de LXX. interpretibus opponebas: studiosissime postulasti, ut post Aquilam, Symmachum, et Theodotionem novam editionem Latino sermone transferrem."—Præf. ad Pentat.: "*Desiderii* mei desideratas accepi epistolas . . . obsecrantis, ut translatum in Latinam linguam de Hebræo sermone Pentateuchum nostrorum auribus traderem."—Præf. in Paralip.: "Si LXX. interpretum pura et ut ab eis in Græcam versa est, editio permaneret, superflue me, *Chromati*, Episcoparum sanctissime atque doctissime, impelleres, ut Hebræa volumina Latino sermone transferrem."—He gives prominence to an apologetic tendency, as if it had been the occasion of his undertaking. For instance, Præf. in Jesai.: "Qui scit, me ob hoc in peregrinæ linguæ eruditione

sudasse, ne Judæi falsitate scripturarum ecclesiis ejus diutius insultarent." And Epist. 89 ad Augustin. iv. 2, p. 627: "Ut scirent nostri quid Hebraica veritas contineret, non nostra confinximus, sed ut apud Hebræos invenimus, transtulimus." But this is merely an accommodation to the principles of his time, by which he wished to meet the reproach of innovation. Comp. *Häv.* i. 1, p. 414; and, in general, *L. v. Ess*, pr. krit. Geschichte der Vulgata.

(2) Comp. *Hody*, de bibl. text. orig. P. ii. p. 356 sq.; *Martianay*, Prolegg. in divin. Hieron. biblioth. ii. § 1; *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 675, where also the order of the individual books is given. [*Bleek*, p. 784, gives that order, which depended on the solicitations of friends. First, the four books of Kings; next, the great and the minor prophets; then, at the solicitation of Sophronius, the Psalms; then the three Solomontic books; after these, Ezra and Nehemiah; in the year 393, Job; coming on towards the year 405, the Pentateuch; immediately afterwards, Joshua, Ruth, Judges, Chronicles; then Tobit and Judith, from the Chaldee; lastly, Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah.]

(3) [See § 160.] As to the difficulties which he had to overcome in learning Hebrew, and in translating, comp. his own statements in *Hody*, *l.c.* p. 359, and in *Jo. Morinus*, exercitatt. bibl. i. exerc. iii. c. 2.—Præf. in Daniel.: "Denique ut ego adolescentulus post Quintiliani et Tullii lectionem ac flores rhetoricos cum me in linguæ hujus pistrinum reclusissem, et multo sudore multoque tempore vix cœpissem anhelantia et stridentia verba resonare et quasi per cryptam ambulans rarum desuper lumen aspicerem, impegi novissime in Danielem," etc.

(4) Epistol. 125 ad Damas. ii. p. 563: "Subito Hebræus intervenit, deferens non pauca volumina, quæ de Synagoga quasi lecturus acceperat. Et illico, habes, inquit, quod postulaveras, meque dubium et quid facerem nescientem ita festinus exterruit, ut omnibus prætermissis ad scribendum transvolarem, quod quidem usque in præsens facio."

(5) Præf. in Job.: "Memini me ob intelligentiam hujus voluminis Lyddæum quendam præceptorem, qui apud Hebræos primus haberi putabatur, non parvis redemisse nummis, cujus doctrina an aliquid profecerim nescio. Hoc unum scio, non potuisse me interpretari, nisi quod ante intellexeram."—Præf. in Tobiam: "Quia vicina est Chaldæorum lingua sermoni Hebraico, utriusque linguæ peritissimum loquacem reperiens unius diei laborem arripui, et quicquid ille mihi Hebraicis verbis expressit, hoc ego, accito notario, sermonibus Latinis exposui."—Præf. in Daniel.: "Impegi novissime in Danielem, et tanto tædio affectus sum, ut desperatione subita omnem laborem veterem voluerim contemnere. Verum adhortante me quodam Hebræo, et

illud mihi in sua lingua ingerente, 'Labor omnia vincit,' qui mihi videbar sciolus inter Hebræos, cœpi rursus esse discipulus Chaldaicus."

(6) Præf. comm. in Eccles.: "Hoc breviter admonens, quod nullius auctoritatem sequutus sum: sed de Hebræo transferens, magis me LXX. interpretum consuetudini coaptavi, in his duntaxat, quæ non multum ab Hebraicis discrepabant. Interdum Aquilæ quoque et Theodotionis et Symmachi recordatus sum, ut nec novitate nimia lectoris studium deterrerem, nec rursus contra conscientiam meam fonte veritatis amisso opinionum rivulos consectarer."

(7) Epistol. 135 ad Sunniam et Fretelam, ii. p. 627: "Et hanc esse regulam boni interpretis, ut *ἰδιώματα* linguæ alterius suæ linguæ exprimat proprietate." *Ibid.* p. 639: "Non debemus sic verbum de verbo exprimere, ut, dum syllabas sequimur, perdamus intelligentiam." Compare with this, Epistol. 101 ad Pammach., de optimo genere interpr. iv. 2, p. 248 sqq.; and *Engelstoft*, Hieronymus Stridon. interpres, criticus, monachus, Havniæ 1797.

(8) According to his own confession, he translated Tobit in one day (comp. Note 5 [but also observe from § 198, Note 1, how little attention comparatively he bestowed upon the Apocrypha]), and the writings of Solomon in three days. Comp. Præf. in libros Salom.: "Itaque longa ægrotatione fractus, ne penitus hoc anno reticerem et apud vos mutus essem, *tridui* opus nomini vestro consecravi, *interpretationem* videlicet *trium Salomonis voluminum*." [*Bleek*, p. 784, also quotes Procem. in L. iii. comm. in Amos: "Post gravissimam corporis ægrotationem dictandi celeritate ostendi temeritatem meam," etc.]

(9) Comp. *Jahn*, Einl. i. pp. 223–4, and *Häv. ibid.*

Notwithstanding these points of superiority, his translation became a cause of offence to his contemporaries, on account of its strongly marked deviations from the Septuagint, and from its derivative version the Itala (10). The passionate *Rufinus* charged him with heresy and with falsification of Scripture (11); and even *Augustine* gave expression to scruples about the matter (12), till *Jerome's* defence of his translation induced him to approve and make use of it (13). It met with ecclesiastical recognition first in Gaul (14). Afterwards, owing to the high reputation of Gregory the Great, who based upon it his Commentary on Job (15), it was approved in Rome also, and in the other Churches of the West; so that, about two hundred years after the death of Jerome, it had supplanted the old translation, and had become the translation universally received in the Church (16).

(10) This is clear from the bitter complaints in the prefaces to the different books. For instance, Præf. i. in Job.: "Cogor per singulos scripturæ divinæ libros adversariorum respondere maledictis, qui interpretationem meam reprehensionem LXX. interpretum criminantur." Præf. ii. in Job.: "Si aut fiscellam junco texerem aut palmarum folia complicarem, ut in sudore vultus mei comederem panem, et ventris opus sollicita mente pertractarem, nullus morderet, nemo reprehenderet. Nunc autem, quia juxta sententiam Salvatoris volo operari cibum qui non perit, et antiquam divinorum voluminum viam sentibus virgultisque purgare, error mihi geminus affingitur: corrector vitiorum falsarius dicor, et errores non auferre sed serere." Præf. in Paralip.: "Hæc obtrectatoribus meis tantum respondeo, qui canino dente me rodunt in publico detrahentes et legentes in angulis."

(11) *Rufinus* distorts the name of Jerome's Jewish teacher, Barhanina, into Barabbas, and writes, tom. iv. 2, p. 424: "Postposito Christo simul et Barraba: ego quasi imperitus Christum elegi; tu, ut video, cum illis clamas, qui dicunt, 'Non hunc, sed Barrabam.'" Comp. *ibid.* pp. 448, 450.—*Jerome* replies, Apol. c. Rufin. i. p. 363: "Audio te . . . Plautino in me sale ludere, eo quod *Barrabam* Judæum dixerim præceptorem meum. Nec mirum, si pro *Bar-Anina*, ubi est aliqua vocabulorum similitudo, scripseris *Barrabam*." *Rufinus*, contra Hieron. *ibid.* p. 444 sq.: "Quid enim magis audax, vel quid amplius temerarium, libros istos interpretari Origenis . . . an ut divinarum scripturarum libros, quod ad plenissimum fidei instrumenti ecclesiis Christi Apostoli tradiderunt, nova nunc et a Judæis mutuati interpretatione mutares? . . . Si enim in explicanda lege aliquid aliter sensisse damnabile apud te ducitur: ipsam legem pervertere in aliud quam Apostoli tradiderunt, quoties damnabile judicandum est? . . . Quis præsumpserit sacras Sancti Spiritus voces et divina volumina temerare? Quis præter te divino muneri et Apostolorum hæreditati (LXX. interpr.) manus intulerit? . . . Quis . . . ausus est instrumentum divinum, quod Apostoli ecclesiis tradiderunt, et depositum Sancti Spiritus compilare? An non est compilare, cum quædam quidem immutantur, et error dicitur corrigi? Nam omnis illa historia de Susanna, quæ castitatis exemplum præbebat ecclesiis Dei, ab isto abscissa est et abjecta atque posthabita. Trium puerorum hymnus, qui maxime diebus solemnibus in ecclesia Dei canitur; ab isto e loco suo penitus erasus est. . . . Quod septuaginta duorum virorum per cellulas interpretantium unam et consonam vocem, dubitandum non est, Spiritus Sancti inspiratione prolatam; et majoris id debere esse auctoritatis, quam id quod ab uno homine sibi Barraba aspirante translatum est."

(12) [*Bleek*, p. 785, refers to *Augustine*, Epistt. ad Hieron. 28, 71, 82 (ed. Benedict.), and *Jerome's* reply, ad Augustin. epist. 89.] *Augustine*, Epist. 88 in *Hieron.* Opp. iv. 2, p. 610: "Ego sane te mallem Græcas potius canonicas nobis interpretari Scripturas, quæ LXX. interpretum perhibentur. Perdurum erit enim, si tua interpretatio per multas ecclesias frequentius cœperit lectitari, quod a Græcis ecclesiis Latinæ ecclesiæ dissonabunt, maxime quia facile contradictor convincitur Græco prolato libro, id est, lingua notissima: quisquis autem in eo, quod ex Hebræo translatum est, aliquo insolito permotus fuerit, ut falsi crimen intenderit, vix aut nunquam ad Hebræa testimonia pervenitur, quibus defendatur objectum. Quod si etiam perventum fuerit, *tot Latinas et Græcas auctoritates damnari quis ferat.*"—Epist. 97, *ib.* p. 641: "De interpretatione jam mihi persuasisti, quantilitate Scripturas volueris transferre de Hebræis, ut scilicet ea, quæ a Judæis prætermissa vel corrupta sunt, proferres in medium. . . . Ideo autem desidero interpretationem tuam de LXX., ut et tanta Latinorum interpretum, qui qualescunque hoc ausi sunt, quantum possumus imperitia careamus, ei hi qui me invidere putant utilibus laboribus tuis, tandem aliquando, si fieri potest, intelligant propterea *me nolle tuam ex Hebræo interpretationem in ecclesiis legi*, ne contra LXX. auctoritatem tanquam novam aliquid proferentes, magno scandalo perturbemus plebes Christi, quarum aures et corda illam interpretationem audire consueverunt, quæ etiam ab Apostolis approbato est." Similarly, de civit. Dei, xviii. 43.

(13) *Augustine*, de doctr. Christ. iv. 7 [*Bleek*, p. 785, also gives the reference alternatively, Opp. iii. 92, B. He also refers to his Quæst. in Deuter. 20. 54, in Jos. 7, 15, 19, 24, 25, in Jud. 16, 37, 47, 55, for examples of his approving and using Jerome's translation]: "Non autem secundum LXX. interpretes . . . obscuriora nonnulla, quia magis trophica eorum: sed sicut ex Hebræo in Latinum eloquium Presbytero *Hieronymo* utriusque linguæ perito interpretante translata sunt." Comp. *Engelstoft*, Hieronymus, p. 115 sq.; *L. van Ess*, *ibid.* p. 110 ff.

(14) See the favourable judgments in the writings of *Jo. Cassianus*, *Eucherius Lugdunensis*, *Vicentius Lirinensis*, *Salvianus Massiliensis*, and others, in *Hody*, *l.c.* p. 397 sqq.; *L. van Ess*, p. 134 ff. Besides, so early as in Jerome's own times, it was received by individual bishops, and used in churches. See *Augustine*, Epist ad Hieron., Opp. iv. 2, p. 610: "Quidam frater noster Episcopus, quum lectitari instituisset in ecclesia, cui præest, interpretationem tuam," etc.—*Jerome* ad Lucinium (Episc. Hispan.), Epist. 28, *ibid.* p. 579.—It was received still more favourably by the Greek Church: for the

Patriarch *Sophronius* translated the version of the Psalms and of the Prophets into Greek. Comp. *Jerome*, catal. scriptor. eccles. c. 134.

(15) *Gregorius Magnus* (died in 604), præf. Moral. in Job.; "Novam vero translationem edissero, sed ut comprobationis causa exigit, nunc novam, nunc veterem per testimonia assumo: ut quæ sedes Apostolica (cui auctore Deo præsideo) utraque utitur, mei quoque labor studii ex utraque fulciatur." [*Bleek*, p. 785, observes a proof of Gregory's high esteem for it, that in this passage he also says he learned it by heart.]

(16) *Isidorus Hispalensis* (who died in 636), [so that *Bleek* dates this testimony about the year 630], de offic. eccl. i. 12: "De Hebræo autem in Latinum eloquium tantummodo *Hieronymus* presbyter sanctas Scripturas convertit: *cujus editione generaliter omnes ecclesiæ usque-quaque utuntur*, pro eo quod veracior sit in sententiis et clarior in verbis." See additional testimonies in *L. van Ess*, p. 140 ff. [*Bleek*, p. 785, says: "From the seventh century and onwards, western councils also as a rule follow this translation: only a few still prefer the Septuagint. The difference between the two shows itself also particularly in the biblical chronology. Hitherto it had been usual in the Church to follow the computation of the Septuagint; and in this respect the preference is still awarded to it by *Julian of Toledo* (in the seventh century): see in *Hody*, p. 405. But, on the contrary, after that time men began to reckon according to the accounts given in Jerome's translation, which agrees with the Hebrew text; for instance, the venerable *Bede*, in his work, de sex ætatibus mundi, and in other writings, at the same time naming it 'nostra editio.'"]

§ 198. *The Fortunes of the Vulgate until the Invention of Printing.*

The prolonged use of the old translation side by side with Jerome's new one (1) exerted a prejudicial influence on the text of the latter, and produced a multitude of intentional and unintentional alterations. To this must be added the uncritical and arbitrary procedure of half-educated monks, who enriched their manuscripts with glosses from other manuscripts, from parallel passages in the books of Scripture, from ecclesiastical liturgical books and the writings of Jerome, and even from those of Josephus. By this means its text had become so corrupted, that the necessity for critical improvements soon made itself felt (2).

(1) Of the Apocrypha, Jerome had translated only Tobit and

Judith from the Chaldee originals: the rest of the books, Baruch, Jesus Sirach, the book of Wisdom, and the two books of the Maccabees, were retained from the Itala. Jerome had himself adopted the apocryphal additions to Esther, Jeremiah, and Daniel; yet he had not designated them as canonical (comp. *Hody*, *l.c.* p. 358). Also the Gallican Psalter, as the book best known and most used liturgically, was incorporated with the received Vulgate of Jerome.

(2) For the various sources of corruption, comp. *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 335, and *Hug*, Einl. in d. Neue Test. i. § 120.—*Martianay*, ad libr. Sam. i., Opp. Hieron. i. p. 333: "Mutuata sunt e LXX. interpretibus, sive ab illis Latinorum translationibus, quaram viguit usus ante Hieronymum. Innumera prope ejusmodi additamenta in libris præcipue Regum."—*Roger Bacon*, in *Hody*, *l.c.* p. 428: "Corrumpunt primum translationem Jeronymi, qui sola est in Bibliis, per secundam quæ sola est in Originalibus (that is, in Jerome's commentaries). Iterum accipiunt (editores) quæ volunt a simili translatione, et composita non solum ab illis translationibus recitatitis in Originalibus sanctorum, seda *Josepho* in Antiquitatum libris, qui exponit textum, et ponit sensum historiæ sacræ et mutat verba sicuti ei placuit. Unde moderni corrigunt multa et mutant per eum," etc.—Such passages are remarked by *Hugo* in the correctorium; for instance, at 1 Kings xiv. 7: "'Et erant cum Saul quasi decem millia virorum;' hoc Hebr., Beda, et antiqui non habent, sed sumtum est de Josepho." —*Roger Bacon*, *ibid.* in *Hody*: "Ab officio ecclesiæ multa accipiunt et ponunt in textu. Sed illi qui statuerunt officium multa 'mutaverunt, ut competebat officio propter intellectum planiorem et devotionem excitandam." More examples are given by *Döderlein* in the Litter. Museum, i. p. 35 ff.

On this account, about the year 802, by the command of the Emperor Charlemagne, *Alcuin* undertook a revision of it according to good manuscripts, not without having recourse to the Hebrew original, as it would seem; but this made the original character of the Vulgate suffer all the more (3). The charge of new corrections was taken in the eleventh century by *Lanfranc*, Archbishop of Canterbury (4); and in the twelfth century by Cardinal *Nicolaus* (5).

(3) In the preface to *Alcuin's* Homiliar. (Spiræ 1482, Coloniæ 1530, and often reprinted) *Charlemagne* says: "Igitur quia curæ nobis est, ut ecclesiarum nostrarum ad meliora semper proficiat status . . . ad pernoscenda sacrorum librorum studia, nostro etiam quo possumus

invitamus exemplo. Inter quæ jam pridem universos Vet. et Novi Testamenti libros librariorum imperitia depravatos, Deo in omnibus nos adjuvante, examussim correximus." But that it was *Alcuin* who properly took charge of the emendation, is clear from his Epist. ad *Gislam* et *Columb.*, prefixed to l. vi. commentarii in S. Joann.: "Totius forsan evangelii expositionem direxissem vobis, nisi *me occupasset Domini Regis præceptum in emendatione Vet. et Nov. Testamenti.*" Comp. also *Baronii* Annal. ad ann. 778, in *Hody, l.c.* p. 416, and *Hug*, Einl. i. § 121.—It is not quite clear how far Alcuin took the Hebrew text into consideration in this work. Comp. *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 692; *Jahn*, Einl. i. p. 228.

(4) Following an ancient "vita Lanfranci," *Robert de Monte* writes, in Accessionn. ad *Siegebert.* ad ann. 1089: "Quia Scripturæ, scriptorum vitio, erant nimium corruptæ, omnes tam Vet. quam Novi Test. libros, nec non etiam scripta ss. Patrum secundum orthodoxam fidem studuit corrigere; et etiam multa de his, quibus utimur die ac nocte in servitio ecclesiæ, ad unguem emendavit: et hoc non tantum per se, sed etiam per discipulos suos fecit." See *Hody, l.c.; Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 693; *Hug*, Einl. i. § 125.

(5) He himself says of this, de S. Scripturæ emendat., in *Hody*, p. 417: "Lustrans armaria nequibam . . . veracia exemplaria invenire, quia et quæ a doctissimis viris dicebantur correcta . . . adeo discrepabant, ut pene quot codices, tot exemplaria reperirem."

About this time sprang up the so-called *Epanorthotæ*, or *Correctoria biblica.* These were revised texts of the Bible, in the style of the Masora, furnished with glosses from other manuscripts, and from the writings of the Fathers and other highly esteemed Church teachers; and also with emendations after the original text, and remarks upon linguistic peculiarities, interpunction, and the like. They were prepared in this manner by learned corporations and by various monastic orders (6), to prevent the corruption of the text. Yet, as they were wrought up on no correct critical principles, they attained this end only very imperfectly (7).

(6) The oldest seems to be the Correct. bibl. of the Cistercian Abbot *Stephanus*, about the year 1150; comp. *Hody*, p. 418. Others soon followed. The Correct. Sorbonn. (or Parisiense), described by *Rich. Simon*, hist. crit. des versions du Nouveau Test., ch. 9, and nouvelles observations sur le Texte et les versions du Nouveau Test., P. ii. ch. 1 (*Döderlein*, litter. Museum, ii. p. 197 ff.). The Correct.

of *Hugo a St. Caro* about the year 1236 [see him mentioned in § 168, Note 10], of which there is a copy in the Nürnberg Library (comp. *Bertholdt*, Einl. ii. p. 620; *Hug*, *ibid.*; *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, iii. pp. 263–4).—The Correct. of *Magdalius Jacob Gaudensis*, of the order of preachers, printed at Cologne in 1508 (comp. *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 693 sq.; *Rosenmüller*, p. 262).—A Correctorium of the Dominicans exists in manuscript in the Pauliner Biblioth. at Leipzig (comp. *Carpzov*, p. 694 sq.).

(7) The preface to the Leipzig Correctorium, in *Carpzov*, p. 694 sq., says of the preparation of them: "Quantum in brevi potuimus, ex glossis b. Hieronymi et aliorum Doctorum, et ex libris Hebræorum et antiquissimis exemplaribus, quæ jam ante tempora Caroli Magni scripta fuerunt, hic in brevissima notula scripsimus ea quæ ex novis et diversis Bibliis propter varias litteras magis *dubia vel superflua* credebamus. . . . Ubicunque ergo in textu librorum Vet. Test., qui in Hebræo canone continentur, punctum de minio super aliquam dictionem vel syllabam vel inter duas dictiones videres, scias illuc cum auctoritate multorum expositorum et antiquorum librorum etiam sic apud Hebræos haberi. Si vero dictio illa, vel amplius, linea de minio subjecta fuit, hi libri expositorum et antiqui non habent, et tunc maxime cautum est, si juxta Hebræos punctum de minio suppositum habeat."—*Roger Bacon* (who died in 1284), in his Epist. ad Clement. IV., in *Hody*, *l.c.* p. 429, depicts the procedure of the monastic orders thus: "Quilibet lector in ordine Minorum corrigit, ut vult, et similiter apud Prædicatores . . . et quilibet mutat quod non intelligit. . . . Sed Prædicatores maxime intromiserunt se de hac correctione, et jam sunt viginti anni et plures, quod præsumpserunt facere suam correctionem et redegerunt eam in scriptis. Sed postea fecerunt aliam ad reprobationem illius, et modo vacillant plus quam alii, nescientes ubi sint. Unde eorum correctio est pessima corruptio, et destruitur textus Dei."—Specimens from the Correctorium of Cologne: "Gen. vi. *Non permanebit Spiritus meus in homine in æternum*) Hebraica veritas habet, 'Non disceptabit Spiritus meus in æternum.' Expositio Chaldaica sic habet, 'Non erigetur generatio putrida contendere coram me in æternam.' Secundum Paulum Burgensem sic, 'Non vaginabitur Spiritus meus in homine.'—*Præcavens*) media correpta, i.e. diligenter cavens. Horatius in sermonibus, 'Vade, vale, cave, ne titubes, mandataque frangas.'"

§ 199. *History of the Printed Text of the Vulgate.*

The great diversities in the text of the Vulgate first became thoroughly manifest when it was printed, and editions appeared which followed various manuscripts, partly with emendations after the text of the original, and with tables of various readings (1). When therefore the Council of Trent, in the year 1546, out of opposition to the Protestants, exalted the Vulgate and made it the authentic text (2), amidst the great divergences of the existing editions, it also became necessary to give orders for an authentic edition (3), and to have this executed.

(1) The first printed copies appeared without the place or year being given; comp. *Le Long*, ed. *Masch*, ii. 3, p. 58 sqq. The first edition with place and date appeared at Mainz 1462; then at Rome 1471, Nürnberg 1471, and others besides: see *Le Long*, ed. *Masch*, *l.c.* p. 98 sqq.; *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, iii. p. 199 ff. — Critical editions:—That of *J. Parvus* (Petit) and *Thielmann Kerver*, Paris 1504, fol., with various readings by *Adrian Gumelli*. That of *Jac. Sacon*, Lyons 1506, fol., with the same various readings. That of *Alb. Castellan*, Venice 1511, fol. That in the Complutensian Polyglott, 1517, taken from manuscripts. That which followed *And. Osiander's* recension, Nürnberg 1522, and often. That in the Antwerp Polyglott. The editions of *Colinæ*, Paris 1525, fol.; of *Rudel*, Cologne 1527, 1529, fol.; of *Hittorp*, Cologne 1530. The editions of *Rob. Stephanus*, Paris 1528, 1532, fol.; 1534, 8vo, with altered text; 1540, reprinted; 1546, fol., with variations on the margin; 1545, fol., with a new Latin translation; 1555–58, 8vo, with the division into verses; 1557, with the remarks of *Vatablus* and *Beza*. The editions of *Benedictus* (Benoist), Paris 1541, fol. ("ad priscorum probatissimorumque exemplarium normam, adhibita interdum fontium authoritate"); of *Isidore Clarius*, Venice 1542, fol. ("ad Hebraicam et ad Græcam veritatem emendatum diligentissime"). See more particulars in *Le Long*, ed. *Masch*, *l.c.* pp. 143–222; *Rosenmüller*, iii. pp. 206–241.

(2) After prolonged debates upon the ecclesiastical authority and the critical nature and character of the existing Vulgate, it was resolved, sessio iv. decret. 2: "Insuper eadem ss. Synodus considerans, non parum utilitatis accedere posse ecclesiæ Dei, si *ex omnibus Latinis editionibus quæ circumferuntur s. librorum*, quænam pro authentica habenda sit, innotescat, statuit et declarat, ut hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata

editio, quæ longo tot sæculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus, et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur, et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat." The text in the original languages was not indeed expressly rejected by this decree; yet it was declared to be entirely superfluous, and the translation was canonized, in spite of all the explanations that soften it down, by which [Roman] Catholic theologians seek to justify the decree. Comp. *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 699 sqq.; *Walch*, Einleit. in die polemische Gottesgelehrtheit, p. 628; *Marheinecke*, System des Katholicismus, ii. p. 246 ff.

(3) Concil. Trident. decr. crit.: ". . . decrevit et statuit, ut posthac s. Scriptura, potissimum hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quam emendatissime imprimatur."

The Papal See undertook the care of this edition in 1564 (4). But in 1590, for the first time, under *Sixtus* V., there appeared a most correct edition, according to the Papal assurance in the preface (5). And yet this was in so faulty a condition, that it was soon called in again; and so early as in 1592, under *Clement* VIII., there appeared an edition altered and amended in numberless passages (6). In 1593 this was printed again, with manifold alterations; and in the [Roman] Catholic Church this has remained the normal edition, whose text has been repeated without alteration in all subsequent editions (7).

(4) Before *Pius* IV. with his cardinals undertook the publication in 1564, the theologians of Louvaine had undertaken to re-establish an amended text, in their Biblia ad vetustis exemplaria recens castig. c. *Jo. Hentenii*, c. ejus præfat., Lovan. 1547, fol. The writer of the preface says as to this: "Considerantes quod tota Latina ecclesia tot seculis Vulgata editione semper usa sit—summo studio curavimus, ex jussu, instructione, ac judicio gravissimorum Theologorum hujus Academiæ Lovaniensis, ut comparatis undique, non solum quæ castigatius excusa erant, exemplaribus, verum aliis quoque plus minus viginti; quorum recentissimum ante ducentos annos manu scriptum erat, alia ante trecentos quadringentos immo et sexcentos vel plures etiam annos: ex horum collatione restitueremus, quoad fieri posset, veterem et vulgatam editionem sinceritati suæ atque puritati. . . . Itaque acceptis variis exemplaribus, et per Roberti Stephani codicem plurimis etiam aliis, quæ ille suis annotarat marginibus, ex complurium consensu, *nonnulla e textu sustulimus aut immutavimus*." Comp. *Le Long*, ed. *Masch*, ii. 3, p. 223. It was reproduced at Antwerp, 1559,

1561, and often; at Lyons, 1566, and often; at Venice, 1571, and often. Again it was improved by the theologians of Louvaine, Antwerp 1573, 3 vols. 8vo and 12mo, and often. Comp. *Le Long*, *l.c.* p. 223 sqq.; *Rosenmüller*, iii. p. 241 ff.

(5) It had a double title. The one is, Biblia S. Vulgatæ editionis, tribus tomis distincta. Romæ ex typogr. Apostolica Vaticana, MDXC., fol. The other title, ornamented with an engraving, is, Biblia S. Vulgatæ editionis ad Concilii Tridentini præscriptum emendata et a Sixto v., P.M. recognita et approbata. (So *Le Long-Masch*, *Rosenmüller*, *Hug;* differently *L. van Ess*, p. 266.) Upon the third leaf follows the Decretum Concil. Trident. de canonicis Scripturis; on the fourth leaf, the papal bull, "Æternus ille," etc., in which, among other things, Sixtus v. declares as follows: "Novam interea Typographiam in Apostolico Vatic. palatio nostro ad id potissimum magnifice exstruximus, atque ad ejus curam Congregationem aliquot s. Romanæ ecclesiæ Cardinalium et insigne Collegium doctiss. virorum fere ex omnibus Christiani orbis nationibus et celeberr. studiorum generalium Universitatibus, amplis opulentisque reditibus dotatum, deputavimus, ut in ea emendatum jam Bibliorum volumen excuderetur: eaque res quo magis incorrupte perficeretur, nostra nos ipsi manu correximus, si qua prelo vitia obrepserant, et quæ confusa aut facile confundi posse videbantur, ea intervallo scripturæ ac majoribus notis et interpunctione distinximus . . . illud sane omnibus certum atque exploratum volumus, nostros hos labores ac vigilias nunquam eo spectasse ut nova editio in lucem exeat, sed ut *Vulgata vetus*, ex Tridentinæ Synodi præscripto, *emendatissima pristinæque suæ puritati, qualis primum ab ipsius interpretis manu styloque prodierat, restituta imprimatur.* In hac autem germani textus pervestigatione, satis perspicue inter omnes constat, *nullum argumentum esse certius ac firmius quam antiquorum probatorumque codicum Latinorum* fidem, quos tam impressos quam manuscriptos ex Bibliothecis variis conquirendos curavimus. In quacunque igitur lectione *plures vetustiores* atque *emendatiores* libri consentire reperti sunt, ea jure optimo, tanquam primogeniti textus verba, aut his maxime finitima, retinenda decrevimus. — Ad laudem igitur et gloriam omnip. Dei . . . *hac nostra perpetuo valitura constitutione* . . . statuimus et declaramus, eam Vulgatam sacræ tam Vet. quam Novi Testamenti paginæ Latinam editionem, quæ pro authentica a Concilio Trid. recepta est, sine ulla dubitatione aut controversia censendam esse hanc ipsam, quam nunc emendatam . . . evulgavimus, decernentes, eam prius quidem universali sanctæ ecclesiæ ac sanctorum patrum consensione, deinde vero generalis Concilii Trid. decreto, nunc etiam apostolica nobis a Domino

tradita auctoritate comprobatam, *pro vera, legitima, authentica, et indubitâta in omnibus publicis privatisque disputationibus, lectionibus, prædicationibus, et explanationibus recipiendam et tenendam esse,*" etc.— See more in *Le Long, l.c.* p. 239 sqq., and in *L. van Ess*, Geschichte, p. 263 ff.

(6) Biblia S. Vulgatæ editionis Sixti v., P. M. jussu recognita et edita. Romæ ex Typogr. Apost. Vatic. 1592, Pol. In the preface *Bellarmine* declares, among other things: "In multis magnisque beneficiis, etc. . . . , . . . Sixtus v. . . . opus tandem confectum typis mandari jussit. Quod cum jam esset excusum, et ut in lucem emitteretur, idem Pontifex operam daret, animadvertens non pauca in s. Biblia preli vitio irrepsisse . . . totum opus sub incudem revocandum censuit atque decrevit. (An untruth; see *van Ess*, p. 304 ff.) Id vero cum morte præventus præstare non potuisset, *Gregorius* XIV., qui post *Urbani* VII. duodecim dierum Pontificatum *Sixto* successerat, ejus animi intentionem exsecutus perficere aggressus est. . . . Sed eo quoque, et qui illi successit, *Innocentio* IX. brevissimo tempore de hac luce subtractis, tandem sub initium Pontificatus *Clementis* VIII. . . . opus in quod *Sixtus* v. intenderat . . . perfectum est . . . Est vero quamvis in hac Bibliorum recognitione in codd. MSS., *Hebræis Græcisque fontibus* et ipsis vet. patrum commentariis conferendis non mediocre studium adhibitum fuerit, in hac tamen pervulgata lectione sicut nonnulla de consulto *mutata*, ita etiam *alia, quæ mutanda videbantur, consulto immutata relicta sunt,*" etc. The differences of the two editions are brought together in the Bellum Papale, seu concordantia discors Sixti v. et Clementis VIII., circa Hieronymianam editionem, auct. *Thoma James*, Londini 1660, 4to, 1678, 8vo; and in the Histoire de la Bible de Sixte v., par *Prosp. Marchand*, in *Schelhorn*, Amœnitt. litter. iv. p. 433. Comp. *L. van Ess*, p. 354 ff.

(7) See a list of these editions in *Le Long*, ed. *Masch*, ii. 3, p. 248 sqq. The most recent are by *Leander van Ess*, Tres Partes, Tubingæ 1822 and 1824; ed. nova auctor. Pontif. Max. *Leonis* XII. excusa, Francofurti 1826.

§ 200. *Versions derived from the Vulgate.*

I. The *Anglo-Saxon* translation of the Pentateuch and of the book of Joshua by Abbot *Ælfric*, in the tenth century (1). This has proceeded not from the Alexandrian version (2), but from the Vulgate. The same is the case with the translation of the Psalter, of a later date, by an unknown author (3).

(1) Heptateuchus, liber Job. et Evangel. Nicodemi, Anglo-Saxonice. Historiæ Judith fragm. Dano-Saxon. Ed. ex MSS. codd. *Edw. Thwaites*, Oxon. 1698. (It contains no more than the books of Moses and Joshua, two homilies on the book of Judges, and Job.)

(2) As *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 318, *c*, and *Bertholdt*, Einl. ii. p. 565, supposed.

(3) Psalterium Davidis Latino-Saxon. vetus, edidit *J. Spelman*, Londini 1640, 4to. Comp. *Pfannkuche*, in the Göttingen Biblioth. der neuesten theol. Litt. iii. p. 616 f.; *Alter*, in *Paulus*, Memorab. vi. p. 190, viii. p. 194; *Scholz*, Einl. i. p. 545.

II. For the Romish Christians in the East the Vulgate has also been repeatedly translated into Arabic (4), and the Psalter even into Persic (5).

(4) Comp. *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, iii. p. 56 ff. The whole Bible was printed under the management of the Propaganda at Rome, 1671; and there is a reprint by the Bible Society, London, 1822.—With reference to another edition, in the year 1752, comp. *Schelling*, in *Eichhorn*, Repert. x. p. 154; *Michaelis*, Orient. Biblioth. xii. p. 12, xviii. p. 179, xx. p. 131 ff.; *Aurivill.* dissert. ed. *Michaelis*, p. 308 sq. — With reference to other translations which are unprinted, see *Adler*, bibl. krit. Reise, p. 177 f.

(5) *Walton* was acquainted with two manuscript Persic Psalters, Prolegg. xvi. 8.

THIRD SECTION.

THE CRITICAL TREATMENT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

FIRST PERIOD.

HISTORY OF THE CRITICISM OF THE UNPRINTED TEXT.

§ 201. *How various Readings or Errors came to exist in the Text.*

The Old Testament, like all the other books of antiquity, has been propagated by transcription. And thus it has happened, even in spite of the great care with which the Jews, who were filled with unbounded reverence for the Holy Scriptures (1), watched over their preservation

and transmission without injury, that they could not escape the common lot of all ancient books. In the course of repeated copying, many small errors crept into the text, and various readings came into existence, which lie before us in the text as it is attested in the records belonging to the various centuries (2).

(1) *Josephus*, c. Apion, i. 8: *Τοσούτου γὰρ αἰῶνος ἤδη παρῳχηκότος, οὔτε προσθεῖναί τις οὐδὲν, οὔτε ἀφελεῖν αὐτῶν, οὔτε μεταθεῖναι τετόλμηκεν.* *Philo* in *Eusebii* Præp. evang. viii. 6: *Μὴ ῥῆμά γε αὐτοὺς μόνον τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ* (Moses) *γεγραμμένων κινῆσαι, ἀλλὰ κἂν μυριάκις αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν ὑπομεῖναι θᾶττον, ἢ τοῖς ἐκείνου νόμοις καὶ ἔθεσιν ἐναντία πεισθῆναι.*

(2) In the ancient versions, in the talmudical and rabbinical writings, and in the codices.

On an unprejudiced investigation, however, it becomes manifest that intentional disfigurations or falsifications of the text of the Bible cannot be proved (3); but that the various divergences of the critical witnesses consist only in errors. The copyists have committed these errors by seeing or hearing wrongly (4), by faithlessness of memory (5), and by other misunderstandings (6); yet not arbitrarily or intentionally. And by none of them have the essential contents of Scripture been endangered.

(3) A suspicion of this sort is expressed by *Jerome*, Comm. in Gal. iii. 10: ". . . incertum habemus, utrum LXX. interpretes addiderint Deut. xxvii. 26, *omnis homo* et *in omnibus*, an in vetere Hebræo ita fuerit et postea a Judæis deletum sit. . . . Quam ob causam Samaritanorum Hebræa volumina relegens, inveni כל scriptum esse et cum LXX. interpretibus concordare. Frustra igitur illud *tulerunt* Judæi, ne viderentur esse sub maledicto, si non possent omnia complere quæ scripta sunt: cum antiquiores alterius quoque gentis litteræ id positum fuisse testentur." On the contrary, he expresses himself quite otherwise in the Comm. in Jesai. c. vi.: "Quod si aliquis dixerit Hebræos libros postea a Judæis esse falsatos, audiat *Origenem*, quid in octavo volumine Explanationum Jesaiæ huic respondeat quæstiunculæ: quod nunquam Dominus et Apostoli, qui cætera crimina arguunt in Scribis et Pharisæis, de hoc crimine, quod erat maximum, reticuissent. Sin autem dixerint post adventum Domini Salvatoris et prædicationem Apostolorum libros Hebræos fuisse falsatos, cachinnum tenere non potero, ut Salvator et Evan-

gelistæ et Apostoli ita testimonium protulerint, ut Judæi postea falsaturi erant."—The insipid accusations in the Koran, given by *Hottinger*, thesaur. philol. p. 125 sqq., scarcely deserve mention. Unfounded, too, are the charges of intentionally corrupting the text, which are brought by *Isaac Vossius* (de LXX. interprett. p. 18 sqq.; comp. Append. p. 68 sq.), *William Whiston* (An Essay towards restoring the True Text of the Old Testament, London 1722: comp. *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, i. p. 489 ff.; and on the other side, *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. iii. p. 787 sq.), *Kennicott* (dissert. ii. super ratione textus Hebr. c. 1, p. 17 sqq.; comp. also his dissert. general. § 21), on account of Deut. xxvii. 4.—The following writers have declared themselves against the idea that there are intentional corruptions: *Bellarmine*, de verbo Dei, ii. 2, 7; *Glass*, de textus Hebr. in Vet. Test. puritate, in *Bauer*, crit. sacr. p. 76 sq.; *L. Cappellus*, crit. sacr. i. c. 1; *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 109 sqq.; *Bauer*, *l.c.* p. 102 sq.; *Eichhorn*, Einl. i. § 111; *De Wette*, Einl. § 84; and others.—Even the opinion that "an innocent uncritical activity has thrust in apparently more correct and less objectionable readings in place of the true ones, has corrected what were supposed to be errors in writing, has supplied apparent *lacunæ*, and has altered the text according to certain preconceptions, and reduced it to the same form as in parallel passages" (*De Wette, ibid.*), cannot be considered established by the examples adduced in proof.—[If all that *Keil* means to assert in the text be that the Jews as a nation were faithful to their trust, and that they did not deliberately conspire to corrupt the text, there need be no hesitation for a moment in admitting his statement to be correct. Nor need we hesitate to reject the rash allegations of some of the early Christians, to which Jerome may refer in the passage quoted in this note, who charged the Jews with corrupting Messianic testimonies, for no other reason than that the Hebrew original did not bear out certain translations in the Septuagint to which they appealed. But it is by no means so clear that individual Jews were never guilty of such corruption of the text. And when a various reading had thus come into existence by a fraud, it may have been adopted in the Hebrew copies without any bad faith, at least taking this expression in the most stringent sense: for no doubt doctrinal prejudices might lead to a preference for a reading which really had less in its favour. Particularly we can understand how all this might happen in cases where a mind with an evil conscience, which had rejected the Messiah sent to their nation, might be left to punish itself by going astray in other matters where it thought itself secure. Something of this sort may be the case with the readings כארי and כארו in Ps. xxii. 17, and in the reading "Manasseh"

for "Moses" in Judg. xviii. 30. Nor can it be said with confidence that the Jews are yet freed from the charge of having tampered with the chronology of the patriarchs before and after the flood. Yet *Keil* is undoubtedly right in general: such cases must be so few as to have little weight in a comprehensive statement; and the matters affected by them have not the slightest influence that we can trace on the scheme of doctrine unfolded in Scripture.]

(4) Similar letters have often been interchanged, owing to wrong seeing; ב and כ, ד and ר, ה and ח, ו and י, and others. For instance, שְׁכַנְיָה, Neh. xii. 3, with ב, ver. 14; זִכְרִי, 1 Chron. ix. 15, and זַבְדִי, Neh. xi. 17; דִיפַת, Gen. x. 3, with ד, 1 Chron. i. 6; רוֹדָנִים, 1 Chron. i. 7, with ד, Gen. x. 4; אֱרָם, 2 Sam. viii. 13, for אֱדוֹם, 1 Chron. xviii. 12; הַחֲרֹדִי, 2 Sam. xxiii. 25, with ר twice, 1 Chron. xi. 27; הֲדוֹרָם, 2 Chron. x. 18, and אֲדֹרָם, 1 Kings xii. 18; עִלָּוִי, Gen. xxxvi. 40, with י, 1 Chron. i. 51; פְּרוּדָא, Ezra ii. 55, with י, Neh. vii. 57; בֵּירוֹת, 1 Kings vii. 40, an error for סִירוֹת (see my commentary on the passage); אֵת גָּלִית, 2 Sam. xxi. 19, for אֲחִי גָּלְיָת, 1 Chron. xx. 5, etc. Owing to wrong hearing, such errors have arisen as יִשְׂרָאֵלִי, 2 Sam. xvii. 25, for יִשְׁמְעֵאלִי, 1 Chron. ii. 17 (comp. my apologet. Versuch, p. 296); עָשָׂר for עָשָׂה, 1 Kings xxii. 49; זָה, 1 Sam. xvii. 34, in a number of codices and editions, for שֶׁה.—See more examples—among which, however, many are without foundation—in *Movers*, kritt. Untersuchungen über d. bibl. Chronik, p. 65 ff. In particular, *Cappellus*, crit. sacr. lib. i. c. 5 sqq., has many untenable proofs.—An interchange of similar letters, on the assumption that letters were used as numerals, also explains many differences in numbers, and many statements of excessive and incredible numbers: for instance, ג with ז in 2 Sam. xxiv. 13, *seven* years; but in 1 Chron. xxi. 12 and Septuagint, *three* years. Comp. *Kennicott*, dissert. 1, super ratione textus Hebr. pp. 520–28; dissert. 2, pp. 201–13: *Faber*, literas olim pro vocibus in numerando a scriptoribus Vet. Test. esse adhibitas, Onold. 1775 (2 Progrr.); *B. de Rossi*, variæ lectt. vol. iv. dissert. prælim. p. 14; my apolog. Versuch über. d. Chronik, p. 322 ff.; *Movers*, p. 53 ff.; and others.

(5) Interchanges arose from unfaithfulness of recollection, particularly when one was transcribing rapidly, and depended too much on his memory: such as אֶל and בֶּל, Lev. xxv. 36; וַיְדַבֵּר with וַיֹּאמֶר, 2 Kings i. 10; יְהוָה with אֱלֹהִים often; also many transpositions of individual verses, even of whole psalms in some codices, in *Kennicott*, dissert. general. § 23.

(6) For instance, by some oversight or other, לָגֶרֶשׁ has fallen away at the end of 2 Sam. vii. 23; 1 Kings vii. 45 has האהל for

הָאֵלֶּה; 2 Sam. xxiii. 20 has אִישׁ חַי for אִישׁ חַיִל.—Other corruptions are also found: in 1 Sam. xiii. 1, about Saul's age and the time he reigned; in 2 Sam. v. 8 a lacuna, comp. 1 Chron. xi. 6, and my apolog. Versuch, p. 211.—In consequence of an error in transcription, produced by a homoioteleuton, a group of names of towns has fallen away in Josh. xv. between ver. 59 and 60, though they still stand in the Alexandrian version; comp. my Commentary on Joshua, p. 394, note.—In reference to other cases of omission, comp. *Movers, ibid.* p. 83 ff.; where, however, many things must be separated and set aside as unfounded.

§ 202. *Nature and Condition of the Text before and at the Closing of the Canon.*

The widely diffused opinion that the Hebrew text had suffered from adverse circumstances, at the time the books of the Canon of the Old Testament were collected and united (1), rests for the most part upon erroneous assumptions (2). The many deviations exhibited by the parallel passages in different books are not to be laid to the charge of the copyists, as if they had been careless or capricious. They merely show that the writers of the Old Testament made free and independent use of the sources of their information; and that men felt no hesitation, so long as they were conscious of the operations of that Divine Spirit who lived in the theocracy, in elaborating their own productions, or those of others, in conformity with the requirements of their time (3).

(1) So *Cappellus*, crit. sacr. ed. *Vogel*, i. p. 30 ff.; and following him, *Eichhorn*, Einl. i. § 139, *b*; *De Wette*, Einl. § 85; and others. Against this view, see *Häv.* Einl. i. § 59; comp. *Jahn*, Einl. i. p. 379, and *Herbst*, Einl. i. p. 91.

(2) That is to say, such as the following:—A. That almost all the deviations in the parallel passages of the various books of the Old Testament are errors or corruptions in the text. B. That, in the parallel sections, one is always extracted from the other: for instance, the genealogies in Chronicles from the other books of the Old Testament; the sections in Chronicles common to them and to the books of Samuel and Kings, from the latter; and the like. Against this, comp. § 139 and 141.—Certainly there are found several undeniable corruptions in the historical books, especially in Chronicles; and since the ancient versions already present a text which is for

the most part the same, these corruptions may reach back to the time of the collection of the Canon. But it is to be observed for one thing, that they are not so numerous as critics of the school of *Cappellus* maintain; and for another thing, that several of these errors in the text, as is certain beyond all doubt in the genealogies of the Chronicles (comp. my apolog. Versuch, pp. 185 and 293 ff.), are traceable to the defective and corrupt state of old documents used for his book by the author of Chronicles. In this way, therefore, they are chargeable neither upon the later copyists nor upon the author of Chronicles; and, taken as a whole, they ought not to be reckoned witnesses that the biblical text has been handled negligently or disposed of arbitrarily, but rather the contrary: in so far as the circumstance that such contradictions were not done away, when it would have been easy to amend or remove them by means of the parallel passages, evinces the tenderest and most conscientious sentiment of shyness at making any alteration on the text presented to them.

(3) *Pareau*, institut. interpr. Vet. Test. p. 313: "Si quando vel duo scriptores ex uno communi fonte hauriebant, vel alter alterum exscribebat, vel denique idem auctor scriptum iterum edebat, non iisdem semper verbis utebantur; sed cum pleraque retinerent, nonnulla subinde addebant, alia demebant, alia cum aliis commutabant." Comp. with this the correct remark of *Häv.* i. 1, p. 326, that it has come to be a fundamental principle, through the influence of *Capellus*, although combated by *Buxtorf*, Anticrit. p. 363 sqq., that in such cases one of the two forms is held to be the critically correct text, that is to say, the original form, and the other to be the spurious or critically suspected form: yet that this principle interchanges the critical and the exegetical, since much rather both of these forms of the reading may be alike original, in a critical point of view, and only in a linguistic or exegetical respect may it be possible to develope from them the earlier and the later composition.

That the collectors of the Canon went to work with the greatest conscientiousness, is clear from the following well-known fact. Not only different elaborations of individual portions of Scripture (4), but also the parallel passages in the different books, with all the various readings, differences, and apparent or real contradictions that were to be found in them (5), were adopted unaltered into the collection, without the liberty being taken of making any adjustment whatever however easy this might often have been (6).

(4) Such as the Psalms which occur twice: Ps. xiv. and liii.; Ps. xl. 14–18 and lxx.; Ps. xviii. and 2 Sam. xxii.; Ps. cviii. compared with Ps. lvii. 8–12 and lx. 7–14; Ps. cv. and 1 Chron. xvi. 8–22; Ps. xcvi. and 1 Chron. xvi. 23–33.

(5) To this class belong the whole of the parallel passages in the books of Samuel and Kings on the one hand, and in the books of Chronicles upon the other; comp. § 139 and 143: Isa. xxxvii. and xxxviii., alongside of 2 Kings xviii. and xix.; comp. § 70: Jer. lii. and 2 Kings xxiv. 18–xxv. 30; comp. § 75, V.

(6) *Eichhorn*, præf. ad *Koecheri* nov. biblioth. Hebr., reminds us also of the peculiar constant change of the divine names יהוה and אלהים in Genesis and Job.

§ 203. *How the Text* (מקרא) *took firm Shape in the Age of the Sopherim.*

There do not exist any contemporaneous accounts, nor yet any domestic documents, bearing on the treatment of the text of the Old Testament, as it was taking shape in Palestine within the period between the closing of the Canon and the commencement of the talmudic age. Nevertheless, we have no sufficient grounds for assuming that less care was then directed to the object of keeping that text pure. Much rather, when we consider the tendency manifested by the erudition of the scribes at Jerusalem, which began with Ezra and flourished continually more and more after his time, we are perfectly justified in concluding that, along with the augmenting reverence for the canonical writings, which were held to be divine, the esteem for the letter of its text also augmented, and greatly favoured its uninjured preservation and transmission.

There are two events belonging to this period which are pledges to us of the correctness of this conclusion. The one is the cultivation of a peculiar caligraphy for the sacred writings, called the square character; see § 164. The other is the fixing of rules for writing the sacred text, and the traditional settlement of the correct reading, מקרא, by numbering the words and verses of the individual books, by determining the spaces between the several sections, and the like, § 165 and 167; by which means the integrity of the text ought to have been perfectly secured, even to the minutest individual detail (1).

(1) Tract Kiddush. fol. 30, 1: "Idcirco vocati sunt prisci סוֹפְרִים,

Numeratores, quia numerarunt omnes litteras Legis, dicentes, 'Litera *Vav* vocis נחן, Lev. xi. 42, est media littera libri Legis; דרש דרש, Lev. x. 16, media vox Legis; והתנלח, Lev. xiii. 33, medius versus in Lege; יכסמנה חזיר מיער, Ps. lxxx. 14, littera ע vocis יער est media littera in Psalmis; רחום יכפר עון, Ps. lxxviii. 38, est medius versus in Psalmis.' Quæsivit R. Joseph, '*Vav* vocis נחן pertinetne ad hanc vel ad illam partem?' Respondit, 'Afferamus librum Legis, et numerabo illas.' Numquid dixit Rabba bar bar Channa, eos (priscos) non recessisse inde donec numerassent eas. Tum ille, 'Ipsi,' ait, 'exercitati fuerunt in litteris defectivis et redundantibus, nos non sumus sic exercitati.'" Comp. *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, p. 44.

Passing from that time, the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan (2), and the translations of Aquila and Theodotion (3), also furnish us with the means of judging as to the nature and condition of the text of the Hebrew original in the first and second centuries after Christ. Already in them we find a firmly established form of the text, which agrees with the form approved by the later Masoretes down to quite unimportant varieties of reading; and this cannot be held to be fundamentally a product of a later revision, because it does not exhibit the slightest traces of emendations (4).

(2) Comp. *Cappellus*, crit. sacr. ii. p. 771, and the remark made there by *Vogel*; *Winer*, de Onkeloso, p. 23 sq.; and *Gesenius*, Jesaj. i. p. 80.

(3) *Eichhorn*, præfat. ad *Koecheri* nov. biblioth. Hebr.: "Si a locis dubiis et incertis discesseris, in lectione vulgari cum libris masorethicis ita vel conspirant vel ab iis discrepant interpretes antiqui (with the exception of the Septuagint), ut eandem prorsus textus biblici recensionem ante oculos habuisse necesse sit, quam tum in Masora, tum in libris qui ex eodem fonte fluxere, codicis s. scriptis, servatam cernimus." And of *Aquila* in particular: "Quotquot ejus supersunt fragmenta certa ac indubitata (multa enim spuria sub ejus nomine exhiberi satis constat), ea omnia tam presse sequuntur textum nostrum masorethicum, vel in minutis ac minimis rebus adeoque in aberrationibus manifestis, ut alterum ejus apographon videri possit. *Quis igitur dubitet, textui sacro eundem fuisse habitum eandemque formam, quam hodie pro se fert masorethicus?*"

(4) Comp. *Herbst*, Einl. i. p. 111. Moreover, every thought of later emendations is at once kept at a distance by the "peculiaris orthographia, quæ regnat in libris bibliothecæ sanctæ postremis, ex

antiquioribus vero exulat; quam, sive ut mihi quidem videtur, ad ipsum autographon, sive ad exemplar valde antiquum, ex quo libri sequiores ducti sunt, referendam censeas, evincit tamen sedulitate summa vel antiquissimos librarios, Masorethas nostros ætate superantes, textum biblicum propagasse" (*Eichhorn, l.c.*).

§ 204. *The Samaritan-Alexandrine Text.*

Outside Jerusalem and Judea there was less care directed towards the object of having the text of the Old Testament faithfully transmitted; as may be seen from the manner in which the Samaritans wrought up the Pentateuch, and that in which the Alexandrians translated the Old Testament.

I. Opinions were long very much divided as to the origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch (1). Many supposed that the Pentateuch came down from the kingdom of the Ten Tribes to the Samaritans as the descendants of those Ten Tribes (2); but their reasons were very feeble. For, A. The national hatred, which existed between the Jews and the Samaritans from the time when the Jews returned from the exile, does not exclude the reception of the Jewish book of the law on the part of the Samaritans. This hatred was not derived from the disruption of the kingdom under Jeroboam, and did not come down from the Israelites to the Samaritans. But it arose from the circumstance that the Jews were not willing to acknowledge the pretensions of the Samaritans to belong to the people of God, and in this capacity to take part in the building of the temple under Zerubbabel; in consistency with which it always remained a possibility that the Samaritans might receive the book of the law from the Jews, so as to conform themselves to them the more. B. The circumstance that the Samaritans received no other book of the Old Testament is explained by this fact, that the Pentateuch all alone satisfied them, in its character of book of the law. It no more proves that they inherited the Pentateuch from the Ten Tribes, than does, C, the retention of the ancient Hebrew writing character for the Samaritan Pentateuch; since this character did not at once pass entirely out of use among the Jews when the exile came to an end, but was still to be found upon the Maccabean coins (3).

(1) In addition to the codex brought to Rome in the year 1616

by *Della Valle*, which *Jo. Morinus* had printed in the Paris Polyglott (comp. § 194), fifteen other codices came at a later time. Comp. *Kennicott*, dissert. general. ed. *Bruns*, p. 359 sq.; *De Rossi*, variæ lectiones in Vet. Test. i. p. clvii.; *Gesenius*, de Pentat. Samar. p. 17; and *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 378 ff. [*Bleek*, p. 747, says that *Benjamin Blainey* published an edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch, but in the square Hebrew character, Oxford 1790.]

(2) *Jo. Morinus*, exercitatt. eccles. in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuch., Parisiis 1691, 4to, p. 62; *Walton*, prolegg. xi. 9, 11; *Cappellus*, crit. sacr. i. p. 476; *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 602; *Kennicott*, dissert. ii. super ratione text., p. 108 sqq.; *J. D. Michaelis*, Einl. ins Alt. Test. i. p. 315; *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 383–4; *Bauer*, crit. sacr. p. 330; *Jahn*, i. p. 412 f.; *Bertholdt*, Einl. ii. p. 471; *Steudel*, in *Bengel's* Archiv. iii. p. 626 ff.; *Mazade*, sur l'origine, l'âge, et l'état critique d. Pentat. Samar., Geneve 1830.

(3) Comp. *Hengstb.* Beiträge, ii. p. 39 ff. Yet the arguments against the high antiquity of the Samaritan Pentateuch are not convincing, which are urged by *Gesenius*, *l.c.* p. 6 sqq., and by *De Wette*, Einl. § 86, taken as these are from the later origin of the Hebrew Pentateuch, and from the condition of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, in respect of divine worship.

Two circumstances, on the contrary, are decisive for the later origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch. First, there is the original idolatry of the Samaritans, until they obtained an Israelitish priest by means of Esarhaddon (2 Kings xvii. 24 ff.). Secondly, this Pentateuch agrees in many readings with the Alexandrian version (4), and, generally speaking, exhibits the later Hellenistic degeneracy of the text. In consequence, it cannot have come into existence earlier than in connection with the desertion of Manasseh and other Jewish priests to the Samaritans, and the founding of the Samaritan sanctuary upon Mount Gerizim (5).

(4) From *Castell*, Animadverss. in Pentat. Hebr. et Samarit., in the London Polyglott, tom. vi. p. 19, it follows that in more than a thousand places the Samaritan Pentateuch agrees with the Alexandrian version. Comp. *Hottinger*, thesaur. philol. p. 296 sqq.; *Gesenius*, *l.c.* p. 10 sq.; *Frankel*, über d. Einfluss der palästin. Exegese, p. 238 ff.

(5) This was already the opinion of *Ant. van Dale*, epist. ad *Steph. Morinum*, in his dissertatt. de orig. et prog. idolat. p. 681 sqq.; *Rich. Simon*, hist. crit. Vet. Test. lib. i. c. 10; *Prideaux*, Connexion,

i. p. 414; *Fulda*, in *Paulus*, Memorab. vii. p. 21; *Hasse*, Aussichten, p. 9 ff.; *De Wette*, Beitrr. i. p. 214; *Gesenius*, *l.c.* p. 9; *Hupfeld*, in the theol. Studien u. Krit. 1830, p. 280; *Hengstb. ibid.*—Others thought that the Israelite priest sent by Esarhaddon carried the Pentateuch to them: so *Steph. Morinus*, epist. ad *Ant. van Dale*, in his dissertatt. p. 691; *Clericus* [Le Clerc], Sentiments de quelques theolog. d'Hollande, ep. 6; *Maurice Pomet*, noveaux eclaircissem. sur l'origine et le Pentat. des Samarit., Paris 1760, chap. 8.—Others have entertained still different views: see *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 421 sqq.; *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, ii. p. 98 ff. [There are great difficulties in deciding this question, aggravated as the want of definite information on the subject is, by the desire of many writers (consciously or unconsciously) to make the decision of this point tell on certain other questions connected with the Pentateuch. For instance, all who hold that the Hebrew Pentateuch did not attain to its present form till towards the age of the captivity, at the earliest, must reject the opinion that the Samaritan copy is any older, and cannot fix, with any show of probability, on any other age than that of the apostate Manasseh. *Keil*, at Note 3, has already noticed the effect of their opinions upon *Gesenius* and *De Wette;* and *Fulda*, whom he names here, was the first of the succession of German modern scholars who have impugned the unity and authenticity of the Pentateuch: see above, § 36, Note 3. *Vaihinger*, in his article "Pentateuch" in *Herzog*, pp. 310-312, adopts the same view; and he supports it by thoroughly agreeing with *Hengstenberg*, that the Samaritans were not mixed Jews and heathens, but were of pure heathen blood. *Bleek*, p. 334, rejects this particular view of *Hengstenberg's;* and pp. 335-6, while inclining to the view adopted by *Keil* on the subject of the reception of the Pentateuch by the Samaritans, he yet does not positively refuse to believe that they may have obtained it from that priest in the reign of Esarhaddon, or from king Josiah at the time of his theocratic reformation. In regard to Manasseh the apostate priest, he inclines to think that Josephus has thrown together in time two events which occurred almost a century apart (though having an intimate internal relation),—the expulsion of Manasseh and other priests by Nehemiah in the reign of Darius Nothus, and the building of the temple on Mount Gerizim in the age of Darius Codomannus and his conqueror Alexander the Great. For recent information on the subject of the Samaritans, *Bleek*, p. 335, refers to *Robinson's* Palestine, vol. iii., and to *J. F. L. Bargès* (Professor of Hebrew and Chaldee at Paris), "Les Samaritains de Naplouse, épisode des pélerinages dans le lieux saints," Paris 1855.]

Its importance for the criticism of the Hebrew text has often been overvalued, in accordance with preconceived opinions (6). The first thorough investigation of the nature and condition of its text that has been furnished to us in modern times, has taught us that the most of its peculiar readings consist of grammatical conjectures, glosses and additions from parallel passages which have been received into the text, conjectures of a grammatical and of a historical kind with the view of removing difficulties or presenting explanations, Samaritanisms in the language, and changes in accordance with the peculiar dogmas and ordinances of the Samaritans (Deut. xxvii. 4); and that scarcely one genuine critical various reading can be found in it (7).

(6) By *Jo. Morinus*, Exercit. iv.; *L. Cappellus*, *l.c.* p. 480 sqq.; *Houbigant*, Prolegom. in Scripturam s., Parisiis 1746, 4to; *Kennicott*, *l.c.*; *Alex. a St. Aquilino*, Pentateuchi Hebr. Sam. præstantia, etc., Heidelberg 1783; *Lobstein*, Codex Samar. Paris., Francofurti a. M. 1781; *Alex. Geddes*, in *Vater's* Commentary; *De Rossi*, præf. ad variæ lectt. § 26; *Bertholdt*, Einl. p. 474; and others.—Others acknowledged, indeed, the uncritical nature and condition of the Samaritan text in general, and yet believed that there were to be found in it not a few genuine readings which were preferable to the Masoretic text: so *Rich. Simon*, *l.c.* lib. i. c. 11, 12; *Walton*, Prolegg. xi. 17, 18; *Clericus*, in his Commentary on the Pentateuch; *Michaelis*, orient. Biblioth. xxi. p. 177 ff., xxii. p. 185 ff.; *Eichhorn*, Einl. ii. § 389; *Jahn*, Einl. i. p. 418 f.

(7) See the proofs in *Gesenius*, *l.c.* p. 24 sqq., and *Frankel*, *ibid.* Even the few various readings which *Gesenius*, p. 61 sq., attempts to make out as manifesting their own genuineness do not stand the test. So that the old defenders of the integrity of the Masoretic text against the Samaritan have been in the right: as *Sim. de Muis*, Assertio veritatis Hebraicæ (against Morinus), Parisiis 1631; *Hottinger*, exercitatt. anti-Morinianæ, Tiguri 1644; *Steph. Morinus*, de lingua primæva, p. 200; *Jo. Buxtorf*, Anticrit. ii. c. 7; *Fuller*, Miscellan. sacr. iv. 4; *Leusden*, Philol. Ebr. mixt., dissert. 8; *Pfeiffer*, crit. sacr. c. 9; *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 610; *Seb. Rau*, Exercitt. philol. in *Houbigant.*, Prolegg., Lugduni Batavorum 1755, 4to. [This is also very much the view of *Bleek*, pp. 748–9, who refers to his opinions as expressed more fully in *Rosenmüller*, Repert. i. pp. 62–79. He thinks "that the Alexandrino-Samaritan recension assumed its peculiar form originally in Egypt, among the Jews there, later than the beginning of the Baby-

lonian exile; that the Samaritans received copies of the Pentateuch from the Egyptian Jews, at the time when they established the settled worship of Jehovah among themselves, after the Babylonian exile, before the composition of the Septuagint translation; and that subsequently this form of the text underwent still further various alterations at the hands both of the Egyptian Jews and of the Samaritans."]

II. Nor yet does the Alexandrian version of the Old Testament furnish us with any peculiar critical recension of the text (8). Its numerous and strongly marked deviations from the Masoretic text have arisen partly at a later time, out of the carelessness and caprice of transcribers. But in so far as they existed originally, almost in a mass they are explained by the uncritical and wanton passion for emendation, which led the translators to alter the original text (by omissions, additions, and transpositions), where they misunderstood it, in consequence of their own defective knowledge of the language; or where they supposed it to be unsuitable or incorrect, for historical, chronological, dogmatic, or other reasons; or which at least led them to render it inexactly, according to their own notions and their uncertain conjectures (9).

(8) This is asserted by *L. Cappellus*, *Jo. Morinus*, *Houbigant*, *Owen* [?], *Fischer*, *Movers*, *Thenius*, and others. [*Bleek*, p. 719, says that a more one-sided view of the superiority of the Septuagint was taken by *Isaac Vossius*, in his de LXX. interprett., Hagæ 1661, 4to, and in his Appendix to this work in 1663, than even by *Morinus* and *Cappellus*.] *Frankel*, Vorstudien der LXX. p. 205: "The LXX. appear frequently to have had readings deviating from the Masora: yet if one goes over them closely, he perceives that almost *everywhere an easier reading is substituted for the difficult reading in our text, by the change of a letter;* a tolerably obvious indication that they have written down what accorded with their conjectures." Already *Eichhorn* had pronounced a very discreet and entirely correct judgment, præfat. ad *Koecheri* nov. biblioth. Hebr.: "Posset quidem Græca LXX. interpretum versio fundamenti loco poni, cui de textus biblici ducentis ante Christum annis conditione disputatio superstruatur. At cum illa temporis injuria tam male habita sit, eaque jam seculo post Christ. natum tertio sugillata et suffusa tot livoribus et ulceribus a librariis et criticis audacibus esset, ut Origenes interpretem sæpe in interprete quæreret; nec ea post Origenis medelam meliora fata

experta fuerit: sane lacunam hanc lutosam præstat præterire, quam textus Hebraici multo limpidiorem, quem historia testatur, fontem rivulis lutosis turbidum reddere."

(9) Comp. § 175. The text of Isaiah, according to *Gesenius*, Comment. i. p. 63, has the Masoretic text as its basis; and the blame of all the deviations devolves on the translator. On the contrary, *J. D. Michaelis*, *Eichhorn*, *Jahn*, *Rosenmüller*, *Dahler*, and others, assumed that there were two editions or recensions of the book of Jeremiah [*Eichhorn* and *Dahler* attributing this to the prophet himself, says *Bleek*, p. 489]: and they either explained that the text of the Septuagint was the purer and more primitive (*Michaelis* [and also *Bleek*, from whom see extracts inserted in § 175, Note 14]), or else they held the Masoretic text to be the more exact, complete, and generally preferable (*Eichhorn*); whilst at the same time they laid the burden of many of the deviations upon the negligence of the translator, or of the Hebrew or Greek copyists (*Jahn*, append. hermeneut. ii. p. 119, *Dahler*, and others). Finally, *Movers*, de utriusque recens. vaticc. Jerem., *Hitzig*, Jerem. p. xv. f., and *De Wette*, § 218 [in his fifth and sixth editions, following *Movers* closely, only in a sceptical way, after having in earlier editions thrown all the blame on the translator, says *Bleek*, pp. 489, 490], have gone so far as to assert that the text has not come down to us in its original form, either in the one recension or the other; since both share in the corruptions of individual words and sentences, and are disfigured by glosses common to both, and have both been systematically wrought up over and over again by the author of Isa. xl.–lxvi. This hypothesis has been already refuted by the numerous traces of carelessness and caprice in the Greek translator, which were adduced in § 175, Note 14. *Movers*, indeed, thinks that the agreement of the Alexandrian version of Jer. lii., xl. 8, 9, xli. 1, 2, with the Masoretic text in certain passages, furnishes a historical testimony for an older and simpler form of the text, from which proceeded the Masoretic as well as the Alexandrian text, which he considers to be two recensions of it that have been enriched by many additions. But this is another mistake: because the agreement which he notices is completely neutralized by many more important deviations, such as cannot be explained on the supposition that they have proceeded from one common text. Thus several whole verses are awanting in the Septuagint, ch. lii. 2, 3, 15, = 2 Kings xxiv. 19, 20, xxv. 11. Besides, the Septuagint wants several shorter passages found in both the Hebrew texts:— Ver. 12, " which was the nineteenth year of king Nebuchadnezzar;" comp. 2 Kings, ver. 8, and the Hebrew Jer. ver. 12. Ver. 14, וַיַּכּוּ;

comp. Kings, ver. 10, and Hebrew Jer. ver. 14. Ver. 18, הַמְּמֻרוֹת and לָקְחוּ; comp. Kings, ver. 14, and Hebrew Jer. ver. 18. Ver. 27, "and put them to death," and "thus Judah was carried away captive out of his own land;" comp. Kings, ver. 21, and Hebrew Jer. ver. 27: and there are other instances.—On the other hand, there are whole clauses added in the Septuagint, which stand neither in the text of Kings nor in that of Jeremiah:—Ver. 22, *ὀκτὼ ῥοαὶ τῷ πήχει τοῖς δώδεκα πήχεσι*; comp. Kings, ver. 17, and Hebrew Jer. ver. 22. Ver. 31, *καὶ ἔκειρεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξήγαγεν αὐτόν*; comp. Kings, ver. 27, and Hebrew Jer. ver. 31, in which latter, however, וַיֹּצֵא אֹתוֹ stands. In other cases, various statements are altered: for instance, "in the *ninth* month" (ver. 4), instead of the *tenth* (Kings, ver. 1, and Hebrew Jer. ver. 4); "*thirty-five* cubits" (ver. 21, following 2 Chron. iii. 15), instead of *eighteen* (Kings, ver. 17, and Hebrew Jer. ver. 21); "on the *four* and twentieth day of the month" (ver. *31*), instead of the *five* and twentieth (Hebrew Jer. ver. *31*), or the *seven* and twentieth (Kings, ver. 27); *πάντες οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ* (ver. 8), instead of כָּל־חֵילוֹ (Kings, ver. 5, and Hebrew Jer. ver. 8): and there are other instances. Compare the refutation of this hypothesis, at full length, in *Küper*, Jerem. p. 167 sqq., and in *Häv.* Einl. ii. 2, p. 250 ff. —Then there are the many deviations in the Alexandrian version of Daniel from the Masoretic text. These are not only in single expressions and clauses (comp. i. 3, 11, 16, ii. 8, 11, 28–9, iii. 46–50, iv. 28 ff., v. 1–3, and others), but also both in considerable abbreviations and omissions (iii. 31–34, iv. 3–6, v. 17–25, 26–28), and in larger apocryphal additions (like iii. 24 ff., 51 ff.), and other amplifications of the text—for instance, iv. 34, vi. 20, 22–29 [22–28]. See the particulars in *von Lengerke's* Commentary, p. cx. ff. Now there exists no foundation for these deviations in any Hebrew or Chaldee text wrought up at some later time from the original text. On the contrary, in the deviations, whether smaller or greater, there is no mistaking the object, which is to make the narratives plainer, to introduce more connection into them, and to make the miracles more evident and more conceivable (comp. only the Hebrew text iii. 23–4, with the Septuagint iii. 49 f., 91; the Hebrew iii. 31–33, and the Septuagint iv. 1, 3, 4; also compare the two texts at ii. 5 and iii. 1; and see *Häv.* Comm. pp. xlix. l.): and so also the longer additions and interpolations betray their object, which is an effort to furnish a collection of legends in harmony with the taste of the age. This hypothesis was set up by *Michaelis*, orient. Biblioth. iv. 118 ff.; *Bertholdt*, Daniel, pp. 130 f., 138 ff.; and *Eichhorn*, Einl. iv. § 617; and they tried to prove it by supposed errors of translation: but it has

been refuted by *Häv.* Comm. p. xlvii. ff.; *von Lengerke*, Daniel, p. cix. ff.; *De Wette*, Einl. § 258.

§ 205. *The Hebrew Text in the Talmudic Period.*

The Mishna (as also the two Gemaras) presupposes a text so firmly established by tradition, that the Talmudists no longer venture to alter anything in it: they merely seek to settle it unchangeably for all times, by means of very precise regulations on the subject of biblical caligraphy (1). The transactions with which we meet in the Talmud on the subject of different ways of reading, do not relate to actual "various readings" in the text and to critical emendations, as has been commonly supposed (2), but are of a hermeneutical nature. Neither the distinction of מקרא and מסרת, or כתיב and קרי, along with the formulas, "do not read so, but so" (אל תקרא כן אלא כן), and "there is a reason for the traditional reading, or for the reading in the text" (יש אם למקרא, יש אם למסרת); nor yet the technical terms מקרא סופרים ("lectio scribarum") and עשור סופרים ("ablatio scribarum") (3), point to actual, that is, critical doubts and controversies as to the true way of reading a divergent text (comp. § 165, Note 5). For the text was not doubtful to the Talmudists: on the contrary, it already stood so firmly settled in tradition, that the true way of reading agrees throughout with the present way. Those ways of reading which were designated מסרת, are not various readings resulting from comparison of manuscripts: they are mere theologico-juridical various readings. That is to say, they are arbitrary modifications of the ecclesiastical way of reading certain words, when the mode of writing them in the documents admitted of this different pronunciation and apprehension, putting out of consideration the context, the grammar, and the tradition; such modifications being, in the talmudical mode of teaching, customary means of proving juridical principles which were controverted (4).

(1) Tract. Gittin, fol. 45. 2: "Sumere possunt libros ab extraneis, ubicunque fuerint, si modo scripti sint ad modum." Tract. Shabb. fol. 103. 2: "Ita autem scribendum vobis ut sit scriptura perfecta (כתיבה תמה) ne scribatur *Aleph* pro *Ain*, et vice versa; *Beth* pro *Caph*, et vice versa; *Gimel* pro *Tsaddi*, et v. v.; *Daleth* pro *Resh*, et v. v.; *He* pro *Cheth*, et v. v.; *Vav* pro *Jod*, et v. v.; *Zayin* pro *Nun*, et

v. v.; *Teth* pro *Pe*, et v. v.; incurvæ literæ pro directis, et v. v.; *Mem* pro *Samech*, et v. v.; clausæ litteræ (ם finale) pro apertis (מ), et v. v.; sectio aperta ne fiat sectio clausa, et v. v." For those caligraphic prescriptions, comp. § 171.

(2) By *Cappellus*, Arcan. punctationis revel. i. c. 5, 7, ii. c. 26; particularly *Jo. Morinus*, exercitatt. bibl. ii., exerc. 22, c. 4, 5, and all the recent writers: comp. *Gesenius*, Geschichte der hebr. Sprache, § 51; *Eichhorn*, Einl. i. § 115 ff.; *De Wette*, Einl. § 89; and others. Against this view, see *Hupfeld*, in the theol. Studien u. Krit. 1830, p. 534 ff.

(3) Tract. Nedarim, fol. 37. 2: "Dixit R. Isaac, '*Lectio scribarum, ablatio scribarum, lecta et non scripta, et non lecta*, traditio sunt Mosis de monte Sinai (הלכה משה מסיני).'" Already *Morinus*, exerc. 12, finds in this "fragmenta et vestigia recensionum;" *Waehner*, Antiqq. Hebr. i. p. 106 sqq., finds "diversæ lectiones;" *Eichhorn*, Einl. § 116, finds critical revisions; *Jahn*, Einl. i. pp. 384–5, finds corrections; *Bertholdt*, i. p. 270, finds a great critical labour which aimed at a sevenfold result. *Herbst*, Einl. i. p. 115, is more correct, when he sees in it, not the results of critical labour, but intimations of a secret sense; and *Hupfeld*, *ibid.*, who sees in it a play upon individual words in the text, bending them to certain hermeneutical objects.—In the principal passage which bears upon this subject (Nedarim, *l.c.*, in *Buxtorf's* Tiberias, p. 40 sq.), mention is made of seven *Qerî velô Kethîb*—2 Sam. viii. 3, xvi. 23, Jer. xxxi. 38, l. 29, Ruth ii. 11, iii. 5, 17; and of only five *Kethîb velô Qerî*—2 Kings v. 18, Deut. vi. 1, Jer. li. 3, Ezek. xlviii. 16, Ruth iii. 12. Something is said of those various ways of reading which the Masoretes named *Qerî* and *Kethîb*, in Tract. Sota v. 5, on Job xiii. 15, and in Joma, fol. 21. 2: "Quid est, quod scriptum exstat (Hagg. i. 8) ואכבר, et nos legimus ואפבדה?"—For the formula אל קרא כן אלא כן, see the examples in *Morinus*, *l.c.*, exerc. 12. 3, 22. 4, 5; *Buxtorf*, de punctor. vocal. orig. p. 101 sq.; *Waehner*, *l.c.* i. p. 119 sq., and p. 367 sq. As for the formulas יש אם למקרא and למסרת, "There is reason, or reason for deciding (אם mater = fundamentum, principium, cardo rei) for the ecclesiastical or for the traditional way of reading," see the principal passage, Sanhedrin, fol. 3. 2 sqq.; and *Jo. Morinus*, exercit. 12. 5, 15. 5; *Waehner*, i. p. 376 sqq.; and *Hupfeld*, p. 556 ff.—The formula עטור סופרים, "ablatio (extrusio) scribarum" [occurs already once in the Talmud, Nedarim, fol. 37. 2, says *Bleek*, p. 803], the opposite of מקרא סופרים, "textus scribarum," relates to the omission of the ו in Gen. xviii. 5, xxiv. 55, Num. xxxi. 2, Ps. lxviii. 26, xxxvi. 7; comp. *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, p. 40 sq. [*Bleek*, p. 803: "Five of these are named, three in the Penta-

teuch and two in the Psalms, and all of them relate merely to the omission of a *Vav* cópulative; in four of the passages, before אַחַר. In our editions also the *Vav* is awanting in these passages, except Num. xii. 14, precisely the one case mentioned in the Talmud in which an 'ablatio scribarum' ought to have taken place."] *Wuehner* already has rightly explained it, *l.c.* p. 109: "Noli verborum sono seduci, ut castratum per eos textum esse suspiceres. Nihil illi est demptum. Sed monuerunt tantummodo quinque in locis, ubi præfixum ו, licet in sacro codice expressum non esset, vulgo tamen legeretur, *id legi non debere.* Ex vitiosa igitur lectione, non ex sacro codice, criticorum aliquid abstulit extrusio." An incorrect interpretation is given by *Morinus*, followed by *Vogel* ad *Cappellum*, crit. sacr. i. p. 443 sqq.; *Eichhorn*, Einl. i. § 117; *De Wette*, and others.—To the same category belongs the תִּקּוּן סוֹפְרִים, "ordinatio seu correctio scribarum;" which is mentioned, not indeed in the Talmud, but in the Masora on Num. i. 1, Ps. cvi. 20, and which extends to eighteen texts: see *Buxtorf*, Lexicon Talmud. p. 2630 sq. *Jo. Morinus*, in *Vogel* ad *Cappellum*, crit. sacr. i. p. 444 sqq., *Eichhorn*, *De Wette*, and others, have found in this expression an intimation of textual emendations in accordance with collations of manuscripts. But it really relates only to remarks of the Rabbins on passages where the reading appeared paradoxical, and yet was entitled to be designated correct, as *Buxtorf* already perceived, Anticritica, p. 751: "Ili ergo dicunt in his octodecim locis scribas inconvenientiam quendam observasse, quasi authores sacri juxta seriem orationis et cohærentiam textus aliter loqui debuissent et aliud dicere voluissent, sed certis de causis maluisse id ita scribere et effere, ut in contextu hodie habemus." Comp. *Stange*, theol. Symmikta, ii. p. 193 ff. [*Bleek*, pp. 803–4, says: "These remarks, as I believe, have been in general too little thought of, and as a whole have not been judged correctly. It is usually assumed that what are named Tiqqûn Sopherîm are only alterations of the false readings of many manuscripts, in conformity with other manuscripts which were more correct; and it is at once taken for granted that the readings preferred by the scribes, which are just those of our present manuscripts and editions, have been the genuine original readings. . . . Much rather we are moved, partly by the statements of the Masoretes, partly by the nature of several of the readings set aside by the Tiqqûn Sopherîm, compared with the readings introduced by them and at present found in the text, to look upon the matter thus: that in these passages other readings were actually accepted universally at an earlier time, or at all events were to be found in most of the common manuscripts, which the scribes con-

sidered themselves justified in altering, because they presented what created scruples or gave offence in certain respects. Hence this earlier reading, which is noted as having been altered, is always to be held in high estimation, critically considered; and we may actually assume, with great probability, in several cases at least, that it is the original reading." Of this class he gives two instances. In Gen. xviii. 22 we read at present, "And Abraham stood yet before Jehovah;" he prefers, "And Jehovah stood yet before Abraham." And in Hab. i. 12, "Art Thou not from everlasting, O Jehovah, my God, my Holy One? We shall not die;" he prefers, with *Ewald*, the reading, "*Thou* shalt not die." He continues: "But we may assume with probability that these 'correctiones scribarum' took place at a pretty early period, already in an age earlier than the time of the Talmud, in which it is very much accidental that they are not mentioned expressly. But the circumstance that information of *this* was preserved on to a later time, serves for a proof how carefully the form of the text was regarded."]

(4) See this proved in *Hupfeld*, *ibid.* pp. 554–565. Even the passage in the Hierosol. Tr. Taanith, fol. 68. 1 (comp. Tr. Sopherim, vi. 4), "Tres libros invenerunt in atrio, librum מעוני, librum זעטוטי, et librum היא: in uno invenerunt scriptum (Deut. xxxiii. 27) מעון, in duobus מעונה; et approbantes duos, rejecerunt unum. In uno invenerunt (Ex. xxiv. 5) scriptum זעטוטי, in duobus נערי; et approbantes duos, rejecerunt unum. In uno invenerunt scriptum (Gen. xxxii. 23) תשע היא (ed. Fr. אחד עשר הוא), in duobus אחד עשרה היא (ed. Fr. אחד עשר היא); et approbantes duo, rejecerunt unum" (comp. *Kennicott*, dissert. general. § 34),—affords no proof that a critical revision of the text proceeded from the Talmudists (*Eichhorn*, Einl. i. § 115). It only asserts that, in case various readings were observed in the manuscripts of the law, the plurality of codices decided for the rejection of the faulty manuscript.

Witness is also borne to the settled state of the traditional text, and to its agreement with the present Masoretic text, by the mention which even the Talmud makes of the unusual letters in individual words, and of the "puncta extraordinaria" over single letters and whole words. The origin of these was already so remote from the Talmudists, that only with regard to the former was the remembrance preserved of their proper and original signification (5); but with regard to the latter, their original signification, which no doubt was critical, had by that time passed into oblivion: and both these classes

of marks were reproduced with the greatest conscientiousness as points of support and indicators for juridico-theological and allegorical interpretations (6).

Moreover, the Hebrew columns in Origen's Hexapla (7), and the Hebrew manuscripts used by Jerome for his translation, agree with our Textus Receptus (8); while the confidence and precision with which the latter repeatedly appeals to the original text, against the deviations of the Septuagint and other versions, furnish the proof that neither doubt nor controversy existed as to the Hebrew text and the reading of it, notwithstanding the entire absence of vowel points and diacritic signs (9).

(5) See *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, i. c. 14–16, on the subject of the "litteræ majusculæ, minusculæ, inversæ, et suspensæ." [*Bleek*, p. 798, observes that there are some thirty of the first-named class, and perhaps as many of the second; a couple of times the *Nun* inverted; and twice *Ayin* and once the *Nun* suspended.] For the different opinions in regard to them, see in *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 525, and *Waehner*, *l.c.* p. 104 sq. According to Tract. Kiddush. fol. 30. 1, the large *Gimel* in גחן, Lev. xi. 42, designated the middle letter of the Pentateuch; and the *Ayin* suspended in מיעד, Ps. lxxx. 14, the middle letter in the Psalter. But in other passages of the Talmud these letters are already regarded as signs marking allegorical interpretations [of which one or two examples are given by *Bleek*, pp. 798–9]; for instance, Baba bathr. fol. 109. 2, in *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, p. 171.

(6) There are "puncta extraordinaria," for instance, over לולא in Ps. xxvii. 13, and over אשר in Num. xxi. 30. The tract Sopherim numbers six instances; the Masora, eleven [*Bleek*, p. 799, says fifteen are at present found in manuscripts and editions, as also in the Masora; ten of these are in the Pentateuch, four in the Prophets, and the other in Psalm xxvii. 13]: comp. *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, p. 173 sqq. They appear to have originally intimated the spuriousness of the words or letters in question. Comp. *Hüpeden*, neue wahrschein. Muthmassung v. d. wahren Ursprung u. Bedeutung der ausserord. Puncte, Hannover 1715 [*Bleek*, p. 799, gives the date 1751. He observes that *Hüpeden*, *Vogel* ad *Cappelli*, crit. sacr., and others, take them to indicate that these letters or words were actually omitted in many manuscripts: his own opinion is rather that, in the judgment of those who placed them there, these letters or words ought to be omitted,—an opinion which may to us appear ill-founded, as in

Ps. xxvii. 13, depending on the roughness of the ellipse]; *Häv.* i. 1, p. 332. They are explained differently in the Talmud, Tract. Nazir, fol. 23. 1: "Quare est punctatum supra litteram ו in בקומה de primogenita? Ad indicandum, quod cum decumberet non cognoverit, et dum surgeret noverit." *Jerome*, Quæst. in Gen. xviii. [xix.] 35: "Appungunt desuper, quasi incredibile et quod rerum natura non capiat, coire quempiam nescientem."

(7) Comp. *Eichhorn*, Einl. i. § 113, n.; *Bruns*, curæ hexapl. in iv. libr. Reg., in *Eichhorn*, Repert. ix. and x.

(8) Almost in every place in which *Jerome* says expressly what he read in his Hebrew text, this text and the Masoretic agree: on the contrary, those few passages in which he seems to deviate do not at all deserve to come into consideration. See *Eichhorn*, Einl. i. § 127, *b*.

(9) Comp. *Hupfeld, ibid.* pp. 571–588.

§ 206. *The Text and its Treatment during the Masoretic Period.*

After the completion of the Talmud (1), a new period began for the external shaping of the Old Testament text: and yet it changed nothing essential with reference to its internal nature or character, but merely contributed additional stability to that which it had already acquired. The Talmudists had adhered firmly to the unpointed text because of its ambiguity (§ 166), and had propagated only by word of mouth the customary reading and interpretation, together with all the relative observations and regulations of the more ancient and more recent scribes. But from the sixth century onward, the necessity (2) made itself felt for setting down in a written form the ever-increasing mass of traditional decisions; and for fixing, by the introduction of written vowel signs and accents (§ 169), that reading of the biblical text which was firmly established in the schools and synagogues.

(1) The body of Jewish chronologers give 310 or 311 years as the duration of the talmudical period, that is, A.D. 188–498. [Some fix the dates a year or two later.] Comp. *J. Fürst*, Kult.- u. Litteraturgeschichte der Juden, i. p. 270 ff.

(2) Awakened and promoted by the flourishing of the revived schools in Palestine, especially at Tiberias, and by the connection with the literary efforts of the Syrians and Arabs into which these schools soon entered (yet see also § 166, Note 2). Comp. *Häv.* i. 1, pp. 334–5, and *Hupfeld*, p. 589.

Thus there arose the contrast between the *oral tradition* and the *written record of traditional matter*, which latter was now designated by the name *Masora* (מָסוֹרָה) (3). The Masoretes (בעלי מסרה) executed no new revision of the text: their immediate work was merely to write down the material given them by tradition, and to make sure of the traditional understanding of the biblical text by that vocalization (§ 166) and accentuation (§ 169) which they brought to perfection. Thereafter, however, they augmented that traditional store by critical remarks of their own, of an orthographical and grammatical kind, drawn from empirical observation of the text; because their occupation with the biblical text, in contrast with that of the Talmudists, was ever assuming more of a linguistic and exegetical character, and issuing in a restoration of grammatico-linguistic conformity in the sacred text (4).

By this means, the traditional readings of the text in its authentic documents, where these readings deviated from the letter, took the form of grammatical and critical glosses; and these having been conscientiously brought together, and augmented by the addition of some original ingredients, were associated with the text in such a manner that it remained inviolate and unchanged, while yet it might be read and understood in the sense and spirit in which the Masoretes conceived of it.

(3) Also מָסוֹרֶת and מָסֹרֶת, from מסר, "tradidit." As to this and a false etymology from אסר, "ligare" = "clausura," comp. *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, p. 1 sqq.; *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 284 sq.; and *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 461 sq. [*Bleek*, pp. 804–5, reckons the forms of the word given here in the note to be the more ancient, as they are found already in the Mishna and the Talmud. He says, of the two etymologies, that the one from אסר, though not probably the original, has support from Ezek. xx. 37, and may have been introduced and applied in an extended sense, as a band or guard set around the Scriptures, in allusion to the statement of the Mishna, Pirke Aboth, c. 3, § 13, מסרת סיג לתורה, "The Masoreth is a fence for the law."]

(4) Comp. *Gesenius*, Geschichte d. hebr. Sprache, p. 75, and *Häv.* pp. 335–6.

§ 207. *The Masora.*

According to what has now been said, the Masora comprehends two kinds of materials, fused into one great critical and exegetical apparatus: on the one hand, there is the entire body of traditional observations on the nature and condition and the reading of the received text, derived from the more ancient scribes, and from the learned Talmudists; and, on the other hand, there is the great mass of critical, grammatical, and exegetical remarks and conjectures upon the biblical texts, which were attached by the Masoretes themselves. And its contents are not merely very abundant and multifarious (1), but also they have been derived from very various sources, and from various periods (2). And yet they all combine and unite in one object—that of preserving the integrity of the text in the authentic documents, and the correct reading and conception of it in all time to come (3).

(1) Enumeration of the verses, words, and letters of each book; information as to the middle word and middle letter of each book; enumeration of verses which contain the whole consonants of the alphabet, or only so many of them, and also of words which occur so many times in the Bible with this or that meaning, and of words written "plene" or "defective;" remarks upon vowels, accents, *Daghesh*, *Mappiq*, and their position and use, and the like; collection and specification of words and letters with "puncta extraordinaria," of the Ittûr Sopherîm and the Tiqqûn Sopherîm (§ 205), and, connected with these last, of the Sebirîn (סבירין; comp. *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, p. 145), of the Qerî and Kethîb; remarks upon exegetical and grammatical difficult and unusual expressions, etc. Comp. *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, c. 12 sqq. (the principal work upon this subject); *Brian Walton*, Prolegg. viii. 2–10; *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 295 sqq.; and *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 471 sqq.

(2) Consequently there has been much discussion among critics about the sources and origin of the Masora. The *sources* of the Qerî and Kethîb have been assumed to be exclusively tradition and collation of manuscripts, by *D. Kimchi*, *Ephodæus*, and other Rabbins; also by *Jo. Morinus*, *R. Simon*, *Buxtorf* (Anticrit. P. ii. c. 4), *Carpzov* (crit. sacr. p. 340), *Kennicott* (dissert. general. p. 40). On the contrary, they were assumed to be exclusively the critical conjectures of the more ancient Rabbins, by *Loescher* (de causis ling. Ebr. p. 441

sq.), *Pfaff* (Primit. Tubing. p. 74), *J. A. Danz* (literator Hebr. p. 57) [which view *Bleek* seems to approve, p. 802; as he also observes that their conjectural origin explains the variability of the number of the Qerîs]; while *Walton* (Prolegg. viii. 25) and *Cappellus* (crit. sacr. i. p. 394 sqq.) have decided more correctly to include both sources. The *origin* and commencement of the Masora is carried back so far as to Moses by the Talmudists and other Rabbins (הלכה למשה מסיני, "traditio Mosis de monte Sinai"). *Elias Levita*, in the preface to his Mas. Hammasoreth, p. 3: "The Masora was handed down from one learned man to another by word of mouth till the time of Ezra and his assistants, and from them again to the learned men at Tiberias, who wrote it down, and applied to it the name of *Masora*." Præf. iii. in *Hottinger*, thesaur. philol. p. 400: "*Author* fuit Moses ad legis nitorem perficiendum, *propagator* Ezra ad amissum restituendum, *conservatores* Tiberienses, quorum opera, quæ ante traditioni orali committebantur, jam litteris sunt tradita." On the contrary, *Buxtorf* (Tiberias, c. 11), *A. Pfeiffer* (dissert. de Masora, in his crit. sacr. p. 191), *Loescher* (*l.c.* p. 91 sqq.), *Wolf* (*l.c.* p. 465), *Carpzov* (*l.c.* p. 286), place its beginning in the time of Ezra; *Walton* (*l.c.* viii. 12) in the age of the Maccabees, at the time when the sect of the Pharisees originated; others, like *Cappellus* and *R. Simon*, place it still later. See *Wolf*, *l.c.* p. 462 sqq.

(3) *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, p. 6: "Masora est doctrina critica, a priscis Hebræorum Sapientibus, circa textum sacræ Scripturæ ingeniose inventa; qua versus, voces, et litteræ ejus numeratæ, omnisque ipsarum varietas notata, et suis locis cum singulorum versuum recitatione indicata est, ut sic constans et genuina ejus lectio conservetur, et ab omni mutatione aut corruptione æternum præservetur et valide præmuniatur." Hence it is named by *Elias Levita*, סְיָג לַתּוֹרָה, "sepes Legis" (*ibid.*).

According as these remarks are more or less complete, they are distinguished as the Great and the Little Masora (4). At first they were written down in books for the purpose, but afterwards they were also placed on the margin of manuscripts of the Bible. Owing to this practice, in consequence of arbitrary abbreviations and omissions (often arising wholly from want of space), and partly on account of the continual accession of supplemental observations, there came to be great confusions in the collections, which scarcely admit any more of being entirely cleared up (5).

The Great Masora is printed in the rabbinical Bibles (comp. §

209, Notes 2 and 4); the Little Masora is printed, more or less perfectly, in all editions of the Hebrew Bible.

(4) *Elias Levita*, in *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, p. 194: "Scito quod Masora magna quæ exstat, propemodum infinita est; et ut ego existimo, quod si omnia verba Masoræ magnæ, quæ ego vidi, diebus meis conscriberentur et ligarentur pariter in unum librum, excederet quantitas ejus quantitatem universorum bibliorum." *Buxtorf, ibid.* p. 199: "*Masora magna* est, quæ totam criticen comprehendit, cum plena locorum Scripturæ enumeratione, quam quæque nota critica suo numero designat." It is called *Masora finalis* or *Masora textualis*, according as it is placed at the end of the individual books, or on the upper and lower margins side by side with the text.—P. 202: "*Masora parva* est, quæ literis numeralibus, vocibus decurtatis et symbolicis, ad latus textus breviter et succincte describitur."

(5) See *Buxtorf*, Tiberias, p. 193 sqq.; *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 289 sqq.; *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 466 sqq.; *J. H. Michaelis*, de Codd. manuscr. Bibl. Hebr., Erfurt. 1706, § 17, and his Præf. ad Biblia Hebr., Halæ, p. 6 sqq. [*Bleek*, however, p. 805, prefers the less common view of the chronological order of the two practices mentioned in the text, thinking that the Masora was at first written on the margin of Bibles, and only at a later time in books specially reserved for these notes. He notices that such books are rare, mentioning only two: the Codex Palatinus, in the old Heidelberg Library, which was afterwards incorporated with the Vatican Library; and one which *Bruns* had in his private library.]

§ 208. *Subsequent Fortunes of the Unprinted Text.*

The labours of the Masoretes reached their relative consummation when the biblical text had been perfectly vocalized and accented, and when, together with this, the distinction of the Qerî and Kethîb had been firmly established. From that time forward there was nothing more to do than to take care to have copies faithfully transcribed, and to compare manuscripts and make collections of various readings so as to guard against degeneration in the settled text.

R. Jacob ben Chajim had a catalogue of from 216 to 220 various readings of the Eastern and Western Jews, that is, those of Babylon and those of Palestine, printed at the end of *Bomberg's* second rabbinical Bible [see § 209, III.] (1). Two of these readings relate to the *He* with *Mappiq*; all the rest relate to the consonants, and indeed

for the most part to small matters, frequently to the Qerî and Kethîb. They are not, however, always confirmed by our Western manuscripts (2).—The author and the age of this catalogue are unknown. Usually the collation of the manuscripts, which has led to this collection of various readings, is placed in an age anterior to the introduction of the punctuation (3).

(1) They are found also in the London Polyglott, vi. p. 14 sq., but not in the edition of *Felix Pratensis* [that is, the first *Bomberg* Bible], as *Walton* states, Polegg. viii. 27. Comp. *Kennicott*, dissert. general. § 41.

(2) Comp. *Cappellus*, crit. sacr. i. p. 423 sqq.—No various readings occur in the Pentateuch; not because the author of the catalogue was not willing to acknowledge any various readings here (*Cappellus*, p. 426), but because no differences occurred there: comp. *Buxtorf*, Anticritica, p. 511.

(3) *Morinus* places it in the eighth century. "Qui illarum sint authores, non ita certe constat." *Buxtorf*, *ibid.* p. 510.

In the eleventh century the Palestinian *R. Aharon ben Asher* and the Babylonian *R. Jac. ben Naphtali* (4) accomplished a collation of the Western with the Eastern manuscripts. The various readings discovered by them in this process (5) are concerned exclusively with the vowels and accents (6); from which fact it follows that by that time the punctuation of the text was already conclusively settled.

(4) According to *R. Gedalia*, they lived about A.D. 1034, and they were perhaps rectors of schools. *Buxtorf*, tract. de punct. antiq. i. c. 15, p. 262 sqq. Comp. *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 358 sqq.

(5) The list itself is found in the rabbinical Bibles of *Bomberg* and *Buxtorf*, and in the London Polyglott, vi. p. 8 sqq.

(6) With the exception of Cant. viii. 6, שַׁלְהֶבְתִּיָּה written with *Mappiq* and as two words by *R. Ben Naphtali*. See details in *Cappellus*, crit. sacr. i. p. 439 sq.

It is from this age that our manuscripts have proceeded. As a whole, they present the Masoretic text with nothing more than unimportant alterations (7). For the Masora, in its successive stages of perfection, furnished the standard for correct manuscripts: and more important deviations from the Masoretic form of the text were prevented by this circumstance, that the mediæval Rabbins adhered to

certain ancient codices celebrated for their correctness; and copies were made, or at any rate were revised, in accordance with these (8).

(7) Comp. above, § 170. As to some isolated cases of non-Masoretic readings in the codices, comp. *De Rossi*, dissert. prælim., prefixed to the fourth volume of his Variæ lectiones, p. xix.; and as to the differences in the text from A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1450, comp. the proofs in *Kennicott*, dissert. general. § 50–56.

(8) Comp. § 170, Note 3; *Kennicott*, dissert. general. § 54–56.—The lamentation of *R. Meir Hallevi* (הר"מ) about A.D. 1250, over the corruptions of the manuscripts, relates to the "scriptio plena et defectiva," as is clear from the preface to his ספר מסורת סייג לתורה, "liber Masora sepes Legis" (printed at Florence 1750, and at Berlin 1761), in *Kennicott*, dissert. general. § 57, p. 113 sqq.; as it is clear also from the collection in this work of the various readings contained in the Pentateuch.—*Eichhorn's* assertion (Einl. i. § 134–5), that the manuscripts were transformed to the model of the Targums, and that the study of grammar was pursued zealously, in this period, is just as destitute of foundation (comp. *Jahn*, Einl. p. 400) as the reverse supposition in *Kennicott* (dissert. ii. super ratione text. Hebr. p. 172 sqq.), that the Targums were altered to the model of the Hebrew text.

SECOND PERIOD.

HISTORY OF THE PRINTED TEXT.

§ 209. *The Principal Editions of the Old Testament.*

The first printed editions kept very closely to the form of the manuscripts. They have no title at the beginning, and at the end they have postscripts: they are printed on parchment, with broad margins, and with large types still rather ill-shaped; with initial letters ingeniously ornamented, which have been added either as wood-cuts or printed by the pen, and which are also many a time wholly wanting: and the vowels are placed in a very defective manner.

First there appeared single portions in print: the Psalter in 1477 [4to, without points, but with *Kimchi's* commentary, says *Bleek*, p. 809]; the Pentateuch in 1482 [Bologna, fol., having the points, and with the Targum of Onkelos and the commentary of *Raschi*, says

Bleek, ibid.]; the earlier and later Prophets, 1486 [Soncino, fol., without points, but with *Kimchi's* commentary, says *Bleek, ibid.*]; the Megilloth, 1482 and 1486; and the Hagiographa, 1487 [Naples, large 4to, 3 vols., with the vowels, but without accents, and with various rabbinical commentaries, says *Bleek, ibid.*]: almost all with the rabbinical commentaries of *Kimchi* or *Raschi* (1).

(1) Upon the subject of these most ancient printed copies, comp. *J. B. de Rossi*, de Hebr. typographiæ orig. ac primitiis, s. antiquis et rariss. Hebr. Bibl. editt. sec. xv., Parmæ 1777, 4to, reprinted with a preface by *Hufnagel*, Erlangen 1778. Also, *De Rossi*, de typographia Hebr. Ferrariensi comment. hist., Parm. 1780; auct. c. præf. *Hufnagel*, Erl. 1781. Also, *De Rossi*, Annales typographicæ Ebr. Sabionetens. appendice aucti, ex Italicis Latin. fecit *J. Fr. Roos*, Erl. 1783. Also, *De Rossi*, de ignotis nonnullis antiquiss. Hebr. textus editt., etc., Erl. 1782, 4to. Also, *De Rossi*, Annales Hebr. typogr. sec. xv., Parm. 1795, 4to. Also, *De Rossi*, Annales Hebr. typogr. ab anno MDI. ad MDXL., Parm. 1799, 4to. *O. G. Tychsen*, krit. Beschreibung des Bononischen Pentateuchs vom Jahr 1482, in *Eichhorn*, Repert. vi. p. 65 ff. *Kennicott*, dissert. general., ed. *Bruns*, p. 436 sqq.

As to the editions of the Hebrew Bible generally, comp. *Le Long*, biblioth. s., ed. *Masch*, P. i.; *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. ii. p. 364 sqq., and p. 338 sqq.; *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, i. p. 189 ff., iii. p. 279 ff.; also *Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 387 sqq.; and the Introductions of *Eichhorn* (ii. § 390 ff.), *Herbst* (i. p. 128 ff.), and others.

I. The first fundamental edition of the entire Hebrew Bible, made from manuscripts, appeared at *Soncino* 1488, small folio [*Bleek*, p. 809, says it had the points: its text appears to have followed the text of the several portions of the Old Testament, the printing of which has been already mentioned; and it is very rare, only nine copies of it being known to exist in Europe]. The edition of *Gersom* [the printer, says *Bleek, ibid.*], Brescia 1494, 4to, follows it closely [*Bleek, ibid.*, is silent as to this point, but says: "It also is very rare. The unusually written letters are wanting in it, as also the statements in reference to the Qerî and Kethîb; for the most part, the Qerî has been adopted in the text: moreover, it is full of errors in printing"] (2).

(2) With reference to the affinity between these two editions, see

Bruns in *Ammon's, Hänl., and Paulus'* theol. Journal, vi. p. 757 ff. The latter was the edition used by Luther: see *S. J. G. Palm*, de codd. Vet. et Nov. Test., quibus h. Luther in conficienda interpr. German. usus est, Hamburg 1753; *Benj. Wilh. Dan. Schulz*, vollständ. Kritik über d. gewöhnl. Ausgaben der hebr. Bibel, nebst e. Zuverläss. Nachricht von der hebr. Bibel, welche der selige Dr. Luther bei s. Uebersetzung gebraucht, Berlin 1766.

The edition of Gersom is closely followed, with changes derived from critical aids, by *Bomberg's* [first] *rabbinical* Bible, of date 1517–18, edited by *Felix Pratensis* [a converted Jew, says *Bleek*, p. 810, adding that it contained the great Masora, printed for the first time, with the Targums and the rabbinical commentaries]; by the *Bomberg* editions of 1518 and 1545; by that of Sebastian Münster, Basel 1536 [*Bleek*, pp. 810–11, says it is also called, from the printer, the edition of *Frobenius*, 2 vols. 4to; that it is very rare; and also that it is valuable on account of a collection of various readings, partly from manuscripts: at p. 124 he also mentions an edition by *Münster*, Basel 1534–5, 2 vols. fol., and a new edition of it in 1546, these being accompanied by an annotated Latin translation of his own]; and that of *Robert Stephanus* [Etienne, Paris], 1539–44. [*Bleek*, p. 811, says *De Wette* and *Keil* have fallen into a mistake in supposing that this edition follows the *Brescian* edition of *Gersom:* according to *Opitz*, he says, it follows the *second Bomberg* edition, though not very correctly.]

II. The *Biblia Polyglot. Complutensia*, 1514–17 [with vowels, but without accents, says *Bleek*, p. 810], was taken direct from manuscripts; consequently it furnishes a peculiar recension of the text (3).

(3) *Alvarez Gomez*, de gestis *Franc. Ximenii* (Compluti 1569, fol.), lib. ii. p. 47: "Septem Hebræa exemplaria, quæ nunc Compluti habentur, quatuor millibus aureorum ex diversis regionibus sibi comparasse." From it was taken the Biblia Polygl. *Bertrami*, ex. offic. Sanctandr., 1586 (also, ex. offic. Commelin., 1599, 1616), 3 vols. fol.

III. A new recension of the text, according to the Masora, is contained in *Bomberg's second* rabbinical Bible, edited by *R. Jacob ben Chajim*, Venice 1525–26, 2 vols. fol. (4). [*Bleek*, p. 810, makes both this edition and the third consist of 4 vols.]

(4) *Bruns* ad *Kennicott*, Dissert. general. p. 449: "Editor non tam codices bonos Biblicos, quam Masoras accurate conscriptas nan-

cisci studuit, textumque suum magis ad Masoram quam ad auctoritatem Codicum formavit." This text is repeated in the Bibl. Hebr. Rabbin., cur. *Cornel. Adelkind* (or the *third Bomberg* edition [which *Bleek, ibid.*, says is a more correct reprint, yet omitting some of the rabbinical commentaries and substituting others], Venet. 1547–50; in the Biblia Rabbin. per *J. de Gara*, Venet. 1568; in the Biblia Rabbin. *Bragadini*, Venet. 1617–18; in the edition of *Robert Stephanus*, Parisiis 1544–46, in 16mo [*Bleek*, p. 811, says in 10 vols. large 16mo, with a text more correct and more peculiar than that of his first edition, as to which see what he has said under No. 1: both editions, he says, are distinguished by the beauty of the type, and are rare]; and in many manual editions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, partly with alterations in individual passages.

IV. A mixed text, formed from these two, is given in the Biblia Polyglot. *Antverp.* 1569–72, 8 vols. fol. (5) [the first four containing the Old Testament, says *Bleek*, p. 811, who notices various editions from the office of *Christopher Plantin*, the printer of this Polyglott].

(5) *Le Long*, ed. *Masch*, i. p. 347, "Contextum Hebraicum ex Complutensi editione cum editione Veneta Bombergi collata." Its text is repeated in the Biblia Polyglott. *Paris.* 1629–45, 10 vols. fol.; in the Biblia Polyglott. *Londin.*, ed. *Brian Walton*, 1657, 6 vols. fol.; in the Biblia sacra quadrilinguia accur. Christ. Reineccio, Lipsiæ 1750 [*Bleek*, p. 813, says 1750–1, 2 vols. fol., including the Hebrew, the Septuagint, the Latin of Sebastian Schmidt, and Luther's German translation]; in the editions of *Plantin* [*Bleek*, p. 811, says in 1566 (in 4to, 8vo, and 16mo), in 1580, 4to, and in 1590; the first being especially valued on account of its correct printing, but at the same time being rare]; and in other Hebrew-Latin editions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and in the manual editions of *Reineccius*, Lipsiæ 1725, and often. [*Bleek*, p. 813, says these were much in use: the title and preface of that first edition mention that manuscripts were collated for it; and the fourth edition of it being that of *Döderlein* and *Meisner*, noticed in § 210, Note 6.]

V. Several older editions contributed to the formation of the text in the Biblia Hebr., cura et studio *Eliæ Hutteri* [Professor at Leipzig, afterwards living at Nürnberg, says *Bleek*, p. 813], Hamburg 1587, fol. [*Bleek* adds, and with new title-pages, 1588, 1596, 1603] (6); and in the (incomplete) Polyglott of *Hutter*, Nürnberg 1591, fol.

(6) According to the preface, Hutter made use for it of "exemplaria Venetiana, Parisiensia, Antverpiana, etc., tanquam omnium optima et correctissima." The Biblia Hebr. *Jo. Georg. Nisselii*, Lugduni Batavorum 1662, 8vo, is a copy of it.

VI. A text revised accurately after the Masora, and therefore deviating here and there from the earlier editions, is furnished by *Buxtorf* the elder, in the manual edition, Basel 1611, 8vo (7), and in the Rabbinical Bible 1618–19, 4 vols. [2 vols., says *Bleek*, p. 814] fol. (8).

(7) With a Hebrew title-page. It is followed by the Bibl. Hebr. typis *Menasse ben Israel*, sumptibus *Janssonii*, Amstelodami 1639, 8vo; whereas the editions of *R. Manasses ben Israel*, of 1630–1 and 1631–35 [on which *Bleek* remarks that the former wants the points, the latter has them], have a peculiar text, following ancient editions, and with a form given to it in accordance with grammatical rules and with the Masora. [*Bleek, ibid.*, says that this learned Jew acknowledges that he often altered the text on these principles; he adds, that this text has never been repeated.]

(8) Reprinted in the Biblia Hebr. Rabbinica, opera *Mosis Francfurtensis*, Amstelodami 1724, 4 vols. fol.

VII. The text of the older editions, amended in accordance with two manuscripts, is contained in the Biblia S. Hebræa correcta et collata cum antiquissimis et accuratiss. exemplaribus manuscr. et hactenus impressis, Amstelodami, typis *Joseph. Athias*, c. præf. *Jo. Leusden*, 1661 and 1667, 8vo. And it lies at the basis of all later editions (9).

(9) [*Bleek, ibid.*, says both editions, but especially the first, are valued for their correctness and their beauty: Athias was a learned Jewish printer at Amsterdam, and Leusden was a Professor at Utrecht.] The edition of *Clodius* [*Bleek, ibid.*, says, Professor of Oriental Languages at Giessen, died in 1687], 1677; recogn. a *Joh. Henr. Majo* [*May* in Giessen, says *Bleek, ibid.*], et rev. a *J. Leusdeno*, 1692 [*Bleek* says it is inferior in correctness to the first edition: he adds, that it was again published, 1716, 4to, under the care of *Georg Christian Bürklin*, a teacher at Giessen, who collated for it other editions and manuscripts; the type sharp and clear, but not quite correct in the matter of accents]. The edition of *Henr. Opitius* [*Opitz*, Professor at Kiel; Kiel, large 4to, says *Bleek*, p. 815], 1709.

The edition of *Everard van der Hooght* [a preacher in Holland, says *Bleek, ibid.*], Amsterdam [and Utrecht] 1705 ["8vo: a copy of the second edition of Athias, an edition which excels its predecessors in beauty, sharpness, and clearness of printing, and which is also pretty correct; annexed there is a copious list of various readings"—*Bleek*, p. 814 f.]. The edition of *Car. Fred. Houbigant*, Paris 1753, 4 vols. fol. [unpointed, from Van der Hooght's text, splendidly printed, says *Bleek*, p. 816; Houbigant was a priest of the Oratoire at Paris, died in 1783—*Bleek*, p. 720]. The edition of *Benjamin Kennicott*, with various readings, 1776–80, 2 vols. fol. The edition of *Jo. Simonis* [*Bleek*, p. 815, says he died in 1768, as Professor of Church History and Christian Antiquities at Halle], Halæ 1752, 8vo, and often; edit. 4, cur. *E. F. K. Rosenmüller*, 1828. And there are also other such editions.—The text of *Athias* and *Leusden* is also followed in the Bibl. Hebr. ex recens. *Dan. Ern. Jablonskii* [finally first court preacher at Berlin, died in 1741, says *Bleek*, p. 814], Berolini 1699, 8vo; ed. 2, 1772, 12mo [*Bleek, ibid.*, says 1699, large 8vo and large 4to; second ed. 1712, large 12mo, this edition being much inferior to the former in clearness and correctness]: but for this work there was also a collation of other principal editions, and of various codices. It was followed in the Bibl. Hebr. ex aliquot MSS. et complur. impress. Codd., item Masora tam edita tam MS., aliisque Hebræorum criticis, diligenter recensita. Accedunt loca Scriptur. parallela, brevesque annotatt., cura et studio *Jo. Henr. Michaelis* [*Bleek*, p. 815, says, Professor at Halle, died in 1738], Halæ 1720, 8vo and 4to.

Very recent manual editions are the following:—"Bibl. Hebr. sec. editiones Jos. Athiæ, J. Leusden, J. Simonis, aliorumque, imprimis Ever. v. d. Hooght, rec. . . . *Aug. Hahn*," Lipsiæ 1832 [1831, says *Bleek*, p. 816]; ed. stereotyp. quartum recogn. 1839. (Very different from this is the "Bibl. Hebr. ad opt. editt., imprimis Ev. v. d. Hooght, ex recens. *A. Hahnii* impressa. Præfat est *E. F. K. Rosenmueller*. Ed. stereot. Lipsiæ 1834;" with arbitrary emendations of the text, in accordance with the conjectures of the candidate *Landschreiber*.) "Bibl. Hebr. ad opt. editt., imprimis Ever. v. d. Hooght, accurate recens. et expr. cur. *Car. Godofr. Guil. Theile*" [Professor at Leipzig, died in 1854, says *Bleek, ibid.*]; ed. stereot. Lipsiæ 1849. [*Bleek*, p. 816 f., recommends for common use two handsome editions, on the basis of *van der Hooght's* text, prepared for the British and Foreign Bible Society: namely, *Judah d'Allemand's*, London 1825, 8vo, and that printed at Basel 1827, 8vo.—He also recommends *Stier* and *Theile's* "Polyglotten-Bibel zum praktischem Handgebrauch." Of this the fourth vol., the New Testament, first appeared at Bielefeld,

1846, third ed. 1853: then the Old Testament in three vols. (the second and third each in two divisions), 1847–55; the second ed., stereotyped, from 1854 onwards. It contains the Hebrew text; the Septuagint Greek; the Vulgate Latin; and Luther's German translation, with the deviations of De Wette and others. *Bleek's* editors complain, however, that De Wette's *third* edition is not used; and that there are many errors in the Hebrew punctuation, though but a few in the text.]

§ 210. *Critical Apparatus.*

The great Masora and various readings are contained in the rabbinical Bibles of *Dan. Bomberg* and *Joh. Buxtorf:* and various readings are found in the editions of *Seb. Münster* (1), *Eberh. van der Hooght, Jo. Heinr. Michaelis* (2); in the Biblia Hebr. punctata, cum commentar. crit. *Jedid. Salom. Norzi*, Mantuæ 1742–44, 4 vols. 4to (3); in the editions of *C. Fr. Houbigant* (4), *Benj. Kennicott* (5), *Döderlein* and *Meisner*, and *Joh. Jahn* (6).

(1) Basileæ ex officina Frobenii, 1536, 2 vols.; in the appendix to the second volume. Comp. *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, i. p. 199.

(2) Comp. *J. D. Michaelis*, Anmerkk. üb. d. hall. Bibel von J. H. Michaelis und der darin ausgelassenen merkw. Lesarten Erfurt. Handschriften, in the Orient. Biblioth. i. p. 207 ff.; also *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, i. pp. 234–5.

(3) [*Bleek*, p. 815, says *Norzi* was a Jewish rabbi at Mantua in the beginning of the seventeenth century; and this Mantuan Bible was printed under the care and at the expense of the Jewish physician *Raphael Chajim Italia.* He adds that *Norzi's* Commentary was reprinted in an edition of the Old Testament, Vienna 1813–16, in the office of G. Holzinger.] *Norzi's* Commentary bears the title שׁי מנחת. Comp. *Tychsen*, befreites Tentamen, p. 79 ff.; *Kennicott*, dissert. general. § 62, p. 131 sqq.; *De Rossi*, Prolegg. ad variæ lectt. § 37 sq.

(4) Extracted from his edition of the Bible [mentioned in § 209, Note 9], under the following title: "*C. Fr. Houbigantii* Notæ crit. in univ. Vet. Test. libros cum Hebr. tum Græce scriptos, cum integris ejusd. Prolegg., ad exemplar Paris. denuo excusæ." Tom. i. ii., Francofurti ad M. 1774 [*Bleek*, p. 816, says 1777], 4to. Comp. *J. D. Michaelis*, Vorr. z. krit. Collegium üb. die drei wichtigsten Psalmen v. Christo, Frankfurt u. Göttingen 1759; *Seb. Rau*, Exer-

citt. philol. ad Houbigant. Prolegg., Lugduni Batav. 1785; and other works mentioned in *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, ii. p. 38 f.

(5) Comp. *Jo. Jac. Bruns*, de variis lectt. Bibl. Kennicott., in *Eichhorn*, Repert. xii. p. 242 ff., xiii. p. 31 ff. See also his Apology for Kennicott, *ibid.* vi. p. 173 ff. And for the history of the work generally, see *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, i. p. 241 ff.

(6) Bibl. Hebr. Reineccii ed. *Jo. Chr. Doederlein* et *Jo. Henr. Meisner*, Lipsiæ 1793: it contains an abridgment of Kennicott's and De Rossi's collections. [*Bleek*, p. 813, says that "in 1819 the printing of this edition passed over into the hands of the Orphan-house at Halle, on which occasion it was provided with a new title-page and a preface by *Knapp*."]—Bibl. Hebr. Digessit et graviores lectionum varietates adj. *Jo. Jahn*, Vindobonæ 1806, 4 vols. 8vo. [*Bleek*, p. 816, says this edition also contains a selection from Kennicott's and De Rossi's various readings. He adds: "The basis of it is the text of Van der Hooght: but the edition has this peculiarity, that many of the later Masoretic marks are omitted from the text; particularly, that only the greater accents have been adopted."]

Mere collections of various readings have been furnished by *R. Menahem de Lonzano* (7), and by *J. Bernh. de Rossi* (8).

(7) אור תורה (Or Torah [= Light of the Law]), in which much use is made of Meir Hallevi's work, Sepis Legis (as to which see § 208, Note 8): it was first printed in שִׁפְתֵי יְדוֹת, Vened. 1618; and then by itself, yet faultily, Amstelodami 1659. Comp. *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. i. p. 765 sqq., ii. p. 536 sq.; *Kennicott*, dissert. general. § 61; *De Rossi*, *l.c.* § 37; and *Bruns*, in *Ammon's*, etc., neu. theol. Journal, vi. p. 763.

(8) Variæ lectiones Vet. Test. ex immensa MSS. editorumque codd. congerie haustæ, et ad Samarit. textum, ad vetustiss. versiones, ad accuratiores sacr. criticæ fontes ac leges examinatæ, Parmæ 1784–88, 4 vols. 4to. Scholia crit. in Vet. Test. libros, s. supplementa ad varias s. textus lectt., *ib.* 1798, 4to. These various readings were collected out of 1346 manuscripts and 352 editions, which indeed were compared only in individual passages about which there was a question. Comp. *Doederlein*, auserles. theol. Biblioth. iv. p. 1 ff., and *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, ii. p. 40 ff.

The chief various readings in the principal editions are brought together so as to be seen at a glance, in *Le Long's* biblioth. sacr. ed. *Masch*, P. i. pp. xxxiv.–cxviii.

§ 211. *The Transactions respecting the Integrity of the Masoretic Text.*

In the vehement controversy among the critics of the seventeenth century, the opponents of the integrity of the Hebrew text not only exaggerated the supposed faultiness of the Masoretic form of the text, but also overestimated the critical value of the ancient versions and the Samaritan Pentateuch, in accordance with their preconceived opinions (1). On the whole, the defenders of that text had the truth upon their side (2); only they partly went too far. For, while they conceded in general that there were smaller faults in the Hebrew manuscripts and editions of the Bible; still they were not willing in any concrete case to acknowledge any actual error whatsoever, however insignificant, as the result of a conscientious comparison of the critical testimonies to the text (3).

(1) Besides the writings of *Isaac Vossius* and *Whiston*, referred to already in § 201, Note 3, the principal person was *Jo. Morinus*, Blesensis [of Blois], in his often-quoted Exercitationum Biblic. de Hebræi Græcique textus sinceritate libri duo, etc.; whose object was to prove the infallibility and inspiration of the Septuagint and the Vulgate, and to justify this teaching against all exceptions. The judgment pronounced upon this even by *Rich. Simon*, hist. crit. lib. iii. c. 18, is as follows: "Constituerat pro viribus hodierni textus Hebraici authoritatem labefactare, atque sic majorem Samaritano et LXX. versioni conciliare: quasi textus Hebr. Judæorum in plerisque locis ubi a Samaritano, LXX., et ipsa Vulgata dissidet, ab ipsis depravatus fuisset. Sperabat scilicet, se utilem Ecclesiæ operam navaturum, priscas Versiones ab ipsa comprobatas quacunque ratione propugnanda. . . . Principio declarat consilium suum esse, Protestantes oppugnare, jactantes se non aliam suæ religionis normam habere quam Bibliorum autographa, quasi vero minime constaret ea periisse, et quæ supersunt erroribus scatere. Unde efficit non alibi veros ac legitimos Scripturæ codices quam in Ecclesia Catholica quærendos esse. *Quæramus ergo, ait, Divina oracula in ecclesia et ab ecclesia, eaque non de alienigenarum, nedum hostium manibus, sed de ecclesiæ pastophoriis et archivis promamus et excipiamus.*" See more as to the contents and character of this work, in *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, i. p. 440; and *ibid.* pp. 462 ff., 487 f., as to the replies made to it by *Sim. de Muis* and *Arn. Boot.*—Another of these impugners of the Hebrew text is *Lud. Cappellus*, in his Critica sacra already referred to, § 3, Note 3. Yet, in the midst of all the praise lavished upon this work by *Rich.*

Simon, lib. cit. c. 20, he confesses: "Interim nimio varias illas lectiones conquirendi studio non raro illas nimis multiplicavit.... Videtur tamen non satis Masoræ tribuisse. Illa quidem infallibilis minime, attamen usu et traditione nititur non spernendis ne (?) pluris quam fecit Cappellus æstimandis."

The principal defenders of the Hebrew are the following:—*Jo. Buxtorf* fil., Anticritica s. vindiciæ veritatis Hebraicæ, etc., 1653.—*Arn. Boot*, Vindiciæ s. apodixis apologetica pro Hebraica veritate contra duos novissimos et infensissimos ejus hostes, *Jo. Morin.* et *Lud. Cappell.*, etc., Parisiis 1653, 4to. Also his work, de textus Hebr. Vet. Test. certitudine et authentia contra L. Cappelli criticam, epistola ad *Jac. Usserium*, Parisiis 1650, 4to.—*Matt. Wasmuth*, Vindiciæ s. Hebrææ Scripturæ, . . . imprimis c. *Cappelli*, *Vossii F.*, et *Waltoni* . . . assertiones falsiss. pariter ac perniciosas, Rostochii 1664, 4to. —*Val. E. Loescher*, de causis linguæ Ebr. lib. iii. c. 1, p. 437 sqq. —*J. Gottl. Carpzov*, crit. sacr. P. 1, c. 3. Other representatives of this view are: *Salomo Glassius*, philol. sacr., lib. i. tract. de textus Hebr. in Vet. Test. puritate; *Abraham Calov*, Critici s. tract. ii. p. 396 sqq.; *Ant. Hulsius* (Professor at Leyden, died 1685), Authentia absol. s. textus Hebr. vindicata, Rostochii 1662, 4to; *Jo. Leusden*, Philologus Hebr., dissert. xxiii.

(3) *Buxtorf*, Anticrit. p. 66: "Ego nullas alias lectiones varias approbo, quam eas quas Hebræi notant et eruunt ex collatione MSS. exemplarium Hebraicorum: Criticus (*i.e.* Cappellus) autem de illis agit, quæ erui possunt ex collatione interpretationum discrepantium, nulla ullius codicis Hebr. extantis authoritate suffultorum. Illæ de quibus ego ago, sunt certæ; hæ sunt incertæ. Non est enim certum, si interpres aliter transferat, quam hodiernus codex Hebr. refert, quod talem lectionem in suo exemplari Hebr. invenerit, qualem ille exprimit." P. 67 sqq.: "Licet enim singuli (codd. Hebr.) fortassis quædam *ἁμαρτήματα* habuerint et nævos aliquos, illa tamen non in omnibus fuerint æqualia et iisdem in locis; sed unus hic alter illic aberrare potuit. Unde facile potuit error unius exemplaris colligi ex alio meliore, et tandem emendatum satis exemplar cudi, licet non ad extremum usque apicem (istud enim facile concedimus, nec esse, nec fuisse, immo nec esse posse) eo usque tamen, ut non tot et tantis varietatibus atque aberrationibus potuerit esse obnoxium, quot et quantas criticus noster affirmat colligi posse, partim ex veterum interpretum translationibus, partim ex nostra conjectura et divinatione. . . . Plures aliæ possunt esse variantium interpretantium causæ, quam quod in suo exemplari ita legerint.—*Primo*, enim, *sensum* sæpe reddiderunt non ad verba attendentes. Sensum autem eum expresserunt,

qui ipsis bonus et conveniens videbatur. *Secundo*, deprehenditur illos nimiam *licentiam* aliquando sibi sumpsisse, ut licet aliter legerent in suo codice, tamen audacter nimis aliud reddiderint, quod non satis sensum et cohærentiam Hebraici contextus assequerentur, etc. *Tertio*, non eximendi sunt interpretes ab *imperitia*: quia interpretes nulli ita plane perfecti fuerunt, ut non errarint et male multa intelligendo male etiam transtulerint. *Quarto*, ad imperitiam accessit etiam sæpe *negligentia* et oscitantia, ita ut in eo ipso quod ante se habebant legendo non satis diligentes fuerint et vigilantes, sed decipi se passi fuerint. *Quinto*, etiam quædam sunt versiones, de quibus constat, illas non amplius esse tales, quales a primis illarum authoribus fuerunt conditæ, sed variæ ab aliis interpolatas, correctas, corruptas, depravatas. *Sexto*, hinc etiam attendendum ad scribarum seu descriptorum audaciam, licentiam, imperitiam; qua factum ut multa textui vel marginibus ejus ab aliis adspersa, postmodum vel versioni fuerint addita vel adjecta, vel in ejus locum substituta, priore lectione expuncta et sublata. *Septimo*, observandum est etiam discrimen inter interpretes, præsertim ratione temporis et ætatis."—*Loescher*, de causis ling. Ebr. p. 442: "Non igitur hæc mens nostra est, ut a nonnullis sinistre capitur, codicem Biblicum manuscr. vel typis expressum, qui in manus nostras veniat, promiscue a nobis *ἀναμαρτήτῳ* haberi, et si quid ab illo dissentiat, id omne nos cœco impetu rejicere; nec in ea versamur opinione, quam inspectio codicum palam refellit, ita custoditum esse quemvis Ebræum codicem, ut temeritas critica, vel hallucinatio scribarum, nihil hic inde mutare potuerit. Sed ita arbitramur. Etsi particulares codices, hic quidem in ista, ille in alia parte alterationes leviusculas passi sint, *nullam tamen mutationem in omnes codices simul sumtos*, hoc est, in fontes abstracte, ut philosophi loquuntur, consideratos *irrupisse*; idque divinæ providentiæ præsidio cumprimis, deinceps aliquo Judaicæ gentis industria factum."—*Carpzov*, crit. sacr. p. 95: "Jungendi ergo sunt codices, si quæ lectio dubia, vel in mendo cubare videatur, ut ex uno vel pluribus, qui castigate et ad fidem *αὐτογράφων* textum hoc ipso in loco sistunt, illa in ceteris in quibus vitium alit, emendetur et restituatur. *Si vero in communi lectione omnes codices conspirant, ea quoque standum est, nec in versionis cujusdam, vel in commodioris interpretationis gratiam, multo minus ob diversam allegationem, sive Biblicam, sive ecclesiasticam, tentanda mutatio.*"

Moreover, the doubts which were expressed anew in last century (4), and the collations of all the critical helps which men were thus stirred up to undertake, and which promised great results (§ 210), have only served to confirm the old Protestant persuasion,

that the text of the Bible was faithfully and carefully handed down by the Masoretes. For the results which have been brought to light have shown that, without an exception, the various readings obtained from the manuscripts exert no influence of importance on the meaning and the contents of Scripture, so far as concerns the subject-matter of the faith (5); as also that neither from the ancient versions, nor yet (much less) from the conjectures of the critics in more recent times, can we expect solid redress for actual or imagined defects in the text, such as shall be helpful to the truth (6).

(4) By *Car. Frid. Houbigant* (Oratorii Jesu Presb.), Prolegomena in Scripturam S., Parisiis 1745 [1746, *Bleek*, p. 720], 4to. In reply to him, see *Sebaldi Ravii* (Rau) exercitatt. philol. ad Houbig. Prolegg. in Script. Sacr., Lugduni Batav. 1785, 4to. Comp. *Rosenmüller*, Handbuch, i. p. 495 ff.—*Benjamin Kennicott* [Professor of Divinity at Oxford, died 1783, says *Bleek*, p. 720], The State of the printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament considered; a dissertation in two parts, Oxford 1753; the second dissertation in 1759. It was translated into Latin by *Guil. Abr. Teller*, Benj. Kennicoti dissertat. super ratione textus Hebr. Vet. Test. in libris editis atque scriptis, in duas partes divisa, Lipsiæ 1756; dissertat. secunda, etc., 1765.—Dissertat. generalis in Vet. Test. Hebraicum, c. variis lectionibus ex codd. manuscr. et impressis, auct. *Benj. Kennicott* (prefixed to the second volume of his Bible): recudi curavit et notas adj. *Paul. Jac. Bruns* [*Bleek*, p. 721, says, first Professor of History of Literature and Librarian at Helmstädt, afterwards Professor at Halle, died 1814], Brunsvici 1783. Comp. *Rosenmüller*, i. p. 502 ff.

(5) *Jo. Buxtorf*, de punctorum vocal. antiq. et orig. p. 282: "Si omnes varietates codd. Hebraicorum, quas in suis codd. critici ipsorum annotarunt, qua veteres, qua recentes, in unum manipulum aut fasciculum colligantur, deprehendentur esse levissimi et plane quoad sensum nullius momenti, . . . ita ut plerumque nihil, aut certe parum admodum intersit, hanc an illam sequaris lectionem." With this comp. *Eichhorn*, upon the advantage gained by the criticism of the Old Testament from the Masoretic manuscripts, in his allg. Biblioth. ii. 3, p. 502 ff.

(6) The most recent assaults upon the correctness of the Masoretic text, by *Hitzig*, and especially by *Thenius*, are also exposed to the following censure pronounced by *Gesenius*, Geschichte der hebr. Sprache, p. 218: "In general, it may well be asserted that those punctuators have for the most part apprehended their text with more

truth than many of its more recent expositors; for by their numerous changes of the punctuation they have often failed to make good either their steady judgment or their taste and exegetical talent. In very many instances a somewhat finer knowledge of the grammar would at once have led them to let their critical attempts alone." Comp. also *J. G. L. Kosegarten*, allg. Monatsschrift f. Wissenschaft u. Lit. Braunschweig 1853, Sept., p. 773.

FOURTH SECTION.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY AND TREATMENT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 212. *The Character of the Old Testament in general.*

The writings of the Old Testament are not a mere collection of Hebrew national literature (1). On the contrary, since their authors were partly prophets, and partly men enlightened by the Spirit of God which ruled in the theocracy, they were at all times held to be documents for the facts of divine revelation, and to be witnesses to that life which was wrought and fostered by the divine revelation in Israel; and they were distinguished from all other literature, as holy writings with regulative authority for the faith and life of the covenant-people. Nor was this persuasion first formed at a later time, contemporaneously with the collection of the Old Testament, or subsequently to it. Much rather it was rooted in the firm faith of Israel that they were elected to be the people of God from the time of Abraham onwards, and that under Moses they entered into covenant with Jehovah to be His people; and that by these means their whole historical development as a people was placed under the special guidance of God through the medium of miracles and prophetic revelations. Consequently it is as old as the individual books of the Old Testament; and it took shape partly owing to the position assumed in the theocracy by the authors of these books, partly owing to the Spirit which breathed in these writings themselves: and it merely became settled into the immoveable faith of the whole nation, by the times and circumstances connected with the extinction of pro-

phecy subsequently to the exile (§ 155). Now, not only did no other πιστὸς προφήτης arise among the Jews after Malachi, the contemporary of Ezra and Nehemiah; but besides, every immediate or supernatural divine influence ceased to act upon the further development of the life of the state: and from this fact two results followed. On the one hand, the whole nation became ever more and more confirmed in the persuasion that the writings which originated in the age that felt itself forsaken by the Spirit of God, were not to be placed on the same level as the ancient books pervaded by the breath of the Spirit of God; on the other hand, together with this, they were ever more and more impelled to make use of the ancient sacred writings as the source of divine truth, so as to extract from them instruction and consolation, knowledge and wisdom, and to regard them with the high and holy esteem due to the Word of God. Consequently there is testimony borne, frequently and unanimously, to the divine origin and character of these books, by the *Apocrypha* (2), Philo (3), and Josephus (4), as also by the Scriptures of the New Testament (5).

(1) As has been asserted by *Semler*, *Corrodi*, *Eichhorn*, *De Wette*, *Hitzig*, and others besides. Against this view, comp. § 213, Note 6, and § 218.

(2) The Law and the Prophets, being holy writings, are the source of comfort and instruction for the pious Jews in the Maccabean age. 1 Macc. xii. 9, Παράκλησιν ἔχοντες τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἅγια τὰ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἡμῶν; 2 Macc. xv. 9, Παραμυθούμενος αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν; 4 Macc. xviii. 10, ὃς ἐδίδασκεν ὑμᾶς . . . τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας. Comp. 1 Macc. ii. 50–60. The law is not only the source of all wisdom, Ecclus. xxiv. 23–29: but also the incarnate Wisdom itself, Ecclus. xxiv. 23, Baruch iii. 4 [? 14], iv. 1; of everlasting validity, ἐν προστάγματι αἰωνίῳ, Tobit i. 6; and ἄφθαρτον φῶς, Wisd. xviii. 4. Further, compare the panegyric on the scribe, Τοῦ ἐπιδιδόντος τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ διανοουμένου ἐν νόμῳ ὑψίστου σοφίαν πάντων ἀρχαίων ἐκζητήσει, καὶ ἐν προφητείαις ἀσχοληθήσεται, Ecclus. xxxix. 1 ff.; and the ὕμνος πατέρων, Ecclus. xliv.–xlix., which interprets the Old Testament as being the record of divine revelation.

(3) *Philo* gives the name of "Prophets" to all the writers in the Canon of the Old Testament. Yet Moses stands highest with him, as the thoroughly initiated teacher of the divine mysteries. Comp. de opif. mundi, p. 2: Μωσῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐπ' αὐτὴν φθάσας ἀκρό-

τητα καὶ χρησμοῖς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ συνεκτικώτατα τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἀναδιδαχθεὶς, κ.τ.λ. And de vita Mosis, ii. p. 682: Μωσῆς ὁσιώτατος καὶ θεοφιλέστατος τῶν πώποτε γενομένων. The others are only μύσται ἱεροφάνται: comp. de agricol. p. 195, de confus. ling. p. 326, de ebriet. p. 244. Comp. *Gfrörer*, Philo u. die alexandr. Theosophie, Stuttgart 1831, i. p. 60 ff.; *Dähne*, geschicht. Darstellung der jüd. alexandr. Religionsphilos. i. pp. 29 f., 58 ff.; *Kahnis*, die Lehre v. heil. Geiste (Halle 1847), i. p. 207 ff.

(4) *Josephus*, c. Apion, i. 8, names the twenty-two books of the Old Testament Canon [as he arranged and numbered them], Τὰ δικαίως θεία πεπιστευμένα. And he says of them: Δῆλον δ' ἐστὶν ἔργῳ, πῶς ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἰδίοις γράμμασι πεπιστεύκαμεν. Τοσούτου γὰρ αἰῶνος ἤδη παρωχηκότος, οὔτε προσθεῖναί τις οὐδὲν, οὔτε ἀφελεῖν αὐτῶν, οὔτε μεταθεῖναι τετόλμηκεν. Πᾶσι δὲ συμφυτόν ἐστιν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως Ἰουδαίοις τὸ νομίζειν αὐτὰ Θεοῦ δόγματα, καὶ τούτοις ἐμμένειν, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ δέοι, θνήσκειν ἡδέως. This divine credibility is based upon the fact that the composition of these writings did not lie in the power of any one whomsoever, but μόνων τῶν προφητῶν τὰ μὲν ἀνωτάτω καὶ τὰ παλαιότατα κατὰ τὴν ἐπίπνοιαν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ μαθόντων, τὰ δὲ καθ' αὑτοὺς ὡς ἐγένετο σαφῶς συγγραφέντων. Comp. *C. Gottl. Bretschneider*, Capita Theologiæ Judæorum dogmat. e Flav. Josephi scriptis collecta, Lipsiæ 1812, § 1–3.

(5) Already the appellations ἡ γραφή, αἱ γραφαί, γραφαὶ ἅγιαι, ἱερὰ γράμματα, which Christ and His apostles employ for the Old Testament (§ 156, I.), presuppose its divine character. This character lies still more manifestly in such utterances of Christ as the following:—That He was not come καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφήτας —ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι, Matt. v. 17; that "all things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me," Luke xxiv. 44, comp. vers. 27 and 45 f.; His words, "Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me," John v. 39; His line of argument in John x. 34 ff. from Ps. lxxxii. 6, which rests upon the principle that "the Scripture cannot be broken," and which contains more than an argumentatio ad hominem (*Tholuck*, die Inspirationslehre, in *Schneider's* deutsche Zeitschrift f. christl. Wissenschaft, 1850, No. 43, p. 344). Finally, the same is seen in the contrast between ἐντολὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ and ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων in Matt. xv. 3–9. Accordingly the Apostle Paul teaches, in reference to the Jews, Ὅτι ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ, Rom. iii. 2; and in reference to the Old Testament, Πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλιμος πρὸς διδασκαλίαν, κ.τ.λ., 2 Tim. iii. 16. Further, comp. Heb. i. 1,

and the passages which certainly refer most directly only to the prophetical writings in the Old Testament, 2 Pet. i. 19 ff., 1 Pet. i. 10–12. Not less is the divine inspiration of the Old Testament presupposed as a common article of faith among the Jews—ay, and also confirmed as true—when quotations from it are often introduced by the formulas, ἵνα (ὅπως) ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ, or ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὰ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου.

FIRST DIVISION.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 213. *The Idea of the Canon.*

The word κανών (1) (originally, a straight rod; hence, a measuring rod or scale for everything that is not straight, *a pattern, a rule, an ideal norm* (2)) was in manifold use in the oldest times of the Christian Church with a special signification, that of *the rule for faith and life;* because the right apprehension of saving truth was called κανὼν τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρύγματος, and also ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανών, in so far as the Church was persuaded that she was in possession of this. However, men did not understand by this expression something which was settled in a written form; but only that fundamental conception of Christianity which was firmly held as its leading idea by the collective Church, or by individual ecclesiastical communities (3). It was not till the gradual consolidation of the Apostolic-Catholic Church that the κανὼν τῆς ἐκκλησίας or ἐκκλησιαστικός, "regula ecclesiastica," was exalted into the ruling guiding principle, which gave a unity to the conception and the carrying out of Christianity, as based on the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and was identified with the κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας or κανὼν τῆς πίστεως, "regula fidei" (4). Now the concrete subject-matter of the κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας or τῆς πίστεως was derived from the Holy Scriptures as the primary source. Hence in the fourth century the designations were developed, γραφὴ κανόνος, and, with reference to the individual books of which it consisted, γραφαὶ κανονικαί or κανονιζόμεναι (5), because they were used as the source of truth and the rule of faith, and there existed a firm persuasion of the divinity of their contents and their origin; so

that these appellations presuppose faith in the divine inspiration of Scripture (6).

(1) See *Credner*, zur Geschichte des Kanons, Halle 1847.

(2) Comp. *Homer*, Il. xxiii. 760, and many other passages in *Credner, ibid.* p. 6 f. From these it appears that, in the times preceding Christianity, the word *κανών* was not applied within the province of religious faith, but was already in frequent use in the sense of *a pattern, a law*, in connection with *νόμος* and *ὅρος*. Only there was this distinction: that *νόμος* and *ὅρος* designated especially positive or actually published laws and regulations; whereas *κανών* was used in the meaning *law* or *commandment*, only of that which is conceived of as being so, or of the ideal norm. So also Gal. vi. 15, 16.

(3) See in *Credner*, p. 15 ff., the proof passages from *Hegesippus* (in *Eusebius*, Hist. Eccl. iii. 32), the *Clementines*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian* (regula), and *Origen*.

(4) *Clemens Alex.*, Strom. vi. 15, defines the *κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικός* as *ἡ συνῳδία καὶ ἡ συμφωνία νόμου τε καὶ προφητῶν τῇ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου παρουσίαν παραδιδομένῃ διαθήκῃ.*—*Irenæus*, adv. hæres. i. 10. 1, describes the *κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας* as the *ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κηρυσσομένη ἀληθεία*, and the *κανὼν τῆς πίστεως* as *τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραληφθεῖσαν πίστιν.* Similarly others of the Fathers in *Credner*, p. 20 ff.

(5) By *Athanasius*, in the Epistola festalis, 39. According to *Credner*, p. 58 ff., it is likely that the transference of these expressions to the Holy Scriptures of the Christians proceeded from *Porphyry*, and was first used in the edict of Diocletian against the Christians. [But is it likely that so pre-eminently a Christian expression as this is originated with such an enemy of the Christians as Porphyry? Or would it probably have been used in the persecuting imperial edict, if it had not been already familiar and rooted in the usage of the Christian Church?]

(6) The assertion put forth by *Semler*, Abhandlung v. freier Untersuchung des Kanons, i. p. 13 ff., and widely disseminated since, that *κανών* meant *catalogue*, and that *canonical books* were originally those which were appointed for reading in a church, and were entered in the index of books for public ecclesiastical reading, is wholly unhistorical. Against it, comp. already *H. Planck*, Nonnulla de significatu *Canonis* in ecclesia antiqua, ejusque serie rectius constituenda, in the Commentatt. theol. edid. *Rosenmüller*, *Fuldner*, et *Maurer*, i. 1, p. 209 sqq.; also *Häv.* Einl. i. 1, p. 51 f.; and *Oehler*, in *Tholuck*, litter. Anzeiger, 1842, ii. pp. 387–8.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CANON AMONG THE JEWS.

§ 214. *The Palestinian and Alexandrian Canon.*

The canonical authority of the Old Testament was acknowledged unanimously by all parties among the Jews: although neither did the name *Canon* find an entrance among the Jews, for it was first transferred to the writings of the Old Testament in connection with those of the New; nor yet can the discussions be regarded as satisfactory which the Rabbins of the middle ages attempted on the essential nature of inspiration, with the view of arriving at a foundation for the threefold division of the Canon (1). Moreover, from the time of the close of the Old Testament Canon, its extent was a matter so firmly established among the Palestinian Jews, that neither the book of Ecclesiasticus (which comes forward with a claim to the prophetic spirit, § 155, Note 2), nor any other work of more recent composition, was received into the Canon; nor yet did the treatment accorded in the Talmud to the sacred character of individual books make the slightest change on the continuance of the Canon as it had long ago been settled (2).

(1) An elaborate theory on the nature of prophecy, upon philosophical principles, which in part are wholly opposed to the Scriptures, is propounded by *Moses Maimonides* (who died about 1208) in his Moreh Nebhochim, P. ii. c. 36 sqq.: comp. *Rudelbach*, in *his* and *Guericke's* Zeitschrift f. luther. Theol. u. Kirche, 1840, i. p. 51 ff.— Whilst Maimonides wished to distinguish from eight to eleven degrees of inspiration, *Isaac Abarbanel* (præf. comm. in Jos.) accepted of only three, corresponding to the three divisions of the Old Testament; and in his commentary on 1 Sam. iii. he thus defines them: "Prophetia interdum prophetis obtingit *intellectualiter* per claram cognitionem, quæ in intellectu eorum fit; interdum accidit per *imaginationem*, per formas, quarum virtute vident in phantasia; interdum vero *sensibiliter* percipitur per vocem in aures immissam, et res admirabilis se oculis eorum ingerit." The first degree of inspiration was found in the case of Moses, "qui a Deo omnia accipiebat intellectuali modo simpliciter, non imaginativo vel sensuali;" the middle degree belongs to the pro-

phetical writings; and the lowest to the Hagiographa. Of these last *Abarbanel* says: "Vocantur *Kethubhim*, ut gradus illorum significetur, et quonam influxu sint conscripti, q. d. non illum gradum in eo consistere, ut videant formas propheticas, neque ut audiant verba Dei vivi, sed cum sint in illo gradu qui רוח הקודש appellatur; et, ut Doctor perplexarum [Maimonides] loquitur, c. 45, part. 2, aliquid divinum est, quod virum comitatur, disponit et excitat ut loquatur aut scribat hymnos, laudationes, aut verba sapientiæ modo admirando. . . . Idcirco vocantur כתובים, quod per Spiritum Sanctum scripta sunt." Comp. the collection of rabbinical utterances upon this point, in the dissert. præs. *Jo. Frischmuth*, auct. *Nic. Sauerwald*, quoted already, § 155, Note 6.

(2) The Mishna tr. Jadajim, iii. 5, is the principal passage upon this subject: "Omnes libri ss. inquinant manus: etiam *Canticum Cant.* et *Koheleth* inquinant manus. Dixit *R. Juda*, 'Canticum Cant. inquinat manus, Koheleth autem in controversia est.' *R. Jose dixit*, 'Koheleth non inquinat manus, sed Canticum Cant. in controversia est.' *R. Simeon* dixit, 'De Koheleth levius dijudicabant discipuli Shammai quam discipuli Hilleli.' *R. Simeon* fil. *Azai* dixit, 'Ego quidem ex ore lxxii. Seniorum comperi, de hac re eo die, quo R. Eleazaro fil. Azariæ munus assignatum sit, decisum esse.' *R. Akiba* vero dixit, 'Minime, nemo Israelitarum unquam de Cantico Cant. dubitavit, quin eo manus inquinentur; nullus enim totius antiquitatis dies pluris æstimandus est, quam ille quo Israel hunc librum accepit. Omnia Hagiographa sancta sunt, maxime vero sacrum est Canticum Cant. Si forsitan disceptatum est, de Koheleth disceptatum est.' Dixit *R. Jochanan* fil. Josuæ, fil. soceri R. Akibæ, 'Ita ut filius Azai dixit disceptatum, atque ita decisum est.'" (The original words may be found in the Mishna, ed. *Surenhus.* t. vi. p. 487.) The rabbinical ordinance, that the sacred books defiled the hands, has no other meaning than this, that after a person had had them in his hands he must not touch the Terumah without first washing his hands: and it had no other object than this, to give protection first of all to the sacred books, against the danger of being gnawed to pieces by mice, in case they had been laid beside the Terumah; which might quite well happen, because they were esteemed equally holy (comp. *Delitzsch*, talmud. Studien, in *Rudelbach* u. *Guericke's* Zeitschrift, 1854, p. 280 ff.). Hence the passage now quoted belongs to the same category as tr. Shabb. f. 30. 2: "Etiam librum Proverbiorum voluerunt occultare (גנז, ἀποκρύπτειν) eo quod verba ejus inter se pugnarent;" Pesikt. rabb. f. 33. 1; Midrash. Kohel. f. 311. 1; Vajikra Rabba, sec. 28, f. 161. 2: "Voluerunt sapientes occultare librum

Koheleth, quod deprehendere sibi viderentur in eo verba, quæ ad *ἀνομίαν*, hæresin, sive improbitatem vergant;" or, according to Shabb. f. 30. 2, "Quod verba ejus se mutuo everterent;" and the more extended remark of *Jerome*, comm. in Eccles. xii. 13. Comp. *Carpzov*, Introd. ii. pp. 184 and 222; and *Herzfeld*, Geschichte d. Volk. Jisrael, iii. p. 96 ff. Now, although these transactions have reference to the canonicity of the books in question, still they do not contain "vestigia, Judæos illa ætate circa quorundam librorum auctoritatem canonicam incertos fuisse" (*Movers*, loci quid. hist. Can. p. 25 sq.); that is, they do not contain doubts as to whether these books should or should not belong to the Canon: for there was no treatment at all of the question whether certain writings should be admitted into the Canon or refused, as is clear from tr. Shabb. f. 30 *b*, בקשו חכמים לגנוז ספר קהלת, since "the expression בקשו לגנוז presupposes the acknowledgment of the canonicity" (comp. *Welte*, üb. d. Entstehung des alttestl. Canons, Tübinger theol. Quartalschrift, 1855, p. 81). These controversies only show that individual Rabbins took offence at the contents of these books, and could not comprehend how they were canonical. There cannot be inferred from them even so much as this, "that a somewhat freer position was taken up in reference to the Hagiographa than to the other two divisions of the Canon" (*Oehler*, Kanon, in *Herzog's* Realencycl. vii. p. 252). Already the statement in Shabb. f. 13*b*, and in Menachoth 45. 2, is decisive to the contrary, that at the time of Chananiah ben Hizkiah ben Garon, when the schools of Hillel and Shammai were flourishing, some persons wished also to *hide* (גנוז) the book of Ezekiel, on account of imaginary contradictions of the law (see the particulars as to this in the Mishna, t. iv. præf. *Surenhus.* ad מסכת עדיות), perhaps also because they wished to prevent the profanation of the most holy introductory vision (comp. *Zunz*, d. gottesdienstl. Vorträge, p. 163).—Also according to Megilla, f. 7*a*, there was a controversy whether the book of Esther defiled the hands. But here the controversy did not relate to the contents, which were admitted to have been spoken in the Holy Ghost; but only to the question whether these were appointed to be included in Holy Scripture, or for mere oral delivery (comp. *Delitzsch*, *ibid.* p. 283). It is quite erroneous in *Movers*, *l.c.* p. 27, to conclude, from the non-appearance of the book of Esther in Melito's Canon (comp. § 216, Note 10), and from the ordinance in Megilla ii. 1, that this book might be publicly read in the synagogues in every language and translation, whilst the public reading of the rest of the sacred books was restricted to the Hebrew language, "quod huic libello non eandem ac reliquis libris ss. auctoritatem tribuebant." For

it is clear from the utterances of the Rabbins collected by *Pfeiffer*, appendix ad thesaur. hermen. p. 597 sqq., how high they set the authority of this very book, exalting it far above even the law and the prophets.—Finally, though in the Pirke Aboth R. Nathan, c. 1 [*Bleek*, p. 672, gives the quotation from the Capitula of R. Nathan, c. 1, at the beginning], "it is said that Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes were 'hidden' till the great synagogue had explained what was surprising in them, and had taken off the restriction from them; it should assuredly be asserted that information of so late a date, in opposition to those more ancient statements from which it diverges, does not deserve to be believed" (*Herzfeld*, *ibid.* p. 97).

On the contrary, the Alexandrian translation of the Old Testament was already at an early period enlarged by products of the later Jewish literature, partly translated from the Hebrew, partly composed in Greek: and from this circumstance the opinion took its rise, that the Egyptian or Hellenistic Jews had a Canon, and acknowledged it, different from the Hebrew one. This is the *Alexandrian Canon*, which is increased by the so-called apocryphal books (3). But it is impossible to speak of a "double Canon," or of a second Canon, the Hellenistic, different from the Hebrew one; as is seen at once by what *Josephus* and *Philo* say. Although *Josephus* makes manifold use of the Septuagint, and does homage to the Jewish Alexandrian spirit in many respects, yet he expressly declares all the writings that are not found in the Hebrew Canon less worthy of belief, and not inspired (4). And it also comes out clearly from *Philo* and other witnesses, that the Egyptian and all the Hellenistic Jews well knew the Palestinian Canon in its three divisions (5). Only it had not the same importance for them as for the Hebrew scribes. For the Jewish Alexandrian spirit did not acknowledge the assumption on which the demarcation of the limits of the Hebrew Canon rests, that the spirit of prophecy had departed from Israel ever since the year B.C. 400 [or thereby]: and thus it entirely obliterated the distinction between an older prophetic literature and a more recent literature which was not inspired, yet without wishing by this means to set forth a new enlarged Canon (6).

(3) Various motives co-operated towards the formation of this opinion. There were [Roman] Catholic theologians, for instance,

Jahn, Einl. i. § 29; *Herbst*, Einl. i. p. 17 ff.; *Scholz*, Einl. i. § 74 ff.; and *Welte*, Tübinger Quartalschrift, 1855, p. 58 ff.: with whom there was the effort to justify the canonicity adjudged to the Apocrypha by their Church. By this *Movers* (loci quid. p. 20 sqq.) permitted himself to be so carried away, as to assert that the extended Alexandrian Canon was identical with the older Palestinian one; but that at a later time, in the second or third century of the Christian era, the latter came to be restricted within its present compass by the exclusion of several writings from it, because the Jews had adopted the mark of the higher antiquity of the sacred writings in their concept of inspiration. Against this notion, comp. *Welte*, *ibid.* p. 78 ff.— Among the Rationalists there were *Semler* (Abhandlung v. freier Untersuchung des Kanon, 4 vols., Halle 1776, i. p. 5 ff., and elsewhere; also his Apparatus ad liberal. Vet. Test. interpr. § 9 sqq.), *Corrodi* (Beleuchtung des jüd. u. christl. Bibelkanons, i. p. 155 ff.), and others. [*Bleek*, p. 675, adds *Münscher*, Dogmengeschichte, i. pp. 257–8; *Augusti; Ammon*, die Fortbildung d. Christenthum z. Weltreligion, i. 130.] This opinion was advanced by them in the interest of those who wished to set aside the dogmatic concept of the Canon. It was combated by *Hornemann*, observatt. ad illustrationem doctrinæ de Canone Vet. Test. ex Philone, Gottingæ 1775; abridged in *Eichhorn*, Repert. v. p. 228 ff., and Einl. i. § 23 ff.; also by *Häv.* Einl. i. 1, p. 78 ff.; and by others. [*Bleek*, p. 675, says it was rejected by most of the Protestant theologians, including *De Wette*, § 17, *b*. He adds: "Yet we may certainly adopt the opinion with the greatest probability, that among them (the Hellenistic Jews) there were as yet in the time of Christ no sharply defined limits of the Canon of Scripture." In justification of this statement he appeals to the apocryphal books now found in the Septuagint; and he adds: "We may with the greatest probability adopt the opinion, that these were in the manuscripts of the Septuagint so early as the time of Christ and His apostles."]

(4) *Josephus*, c. Apion, i. 8: *Πίστεως δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίας ἠξίωται τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχήν.*

(5) This is clear from *Philo*, de vita contempl. § 3, that the Therapeutæ had *νόμους καὶ λόγια θεσπισθέντα διὰ προφητῶν καὶ ὕμνους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οἷς ἐπιστήμη καὶ εὐσέβεια συναύξονται καὶ τελειοῦνται.* And on this statement it is to be observed that here, contrary to the order of the Septuagint, the Prophets still stand before the Hagiographa. [*Bleek*, pp. 677–8, takes a different view of the testimony of *Philo's* writings. "He occupies himself chiefly in his works with the exposition of the Pentateuch, contemplating Moses

as *ἀρχιπροφήτην*, and the other writers as only *Μωϋσέως ἑταίρους*. From the Pentateuch he quotes innumerable passages, besides expressions from the Psalms perhaps twenty times, and still fewer from the other books. For instance, he does not quote at all Ezekiel, Daniel, the Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Esther, Ruth, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Malachi; Job only once, and also Isaiah and Jeremiah extremely seldom. Hence, from the fact that he expressly adduces none of our apocryphal books we cannot conclude with any certainty that he did not place them essentially on the same level with the prophetic and hagiographic books of the Old Testament. We may at once conjecture that he did not assume any very sharply defined distinction here, from the circumstance that he gives wide extension to the concept of inspiration, and also attributes it to himself; so that, placing Moses out of account, he puts little or no difference between the other writings and his own. See de Cherubim, § 9, p. 112, *ed. Paris*; de migr. Abraham, § 7, p. 393. Comp. *Gfrörer*, Philo, i. p. 57 ff. And at least in the passage de præm. et pœnis, § 19, p. 927, he quotes an expression which is not to be found in our books of the Old Testament, and which he must have found in some writing that is now lost, as the utterance of a *θεσπίζων*, in a manner quite corresponding to his treatment of passages in the canonical prophets elsewhere; and so, that he immediately afterwards adduces a passage from a psalm as being of the same kind."] Also the *fourth book of Ezra* [that is, the *second* in the English translation of the Apocrypha], probably of Alexandrian origin, knows no more than twenty-four books in the public Canon (comp. § 154, Note 4), and, as it seems, quite ignores our apocryphal books of the Old Testament; for these contain no secret wisdom, and therefore they can scarcely be reckoned among the seventy secret writings mentioned there, the "libri secretiores qui apud Judæos feruntur," *Origen*, comm. ser. in Matth. ed. *Lommatzsch*, iv. p. 237. Comp. *Oehler* in *Herzog's* Realencycl. vii. p. 255 f.— Finally, it follows undeniably from Matt. xxiii. 35, where Christ selects His examples from the first and the last book of the Old Testament, according to the order of the Hebrew Canon, which the Septuagint altered, as also from the circumstance that the apostolic writers quote not a single passage of the Apocrypha as a word of Scripture, that Christ and the apostles know and acknowledge only the Hebrew Canon. And consequently, so far as the Alexandrian Bible did deviate from the Hebrew Canon, it has not in its favour "the apostolic testimony to its inspiration;" though *Welte*, *ibid.* p. 95, infers that it has, from the fact of the diffusion of the Septuagint throughout

Palestine in the time of Christ. [*Bleek*, pp. 678–9, says: "As for the New Testament, here also none of our Old Testament apocryphal books are expressly quoted. But (*a*) there is manifested an unmistakeable influence of these books, as especially of Ecclesiasticus, of the Wisdom of Solomon, and of the books of Maccabees, upon the mode of viewing things on the part of the New Testament writers; and there are found numerous reminiscences of them." In proof of this, he appeals particularly to the Epistle of James; and to the references in Heb. xi. to the examples of faith in the books of Maccabees, quite like the preceding references to cases in the canonical Scriptures: "(*b*) We find repeatedly in the New Testament quite the same use made of pseudepigraphic books and other non-canonical writings in Jewish literature (for the most part now lost), as of the books of the Hebrew Canon." In proof of this, he appeals to Jude, vers. 8, 14, Jas. iv. 5, 1 Cor. ii. 9, and very probably John vii. 38 and Luke xi. 49. "(*c*) On the contrary, several of our canonical books—namely, Obadiah, Nahum, Esther, Ezra and Nehemiah, Canticles and Ecclesiastes—are never adduced at all in the New Testament; nor are there any traces to be found of their being used, or exerting any influence. We are not indeed to conclude from this that these books were unknown to the New Testament writers as elements in the Old Testament Canon. But in connection with the rest, it shows that in the New Testament a free selecting use is made of the canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament, and that no sharp distinction is made of the non-canonical writings of the older Jewish literature." *Bleek* puts all this as gently and prudently as possible. Yet the reader may see for himself how unsatisfactory the logic is; not to say that the statements laid down as premisses are liable to serious exception.]

(6) "The principle of revelation in the Alexandrian Jewish theology is wisdom, which passes from generation to generation into holy souls, and prepares friends of God and prophets (Wisd. vii. 27): the Logos, the ἑρμηνεύς and ὑποφήτης τοῦ Θεοῦ, who wrought in the earlier men of God, continues to work in every wise and pious man, and consecrates him to be a prophet (comp. *Philo*, quis rerum divin. hæres, § 52). Hence a Canon of Scripture could not possibly be formed at Alexandria, of the same kind as the Palestinian Canon. *The Alexandrians, indeed, accept the Palestinian Canon, . . . yet without determining, in consequence of this, the distinction between sacred and profane literature, such as we find it among the Jews of Palestine*" (*Oehler*, Berlin. Jahrbh. 1846, Augusth. No. 29, p. 226; and his article Kanon in *Herzog's* Realencycl. vii. p. 255). This obliteration of the strict distinction between inspired and uninspired

literature, which Alexandrian Judaism even carried into its translation of the Bible by inserting apocryphal pieces, combined with the circumstance that the Septuagint had not even a firmly settled text (though already Philo held it to be inspired, comp. *Frankel*, Vorstudien, pp. 56, 59), produced among the stricter Jews, in course of time, an ill-will towards this translation. In the first place, certainly, this was principally in consequence of the high esteem which it enjoyed among the Christians. In the end this feeling led to the utter rejection of the Septuagint (comp. § 176, Notes 3–7); and in some individuals it even attained to the intensity of an anathema against the study of Greek literature, and a prohibition of learning that language (Sota ix. 14; Baba kama, f. 82. 2). See the particulars in *Hottinger*, thesaur. philol. p. 514 sqq.; *Häv.* Einl. i. 1, pp. 78–9; and *Oehler*, Kanon, *ibid.* p. 256: with which comp. *Tholuck* on Hebrews, 3d edition, p. 112 ff.; and see *Herzfeld*, *ibid.* pp. 98–9, in regard to the various judgments pronounced by the Rabbins upon the ספרים חיצונים, "*libri* extranei," added by the Septuagint.

§ 215. *The Samaritan Canon.*

Of all the books of the Old Testament, the Samaritans receive only the Pentateuch (1). The reason of their slighting the remaining books is not to be sought for in their hostile attitude toward the Jews (2); but it lies in that representation of the perfection and holiness of the Pentateuch which the Alexandrians accepted and pushed to an extreme. In accordance with this, they imagined the law to be the perfect summary of the divine revelations (3); on the contrary, they imagined that the rest of the books were not of full value, nor of the same rank, as documents of revelation (4). [Granting all this, it would, however, still remain a question for consideration, why the Samaritans and the Alexandrians should have taken diametrically opposite courses, if they started from the same principle.]

(1) The *book of Joshua*, which the Samaritans have, does not belong to their Canon. It gives the contents of the Hebrew book of Joshua in the Samaritan language, wrought up freely in correspondence with the peculiar dogmas of this sect. It has been composed by a Samaritan living in Egypt, who has followed the Alexandrian version of the canonical book of Joshua, and also a work mentioned by *Aristobulus*, which treated of the history of the Israelites under Moses and Joshua. It forms one part (namely, ch. xv.–xxv.) of a chronicle

preserved in the Arabic language, also bearing the title "the book of Joshua," which begins with narratives about Balaam, and presents a legendary, and to some extent a fabulous, history of Joshua, and other popular Samaritan stories, adorned with Jewish and Mohammedan Haggadas, reaching down to the times of Theodosius the Great, where it suddenly breaks off. It has been composed in the thirteenth century, with the intention of confirming the Samaritans in fidelity to their religious faith, in opposition to Christianity and Islam. [*Bleek*, p. 683, says: "It is known to us in a single codex, which formerly belonged to Scaliger, in the Arabic language, but in the Samaritan character; now published complete, with a Latin translation, by *W. J. Juynboll*, Leyden 1848: upon the subject, see Rödiger's recension of it in the Hall. Allgem. Litt. Zeitung, 1848, No. 217 ff.; he thinks it was originally written in Arabic, and not sooner than the thirteenth century."] A codex of this chronicle was obtained by *Scaliger* in 1584 from Egyptian Samaritans. Its contents then became partially known by the *Ἐπιτομὴ* omnium capp. libri Josuæ, h.e. Chronici Samarit., etc., given by *J. H. Hottinger* in his Exercitt. Anti-Morin. p. 105 sqq., and by communications made from it by *Hottinger* in his Smegma orientale, p. 437 sqq., and his historia orientalis, pp. 40, 120; by *H. Reland*, dissert. miscell. i. p. 122, ii. p. 14; and by others. In recent times, *Th. Guil. Joh. Juynboll* published Scaliger's codex under the title, Chronicon Samaritanum, Arabice conscriptum, cui titulus est "liber Josuæ," Lugduni Batav. 1848, 4to, giving the original, a Latin translation, and notes; and he has done more to clear up its origin, history, and nature, in the preceding printed Dissertatio de Codice, de Chronico, et de quæstionibus quæ hoc libro illustrantur. Further, comp. *Jost*, Gesch. des Judenthums u. s. Sekten, i. pp. 87–8.

(2) Comp. *Hottinger*, Exercitatt. Anti-Morin. p. 19 sq.; *Walton*, Prolegg. xi. 9; and others. *Hengstb.* Beitrr. ii. p. 43, says: "The Samaritans restricted themselves to receiving the Pentateuch; because in the other books too many things came up which were hostile to the Israelites [the Ten Tribes], and therefore hostile to the Samaritans, who of course wished to be the successors of the Israelites."

(3) According to isolated hints in *Aristobulus*, but quite manifestly according to *Philo's* teaching, Moses alone was of value as the founder and teacher of the mysteries, and as initiated into all divine secrets. Comp. *Häv.* i. 1, pp. 83–4.

(4) Comp. the judgments pronounced by the Samaritans upon the other books of the Old Testament, undervaluing and rejecting them, as given by *Gesenius*, de Pentat. Samar. p. 4, Note 9; *Häv. ibid.*;

and, along with the same, the remark of *Juynboll*, commentar. in histor. gentis Samar. p. 68 sq.

It is an erroneous assertion which is made by *Tertullian*, præscript. hær. 45 [*Bleek*, p. 682, adds, *Origen*, c. Celsum, i. 11, § 1], *Jerome* on Matt. xxii. 31 sqq., and many others, that the *Sadducees* also received only the Law as canonical, and slighted the other books. Against this opinion, comp. *Chr. Fr. Schmidii* histor. antiq. et vindic. Canonis, Lipsiæ 1785, p. 179 sq.; *Güldenapfel*, Josephi. Archæol. de Sadducæorum Canone sententia, Jenæ 1804, 4to; *Häv.* p. 84; and *Winer*, bibl. Real-Wörterbuch, ii. p. 353. [*Bleek*, pp. 682–3, takes very much the same view as *Keil:* that there is no evidence of their going further than to restrict themselves to the written law of Moses in opposition to the later traditions of the Pharisees; that this is all Josephus, Antiqq. xiii. 10. 6, xviii. 1. 4, expressly asserts of them; and that in the passage in which he speaks of the Canon, he gives no hint of their deviating from the common view. "Yet, on the other side, it is also not very probable in itself that they attributed canonical authority to the collection of Old Testament books; since they could not possibly bring Dan. xii. 2, 3, for instance, into harmony with their denial of the resurrection and immortality. Most probably we may think of the matter thus: The Sadducees acknowledged none but Moses as the legislator; and they admitted the Pentateuch alone to be the authentic source of knowledge as to the divine law. They certainly did not reject the other books, historical, prophetical, and poetical; but yet they may not have conceded to them the reverence due to properly normative canonical documents, so as to found upon them their faith and their view of life." The difficulty is obvious enough: whether *Bleek* is consistent with himself from first to last may be doubted.]

Also the *Essenes* received all the sacred books of the Jews, but appear to have possessed in addition some sacred books peculiar to themselves [of a prophetic and lyric nature, says *Bleek*, p. 683, quite agreeing with *Keil*]. Comp. *Häv.* pp. 85–6 [75–6, according to *Bleek*, *ibid.*].

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CANON IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

§ 216. *The Views of the Ancient Church as to the Authority of the Old Testament Canon, and the Number of Books comprehended within it.*

Following the example of Christ and the apostles, who consider and deal with the Law, the Prophets, and the other writings of the Old Testament, as in its origin and aim one great prophecy of Christ who fulfils the law and the prophets, a unity with many forms, an organism with various members (1), the Christian Church from the beginning ever made use of the collection of the Old Testament Scriptures as the Holy Scriptures which testified of Christ and were fulfilled in Him. Accordingly, the Christians of the first centuries not only read the Old Testament in their assemblies for public worship, for the edification of the congregations (2); but they also used its utterances as possessed of decisive divine authority in dogmatic and apologetic demonstration, because they were persuaded, with equal firmness and unanimity, that it was divinely inspired (3).

(1) Comp. § 212, Note 5; and in addition, *Rudelbach*, d. Lehre von der Inspiration d. heil. Schrift, in *his* and *Guericke's* Zeitschrift, 1840–42, especially 1841, Heft iv., and 1842, Heft ii.

(2) *Ignatius*, epist. ad Philad. c. 5: *Καὶ τοὺς προφήτας δὲ ἀγαπῶμεν, διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κατηγγελκέναι.*—*Justin Martyr*, Apol. i. c. 67: *Καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν Προφήτων ἀναγινώσκεται, μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ.* Comp. *Tertullian*, Apologetic. c. 39; *Origen*, Homil. x. in Genes., Homil. xx. in libr. Jos.; and others, in *Rudelbach*, die Inspirationslehre, *ibid.* 1840, i. pp. 37–8.

(3) *Justin Martyr*, Apol. i. c. 36: *Ὅταν δὲ τὰς λέξεις τῶν προφητῶν λεγομένας ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου ἀκούητε, μὴ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐμπεπνευσμένων λέγεσθαι νομίσητε, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κινοῦντος αὐτοὺς θείου λόγου.*—*Irenæus*, adv. hær. ii. c. 47: "Scripturæ quidem perfectæ sunt, quippe a verbo Dei et spiritu ejus dictæ: nos autem secundum quod

minores sumus et novissimi a verbo Dei et spiritu ejus, secundum hoc et scientia mysteriorum ejus indigemus, et non est mirum si in spiritualibus et cœlestibus, et in his quæ habent revelari, hoc patimur nos: quandoquidem," etc.—*Theophilus Antioch.* ad Autolycum, ii. c. 11: *Οἱ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι πνευματοφόροι πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ προφῆται γενόμενοι, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ ἐμπνευσθέντες, καὶ σοφισθέντες ἐγένοντο θεοδίδακτοι, καὶ ὅσιοι, καὶ δίκαιοι. Διὸ καὶ κατηξιώθησαν τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν ταύτην λαβεῖν, ὄργανα Θεοῦ γενόμενοι, καὶ χωρήσαντες (χωρίσαντες) σοφίαν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ.*—*Ibid.* c. 14: *Οὗτος* (λόγος) *οὖν ὢν πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ σοφία, καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστου κατήρχετο εἰς τοὺς προφήτας, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐλάλει, κ.τ.λ.*—*Clemens Alex.* Stromata vii. p. 761: *Κατὰ τὰς θεοπνεύστους γραφάς.*—*Origen*, comm. in Joh. t. i. § 4, Opp. iv. 4: *Τῶν φερομένων γραφῶν καὶ ἐν πάσαις ἐκκλησίαις Θεοῦ πεπιστευμένων εἶναι θεῖων οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι τις λέγων πρωτογέννημα μὲν τὸν Μωυσέως νόμον, ἀπαρχὴν δὲ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον. Μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς πάντας τῶν προφητῶν καρποὺς, τῶν μέχρι τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὁ τέλειος ἐβλάστησε λόγος.*—De princip. iv. 9: *Ὁ μετ' ἐπιμελείας καὶ προσοχῆς ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς προφητικοῖς λόγοις, παθὼν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀναγιγνώσκειν, ὕχνος ἐνθουσιασμοῦ, δι' ὧν πάσχει, πειθήσεται, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι συγγράμματα τοὺς πεπιστευμένους Θεοῦ λόγους.*—Comp. in general, *J. Gottl. Töllner*, d. göttl. Eingebung der h. Schrift, Leipzig 1771, p. 23 ff.; *J. Ch. W. Augusti*, Versuch einer histor. dogmat. Einleitung in d. h. Schrift, Leipzig 1832, p. 24 ff.; *Rudelbach*, *ibid.* 1840, i. p. 18 ff.

After the writings of the apostles had come to be more generally diffused throughout the Church, the Scriptures of the Old Testament were comprehended along with them in a book which formed one whole, and bore the name of the Holy or Divine Scriptures (4). And this was regarded as the summary of the divine mysteries revealed to bless mankind; whose perfection, infallibility, and sufficiency were lauded in enthusiastic language (5).

(4) *Irenæus*, ii. 27. 2: "Cum itaque *universæ* Scripturæ, et Prophetiæ et Evangelia, in aperto sint."—*Tertullian*, de anima, c. 28: "Nullus sermo divinus nisi Dei unius, quo Prophetæ, quo Apostoli, quo ipse Christus intonuit."—De præscript. hæret. c. 36: "Legem et Prophetas cum evangelicis et apostolicis literis miscet (ecclesia); inde potat fidem."—*Clemens Alex.* Stromata iii. p. 455: *Νόμος τε ὁμοῦ καὶ προφῆται σὺν καὶ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ εἰς μίαν συνάγοντα γνῶσιν.*

(5) *Hippolytus*, contra hær. Noet. ix.: *Εἷς Θεὸς, ὃν οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἐπιγινώσκομεν ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν· ὃν γὰρ τρόπον ἐάν τις βουληθῇ τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἀσκεῖν, οὐκ ἄλλως δυνήσεται τούτου τυχεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ δόγμασι φιλοσόφων ἐντύχῃ· τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον ὅσοι θεοσέβειαν ἀσκεῖν βουλόμεθα, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἀσκήσομεν ἢ ἐκ λόγων τοῦ Θεοῦ· ὅσα τοίνυν κηρύσσουσιν αἱ γραφαὶ, ἴδωμεν . . . μὴ κατ' ἰδίαν προαίρεσιν, μηδὲ κατ' ἴδιον νοῦν, μηδὲ βιαζόμενοι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ δεδομένα· ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον αὐτὸς ἐβουλήθη διὰ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν δεῖξαι, οὕτως ἴδωμεν.*—*Athanasius*, contra gentes, t. i. p. 1: *Αὐτάρκεις μὲν γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ἅγιαι καὶ θεόπνευστοι γραφαὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπαγγελίαν.*— *Origen*, Homil. in Jerem. 39: *Καὶ οὐ θαυμαστόν, εἰ πᾶν ῥῆμα τὸ λαλούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν προφητῶν ἐργάζετο ἔργον τὸ πρέπον ῥήματι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἶμαι, ὅτι καὶ πᾶν θαυμάσιον γράμμα τὸ γεγραμμένον ἐν τοῖς λογίοις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐργάζεται, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν Ἰῶτα ἓν ἢ μία κεραία γεγραμμένη ἥτις τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις χρῆσθαι τῇ δυνάμει τῶν γραμμάτων, οὐκ ἐργάζεται τὸ ἑαυτῆς ἔργον.* See more testimonies in *Rudelbach, ibid.* p. 22 ff.

Sometimes the Logos, sometimes the Holy Spirit, is named as properly the author of the Holy Scriptures (6). The men who composed the books were only organs of the Holy Spirit, who spoke and wrote that with which the Spirit of God inspired them. Yet they were spiritual organs, who gave themselves up with clear consciousness to the operation of divine grace (1 Pet. i. 10–12); and not only did they preserve their human individuality in language and diction, but also, along with the Spirit's impulse, they let themselves be determined by external motives and special aims (7).

(6) *Clemens Romanus*, epist. i. ad Corinth. c. 45: *Ἐγκύπτετε εἰς τὰς γραφὰς, τὰς ἀληθεῖς ῥήσεις πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου.* "By the Holy Spirit" the prophets speak as servants of the grace of God (c. 8), and Christ speaks to us in the Psalms (c. 22). In c. 13 and c. 16, passages are quoted from Jeremiah, Isaiah, and the Psalms, with the formula, "as the Holy Spirit has spoken of Christ."—*Justin Martyr*, Apol. i. c. 33: *Ὅτι δὲ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ θεοφοροῦνται οἱ προφητεύοντες εἰ μὴ λόγῳ θείῳ. Ibid.* c. 35: *Ἀπὸ τοῦ κινοῦντος αὐτοὺς θείου λόγου.* Dialog. c. Tryph. c. 7: *Θείῳ πνεύματι λαλήσαντες.*—*Irenæus*, ii. 28. 2: "Cedere (al. credere) autem hæc talia debemus deo, qui et nos fecit rectissime scientes, quia scripturæ quidem perfectæ sunt, quippe a *verbo Dei et Spiritu ejus* dictæ: nos autem," etc.—*Cyprian*, de unitate ecclesiæ, p. 108: "Quam unam ecclesiam in Cantico

Canticorum *Spiritus Sanctus* ex persona Domini designat."—*Clemens Alex.*, it would seem, derives inspiration from the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, without making a distinction (comp. *Kahnis*, Lehre vom heiligen Geiste, i. pp. 320–1).—*Origen*, de princip. iv. 9: *Ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, βουλήματι τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ταύτας ἀναγεγράφθαι.* Comp. *Rudelbach*, *ibid.* pp. 20–1; and *Kahnis*, *ibid.* pp. 212 ff., 231 ff., 280, 290, 320–1.

(7) The most ancient Fathers, indeed, conceived of inspiration first of all as a passive state; yet at the same time they by no means wished to exclude all human activity or all consciousness, to which extreme of error only the Montanists attained. Comp. *Rudelbach*, pp. 26 ff., 39 ff.; also see p. 48 ff., in reference to the views of the schoolmen.

The Christians of the first centuries, however, could read the Old Testament for the most part only in the Alexandrian translation. Hence, at the beginning, they had no prejudice against using all the books contained in it as holy and divine writings (8); so that the most ancient Fathers often quote the Aprocrypha just as they quote the canonical Scriptures (9).

(8) The Jewish Christians of Palestine formed an exception. *Epiphanius*, hær. xxix. 7, informs of the *Nazarenes: Χρῶνται δὲ οὗτοι (οἱ Ναζωραῖοι) οὐ μόνον νέᾳ διαθήκῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ παλαιᾷ καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. Οὐ γὰρ ἀπηγόρευται παρ' αὐτοῖς Νομοθεσία καὶ Προφῆται καὶ Γραφεῖα τὰ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις καλούμενα βιβλία, ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς προειρημένοις. . . . Ἕνα δὲ Θεὸν καταγγέλλουσι καὶ τὸν τούτου παῖδα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. Ἑβραϊκὴν δὲ διάλεκτον ἀκριβῶς εἰσιν ἠσκημένοι. Παρ' αὐτοῖς γὰρ πᾶς ὁ Νόμος καὶ οἱ Προφῆται καὶ τὰ Γραφεῖα λεγόμενα, φημὶ δὲ τὰ Στιχήρη, καὶ αἱ Βασιλεῖαι, καὶ Παραλειπόμενα, καὶ Αἰσθῆρ, καὶ τἄλλα πάντα Ἑβραϊκῶς ἀναγινώσκεται, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις.*

(9) *Irenæus*, adv. Hær. v. 35, "Significavit Jeremias propheta" (Baruch iv. 36); iv. 5, "Daniel propheta" (xiv. 4, 5, Septuagint).—*Clemens Alex.* Stromata, iv. 609, *Ἡ θεία σοφία λέγει* (Wisdom 3); vi. 800, *Σαλωμὼν φησίν* (Wisdom 6); Pædag. ii. p. 161, *Ἡ θεία ποῦ λέγει γραφή* (Baruch 3).—*Tertullian*, adv. Valentinian. c. 2, "Sophia Salomonis" (Wisdom 1); Exhort. ad Cast. c. 2, "Sicut scriptum est" (Ecclus. 15).—*Cyprian*, de orat. dom. p. 141, ed. Brem., "Per Jeremiam (Baruch) . . . Spiritus S. . . . docet;" *ibid.* p. 153, "Scriptura divina (Tobit) instruit;" Exhortat. martyr. p. 182, "Per Salomonem (Wisdom) Spiritus S. ostendit."—Also in the so-

called Apostolic Fathers there are found some allusions to Tobit, Judith (especially *Clement*, i. ad Corinth. c. 55, where *Ἰουδὶθ ἡ μακαρία* is set up as a pattern, along with *τελεία κατὰ πίστιν Ἐσθήρ*), Ecclesiasticus, and the book of Wisdom.—Further, *Justin Martyr* used the Alexandrian additions to Daniel, Apol. i. c. 46; but nowhere else does he quote a single apocryphal book adopted by the Septuagint. From his Dial. c. Tryph. c. 71, *Welte* infers, Tübinger theol. Quartalschrift, 1855, pp. 90–1, that Justin Martyr was acquainted not only with single passages, but also with whole books in the Alexandrian collection of the Scriptures, whose canonicity was denied by the Jews with whom he was engaged in controversy; but in this passage, as also in the rest of the passages quoted by *Welte*, the *γραφαί* are not books, but texts, namely forged texts, which Justin, however, supposed to be genuine, and to be set aside only by the Jews. Comp. *Oehler*, art. Kanon in *Herzog's* Encycl. p. 257, note.—But with similar freedom from prejudice [?], many of the older Fathers quote also other pseudepigraphic writings which are not contained in the Septuagint: for instance, the book of Enoch (*Tertullian*, de cultu fem. i. 3 [though, says *Bleek*, p. 687, "it is not unknown to him that the book is not received by the Jews into their Canon, 'in armarium Judaicum non refertur;' but he finds the reason in its prophesying of Christ, and he is not in consequence withheld from vindicating canonical authority for it, as he holds that it is genuine, and that it has the testimony of Jude in its favour." In the same place he says that the book of Enoch is also cited by *Origen*]), the Ascension of Isaiah (*Justin Martyr*, Dial. c. Tryph. c. 120), Apocalypsis Ezræ [or fourth Esdras, *Bleek*, *ibid.*, says, quoted by *Barnabas*, *Clemens Alex.*], and others. This was because the sharply defined limits of the Holy Scriptures were as yet unknown to them. [*Bleek's* arrangement, p. 687, from *Welte*, in *Herbst*, Einleitung, i. 24 ff., presents the case very skilfully from the point of view of the advocates of a loose Canon. "Thus we find use made, in the same way as of the books and passages in the Hebrew Canon, of the apocryphal additions to the book of Daniel (Bel at Babel, and Susannah), by *Irenæus* and *Cyprian*; the book of Baruch and the Wisdom of Solomon, by *Irenæus*, *Clemens Alex.*, *Tertullian*, and *Cyprian*; Ecclesiasticus, by *Clemens Alex.* and *Tertullian*; the books of Tobit and Judith, by *Clemens Alex.* and *Cyprian*; the books of Maccabees and the third book of Esdras, by *Cyprian*. *Clemens Alex.* makes an especially frequent use of these apocryphal books, particularly of Ecclesiasticus, . . . and also, though less frequently, of passages from Wisdom, Baruch, and others."]

But in the course of controversy with the Jews [at least this was perhaps the immediate occasion, says *Bleek*, p. 687], the Christians had their attention turned to the distinction between the Hebrew Canon and that in the Greek translation of the LXX. Then *Melito* of Sardis (about A.D. 172) (10), and *Origen* (who died in 254) (11), collected exact information as to the books which belonged to the Canon among the Jews of Palestine, and published lists of these. Nevertheless, along with these books, also those apocryphal writings which had once come into circulation in the Church, according to ancient custom, which was reckoned to have been providential (12), continued to be in manifold use.

(10) In his Eclogæ, composed for Onesimus, and communicated to us by *Eusebius*, hist. eccl. iv. 26: *Μελίτων Ὀνησίμῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. Ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις ἠξίωσας σπουδῇ τῇ πρὸς τὸν λόγον χρώμενος γενέσθαι σοι ἐκλογὰς ἔκ τε τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν περὶ σωτῆρος καὶ πάσης τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν· ἔτι δὲ καὶ μαθεῖν τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίων ἐβουλήθης ἀκρίβειαν, πόσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ὁποῖα τὴν τάξιν εἶεν, ἐσπούδασα τὸ τοιοῦτο πρᾶξαι. . . . Ἀνελθὼν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν, καὶ ἕως τοῦ τόπου γενόμενος, ἔνθα ἐκηρύχθη καὶ ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἀκριβῶς μαθὼν τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία, ὑποτάξας ἐπεμψά σοι· ὧν ἐστι τὰ ὀνόματα. Μωϋσέως πέντε· Γένεσις, Ἔξοδος, Λευιτικὸν, Ἀριθμοὶ, Δευτερονόμιον, Ἰησοῦς Ναυῆ, Κριταὶ, Ῥοὺθ, Βασιλειῶν τέσσαρα, Παραλειπομένων δύο· Ψαλμῶν Δαβὶδ, Σολομῶνος Παροιμίαι (ἡ καὶ Σοφία), Ἐκκλησιαστὴς, Ἆσμα ἀσμάτων, Ἰώβ· Προφητῶν· Ἡσαΐου, Ἱερεμίου, τῶν δώδεκα ἐν μονοβίβλῳ, Δανιὴλ, Ἰεζεκιὴλ, Ἔσδρας· ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὰς ἐκλογὰς ἐποιησάμεν, εἰς ἓξ βιβλία διελών.* The book of Nehemiah is wanting, because the Jews reckoned it one with the book of Ezra. But why is the book of Esther also awanting? According to *Chr. Fr. Schmidii* histor. antiq. et Vind. Canon. pp. 152 and 193, *Ἐσθήρ* has fallen out by an error of the scribes, "propter similitudinem pronuntiationis et scriptioni santegressi *Ἔσδρας*." According to *Eichhorn*, Einl. i. § 32, it is also included under the book of Ezra. [*Bleek*, p. 688, attributes this opinion also to *Häv.*, and to *Keerl*, die Apokryphen des Altes Test. 1852, p. 122, Remark; but he pronounces it "utterly improbable."] According to *Herbst*, Einl. i. p. 13, it is because the Jews had pronounced the Greek book of Esther, furnished with the additions [as given in the Septuagint], not canonical. According to *Oehler*, it is because the authorities whom Melito consulted did not reckon it canonical. [See as to them, § 214, Note 2.

Bleek, p. 688, is inclined to this last view. He adds: "The Lamentations are here not mentioned apart, but they are undoubtedly comprehended under Jeremiah. . . . As already observed, he brings forward none of our apocryphal books with these; but it is surprising that he says, 'the Proverbs of Solomon, which is also called Wisdom.' He himself seems not to have had any closer acquaintance with that apocryphal book, the Wisdom of Solomon, and to have thought that it and the Proverbs were one and the same book."]

(11) *Eusebius*, Hist. Eccl. vi. 25: *Τὸν μέντοιγε πρώτον ἐξηγούμενος ψαλμὸν, ἔκθεσιν πεποίηται (Ὠριγένης) τοῦ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης καταλόγου, ὧδέ πως γράφων κατὰ λέξιν. "Οὐκ ἀγνοητέον δ' εἶναι τὰς ἐνδιαθήκους βίβλους, ὡς Ἑβραῖοι παραδιδόασιν, δύο καὶ εἴκοσι, ὅσος ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς στοιχείων ἐστίν." Εἶτα μετά τινα ἐπιφέρει λέγων. "Εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ εἴκοσι δύο βίβλοι καθ' Ἑβραίους αἵδε. Ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν Γένεσις ἐπιγεγραμμένη, παρὰ δὲ Ἑβραίοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς βίβλου Βρησὶθ, ὅπερ ἐστιν, ἐν ἀρχῇ· Ἔξοδος, Οὐαλεσμὼθ, ὅπερ ἐστι, ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα· Λευιτικὸν, Ουϊκρὰ, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν· Ἀριθμοὶ, Ἀμμεσφεκωδείμ· Δευτερονόμιον, Ἔλλε ἀδδεβαρὶμ, οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι· Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυῆ, Ἰωσοῦε βεν Νοῦν· Κριταὶ, Ῥοὺθ, παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ἑνὶ, Σωφετίμ· Βασιλειῶν πρώτη, δευτέρα, παρ' αὐτοῖς ἓν, Σαμουὴλ, ὁ θεόκλητος· Βασιλειῶν τρίτη, τετάρτη, ἐν ἑνὶ, Οὐαμμέλεχ Δαβὶδ, ὅπερ ἐστι, βασιλεία Δαβίδ· Παραλειπομένων πρῶτον, δεύτερον, ἐν ἑνὶ, Διβρὴ Ἰαμὶμ, ὅπέρ ἐστι, λόγοι ἡμερῶν· Ἔσδρας πρῶτος καὶ δεύτερος, ἐν ἑνὶ, Ἐζρᾶ, ὁ ἐστι, βοηθός. Βίβλος Ψαλμῶν, Σέφερ Θιλλίμ· Σαλομῶντος Παροιμίαι, Μισλώθ· Ἐκκλησιαστής, Κωέλεθ· ᾆσμα ᾀσμάτων, Σὶρ ἀσσιρίμ· Ἡσαΐας, Ἰεσαϊά· Ἰερεμίας, σὺν Θρήνοις καὶ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, ἐν ἑνὶ, Ἰερεμία· Δανιὴλ, Δανιήλ· Ἰεζεκιήλ, Ἰεεσκήλ· Ἰὼβ, Ἰώβ· Ἔσθὴρ, Ἔσθήρ. Ἔξω δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ Μακκαβαϊκὰ, ἅπερ ἐπιγέγραπται Σαρβὴθ Σαρβανὲ Ἔλ."* On this *Valesius*, *ibid.*, observes: "Omissus est in hoc catalogo liber *duodecim Prophetarum*. Quo factum est, ut cum viginti duo libros se numeraturum promiserit Origenes, unus dumtaxat et viginti reperiantur. In *Rufini* versione recensetur hic liber statim post Canticum Canticorum [compare their position in the Catalogue of the Council of Laodicea, given in Note 13]. Nec aliter *Hilarius* in prologo enarrationis in Psalmos, et *Cyrillus Hierosol.* . . . *Hilarius* vero in prologo Comment. in Psalmos cum Origene prorsus consentit. Nec id mirum, cum totus fere prologus ille Hilarii translatus sit ex Commentariis in Psalmos, ut testatur Hieronymus."—However, Origen brings forward the Epistle of Jeremiah, or the book of Baruch, along with the rest, not be-

cause this book was esteemed as much as the canonical books by the Jews whom he consulted (*Münscher*, Dogmengeschichte, i. p. 205; *Bertholdt*, Einl. i. p. 93; *Herbst*, i. p. 15); but because in writing that passage he had before his eyes the Septuagint, according to which his catalogue is also arranged: comp. *Eichhorn*, i. § 54; *Häv.* i. 1, p. 93; *Oehler*, *ibid.* p. 258. [This is also the opinion of *Bleek*, p. 689, who observes that this Epistle of Jeremiah, which he pronounces "decidedly spurious, and probably written originally in Greek," at present forms the sixth chapter of the apocryphal book of Baruch, but is found after the Lamentations of Jeremiah in ancient manuscripts of the Septuagint; and that this was undoubtedly its original position in the Septuagint, and would be so in Origen's copies. The omission of the twelve prophets *Bleek* considers to be plainly a mere accident, whether of Eusebius or of one of his ancient copyists. And he explains the last place, far from the other historical books, assigned to Esther, by the want of harmony, both in the Jewish and the Christian Church, in reference to its historical character and its canonical authority.]

(12) This appears clearly from what passed between *Origen* and *Julius Africanus* concerning the history of Susannah and the apocryphal additions to the book of Daniel, in the epist. ad Africanum, Opp. i. p. 16: *Ὥρα τοίνον, εἰ μὴ λανθάνει ἡμᾶς τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀθετεῖν τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις φερόμενα ἀντίγραφα, καὶ νομοθετῆσαι τῇ ἀδελφότητι, ἀποθέσθαι μὲν τὰς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιφερομένας ἱερὰς βίβλους, κολακεύειν δ' Ἰουδαίους καὶ πείθειν, ἵνα μεταδῶσιν ἡμῖν τῶν καθαρῶν καὶ μηδὲν πλάσμα ἐχόντων. . . . Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ σκόπει, εἰ μὴ καλὸν μεμνῆσθαι τοῦ· οὐ μεταθήσεις ὅρια αἰώνια, ἃ ἔστησαν οἱ προτεροί σου . . . διὸ οὐδὲν οἶμαι ἄλλο οἰκονομεῖσθαι, ἢ τοὺς νομιζομένους σοφοὺς καὶ ἄρχοντας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους τοῦ λαοῦ ὑπεξελεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα ὅσα περιεῖχεν αὐτῶν κατηγορίαν παρὰ τῷ λαῷ.*—P. 26: . . . *Ἑβραῖοι τῷ Τωβίᾳ οὐ χρῶνται, οὐδὲ τῇ Ἰουδήθ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ ἐν ἀποκρύφοις Ἑβραϊστί, ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μαθόντες ἐγνώκαμεν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ χρῶνται τῷ Τωβίᾳ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι, κ.τ.λ.* Comp. *Oehler*, Berlin. Jahrbb. 1846, ii. p. 231 ff.: "Origen chooses to know the canonicity of the Old Testament writings, as determined by the ecclesiastical usage, and not by the Palestino-Jewish Canon." Accordingly he quotes the book of Wisdom, c. Cels. iii. 72, and Ecclesiasticus, *ibid.* viii. 50, as *θεῖος λόγος*. He quotes Tobit, in his commentary on Rom. viii., as *γραφή*. And he says, de principiis, ii. 1, Opp. i. 79: "Ut ex *Scripturarum auctoritate* hoc ita se habere credamus, audi quoque in *Maccabæorum libris*." [Origen and others may have perhaps meant no more than divines among ourselves at the present day, when they

take the liberty of quoting such confessedly spurious texts as 1 John v. 7; or when they adhere to undoubtedly erroneous translations, merely because a reverential feeling gathers round all the words of our admirable authorized version. It is also possible that he had an unworthy fear of an outcry against him for heresy.]

But so early as in the fourth century, the Greek Church settled exactly the number of the canonical books of the Old Testament in accordance with the extent of the Hebrew Canon, by means of decrees of councils and episcopal letters (13). At the same time, it forbade the reading of the Apocrypha (14). By means of this, only individual Fathers entertained doubts as to the canonicity of the book of Esther (15); and though some permitted the catechumens to read the Apocrypha, yet they did so without thereby altering the distinction between canonical and non-canonical books (16). Also the more ancient Syrian Church acknowledged only the books in the Hebrew codex as canonical (17); whereas the Ethiopic Church [sooner or later] had also pseudepigraphic books in their translation of the Bible (18).

(13) Concil. Laodic. (between 360 and 364), Canon 60, in *Mansi* concill. nov. et ampliss. collect. ii. 574: *Ὅσα δεῖ βιβλία ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης. α'. Γένεσις κόσμου· β'. Ἔξοδος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου· γ'. Λευιτικόν· δ'. Ἀριθμοί· ε'. Δευτερονόμιον· ς'. Ἰησοῦς Ναυῆ· ζ. Κριταί, Ῥούθ· η'. Ἐσθήρ· θ'. Βασιλειῶν α', β'· ι'. Βασιλειῶν γ', δ'· ια'. Παραλειπόμενα α', β'· ιβ'. Ἔσδρας α', β'· ιγ'. βίβλος Ψαλμῶν ρν'· [ιδ.] Παροιμίαι Σολομῶντος· ιε'. Ἐκκλησιαστής· ις'. Ἆσμα ᾀσμάτων· ιζ'. Ἰώβ· ιη'. Δώδεκα προφῆται. ιθ'. Ἡσαΐας· κ'. Ἰερεμίας, Βαρουχ, Θρῆνοι, καὶ Ἐπιστολαί· κα'. Ἰεζεκιήλ· κβ'. Δανιήλ.* Here also, Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah are combined with the prophet Jeremiah into one book, in accordance with the Alexandrian version. Against Spittler's doubts as to the genuineness of this Canon, see *Bickell* in the theol. Studien u. Krit. 1830, iii. p. 591 ff.—On the contrary, the old ecclesiastical practice is unmistakeably meant to be sanctioned [yet apparently only to a very limited extent] by the Canones Apostol., Can. lxxxv., in *Mansi*, i. 47, and in the Patres Apostol. ed. Coteler. i. 448: *Ἔστω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν κληρικοῖς καὶ λαϊκοῖς βιβλία σεβάσμα καὶ ἅγια, τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης Μωσέως πέντε. . . . Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυῆ ἕν, τῶν Κριτῶν ἕν, τῆς Ῥοὺθ ἕν, Βασιλειῶν τέσσαρα, Παραλειπομένων τοῦ βιβλίου τῶν*

ἡμερῶν δύο, Ἔσδρᾶ δύο, Ἐσθὴρ ἕν, Ἰουδεὶθ ἕν (wanting in many codices), Μαχαβαϊκῶν τρία, Ἰὼβ ἕν, Ψαλτήριον ἕν, Σολομῶντος τρία, . . . Προφητῶν δεκαδύο ἕν, Ἡσαΐας ἕν, Ἰερεμίας ἕν, Ἰεζεκιὴλ ἕν, Δανιὴλ ἕν. Ἔξωθεν δὲ προσιστορείσθω ὑμῖν, μανθάνειν ὑμῶν τοὺς νέους τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ πολυμαθοῦς Σειράχ.

Cyrillus Hierosol. Catech. iv. 33 sqq., p. 67 sq., ed. *Tuttei*: Ἀναγίνωσκε τὰς θείας γραφάς, τὰς εἴκοσι δύο βίβλους τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα δύο ἑρμηνευτῶν ἑρμηνευθείσας. . . . Τοῦ νόμου μὲν γάρ εἰσιν αἱ Μωσέως πρῶται πέντε βίβλοι, . . . ἑξῆς δὲ, Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυῆ, καὶ τῶν Κριτῶν μετὰ τῆς Ῥοὺθ βιβλίον ἕβδομον ἀριθμούμενον, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἱστορικῶν βιβλίων, πρώτη καὶ δευτέρα τῶν Βασιλειῶν μία παρ' Ἑβραίοις ἐστὶ βίβλος· μία δὲ καὶ ἡ τρίτη καὶ τετάρτη· ὁμοίως δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Παραλειπομένων ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἡ δευτέρα μία τυγχάνει βίβλος, καὶ τοῦ Ἔσδρα ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἡ δευτέρα μία λελόγισται· δωδεκάτη βίβλος ἡ Ἐσθήρ. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἱστορικὰ ταῦτα. Τὰ δὲ στοιχηρὰ τυγχάνει πέντε· Ἰὼβ, καὶ βίβλος Ψαλμῶν, καὶ Παροιμίαι, καὶ Ἐκκλησιαστὴς, καὶ ᾆσμα ᾀσμάτων, ἑπτακαιδέκατον βιβλίον. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὰ προφητικὰ πέντε· τῶν δώδεκα προφητῶν μία βίβλος, καὶ Ἡσαΐου μία, καὶ Ἰερεμίου μετὰ Βαροὺχ καὶ Θρήνων καὶ Ἐπιστολῆς· εἶτα Ἰεζεκιὴλ, καὶ ἡ τοῦ Δανιὴλ εἰκοστηδευτέρα βίβλος τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης.

With this agrees the enumeration of the *twenty-two* books in *Gregory Nazianzen*, Carm. xxxiii., Opp. ii. 98, ed. Colon. (also reprinted in *Schmidii* hist. antiq. et. vind. Canonis, p. 173 sq.); and in *Amphilochii* Iambi ad Seleucum, *ibid.* p. 194: only that *Gregory Nazianzen* reckons the book of Ruth by itself, does not give the details of Jeremiah's writings, and omits the book of Esther; whilst *Amphilochius*, after the enumeration of the canonical writings, subjoins τούτοις προσεγκρίνουσι τὴν Ἐσθὴρ τινές.

[*Bleek*, p. 691, noticing these documents now quoted, and those which follow, taken from *Athanasius*, the author of the Synopsis Scripturæ Sacræ, and *Epiphanius*, observes: "These catalogues in general all adhere to the Hebrew Canon, and do not bring forward as canonical, along with these, books which are not found in it, only with the exception of the Epistle of Jeremiah (which also *Origen* names along with Jeremiah) and the book of Baruch. These are expressly brought forward, as much as the Lamentations, along with Jeremiah, in the catalogues of the Council of Laodicea, of *Cyril* of Jerusalem, of *Athanasius*, and of the Synopsis. In other catalogues—those of the Apostolic Constitutions, of *Gregory Nazianzen*, and of Iambi ad Seleucum—they are not indeed expressly named; but just as little are

the Lamentations: so that we may well assume that both those books, as much as this one, were included under Jeremiah." See what he said in explanation of Origen's procedure, in the additions to Note 11.] *Athanasius*, epist. festal. [otherwise named by *Bleek*, *ibid.*, a fragment of an epistola paschalis], Opp. i. 961, ed. Benedict: Ἐπειδὴ . . . φοβοῦμαι, μή πως ὀλίγοι τῶν ἀκεραίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἁπλότητος καὶ τῆς ἀγνότητος πλανηθῶσιν ἀπὸ τῆς πανουργίας τινῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ λοιπὸν ἐντυγχάνειν ἑτέροις ἄρξωνται τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀποκρύφοις, ἀπατώμενοι τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ τῶν ἀληθινῶν βιβλίων παρακαλῶ ἀνέχεσθαι, εἰ περὶ ὧν ἐπίστασθε, περὶ τούτων μνημονεύειν γράφω, διά τε τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Μέλλων δὲ τούτων μνημονεύειν, χρήσομαι πρὸς σύστασιν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ τόλμης τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ Λουκᾶ, λέγων καὶ αὐτός. Ἐπειδήπερ τινὲς ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι ἑαυτοῖς τὰ λεγόμενα ἀπόκρυφα, καὶ ἐπιμίξαι ταῦτα τῇ θεοπνεύστῃ γραφῇ, περὶ ἧς ἐπληροφορήθημεν, καθὼς παρέδοσαν τοῖς πατράσιν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου· ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ, προτραπέντι παρὰ γνησίων ἀδελφῶν καὶ μαθόντι ἄνωθεν, ἐξῆς ἐκθέσθαι τὰ κανονιζόμενα καὶ παραδοθέντα τε θεῖα εἶναι βιβλία, ἵνα ἕκαστος, εἰ μὲν ἠπατήθη, καταγνῶ τῶν πλανησάντων, ὁ δὲ καθαρὸς διαμείνας χαίρῃ πάλιν ὑπομνησκόμενος. Ἔστι τοίνυν τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία τῷ ἀριθμῷ τὰ πάντα εἰκοσιδύο· τοσαῦτα γὰρ, ὡς ἤκουσα, καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα τὰ παρ' Ἑβραίοις εἶναι παραδέδοται. Τῇ δὲ τάξει καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι ἕκαστον οὕτως . . . (just as *Cyril;* only that Ruth is reckoned by itself, while Esther is here omitted, and is first brought forward among the books for public reading). Ἄχρι τούτων τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης ἵσταται. Here follow the books of the New Testament: then he proceeds to say: Ἀλλ' ἑνεκά γε πλείονος ἀκριβείας προστίθημι καὶ τοῦτο γράφων ἀναγκαίως, ὡς ὅτι ἐστὶ καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν, οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγίνωσκεσθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχείσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον. Σοφία Σολομῶντος καὶ σοφία Σιρὰχ, καὶ Ἐσθὴρ, καὶ Ἰουδὶθ, καὶ Τοβίας, . . . καὶ ὅμως κἀκείνων κανονιζομένων καὶ τούτων ἀναγινωσκομένων, οὐδαμῶς τῶν ἀποκρύφων μνήμη, ἀλλὰ αἱρετικῶν ἐστιν ἐπίπνοια, γραφόντων μὲν, ὅτε θέλουσιν αὐτὰ, χαριζομένων δὲ καὶ προστιθέντων αὐτοῖς χρόνους, ἵνα ὡς παλαιὰ προφέροντες πρόφασιν ἔχωσιν ἀπατᾶν ἐκ τούτου τοὺς ἀκεραίους. [*Bleek*, p. 692, having quoted this statement about books for catechumens to read, as appointed by earlier church authorities, says that the same individual books are named in the Synopsis, from which *Keil* gives the next quotation, only with the addition of four books of Maccabees and the History of Susannah.]

A similar catalogue, both of the canonical and the non-canonical books, is furnished by the Synopsis Scripturæ Sacræ (according to *Credner*, zur Geschichte des Kan. p. 127 ff., by an Athanasius, a Greek, who lived in the tenth century at the earliest [*Bleek*, p. 691, says more generally, that this work has also proceeded "from the Alexandrian Church, after the time of Athanasius"]), in *Athanasii* Opp. ii. 126, also given in *Credner*, p. 137 ff. Only it contains this addition: *Τινὲς μέντοι τῶν παλαιῶν εἰρήκασι κανονίζεσθαι παρ' Ἑβραίοις καὶ τὴν Ἐσθήρ· καὶ τὴν μὲν Ῥοὺθ μετὰ τῶν Κριτῶν ἑνουμένην εἰς ἕν βιβλίον ἀριθμεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ Ἐσθὴρ εἰς ἕτερον ἕν· καὶ οὕτω πάλιν εἰς εἴκοσι δύο συμπληροῦσθαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν κανονιζομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς βιβλίων.*

Epiphanius, de mens. et ponder. c. 22, 23, Opp. ii. 180, ed. Petav.: *Διὸ καὶ εἴκοσι δύο εἰσὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις γράμματα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ τὰς βίβλους αὐτῶν κβ' ἠρίθμησαν εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ οὔσας· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ διπλοῦνται πέντε παρ' αὐτοῖς στοιχεῖα, εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ καὶ αὐτὰ ὄντα, καὶ εἰς κβ' ἀποτελοῦνται, τούτου χάριν καὶ τὰς βίβλους, κζ' οὔσας, κβ' πεποιήκασιν. Ὧν πρώτη—Γένεσις—Ἔξοδος—Λευτικὸν, Ἀριθμοὶ, Δευτερονόμιον—ἡ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ, ἡ τοῦ Ἰὼβ—ἡ τῶν Κριτῶν—ἡ τῆς Ῥοὺθ—τὸ Ψαλτήριον—ἡ πρώτη τῶν Παραλειπομένων—Παραλ. δευτέρα—Βασιλειῶν πρώτη, Β. δευτέρα, Β. τρίτη, Β. τετάρτη· ἡ Παροιμιῶν—ὁ Ἐκκλησιαστὴς—τὸ Ἆσμα τῶν ᾀσμάτων—τὸ Δωδεκαπρόφητον—Ἡσαΐου—Ἰερεμίου—Ἰεζεκιὴλ—ἡ τοῦ Ἔσδρα πρώτη—δευτέρα—ἡ τῆς Ἐσθήρ. . . . Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη μικρὰ βίβλος, ἣ καλεῖται Κινῶθ, ἥ τις ἑρμηνεύεται Θρῆνος Ἰερεμίου· αὕτη δὲ τῷ Ἰερεμίᾳ συνάπτεται, ἥτις ἐστὶ περισσὴ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, καὶ τῷ Ἰερεμίᾳ συναπτομένη.* [There are only *twenty-seven in all* here; but by some mistake Daniel is omitted. *Bleek*, pp. 691–2, notices this passage, and a similar one, *ibid.* c. 4; but with reference to his own observations on the retention of some apocryphal matter along with Jeremiah, already inserted, he adds, "although he remarks, c. 5, that the 'Epistles of Baruch' *οὐ κεῖνται παρ' Ἑβραίοις*. In another catalogue, Hæres. viii. 6 (Opp. i. 19), *Epiphanius* says, without anything more, *τὸν προφήτην Ἰερεμίαν μετὰ τῶν Θρήνων καὶ Ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Βαρούχ.* This book of Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah seem to have met with pretty general acknowledgment in the Greek Church in this age. . . . And though *Epiphanius*, Hær. viii., designates Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon as two books which are held to be doubtful; and again, de mens. et pond. c. 4, as books which are not reckoned in the number of the Scriptures properly so called; yet in the latter passage he says

that they are useful books. It is more surprising that in another passage, Hær. 76, where he first designates in general the books of the Old Testament, and then brings forward those of the New Testament, he should name the Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus in uninterrupted succession after the Apocalypse, and then comprehend these with the others under the designation 'divine writings;' although here also he has expressly separated these books from those of the Old Testament Canon. *Epiphanius* also appeals to both of them, especially to Wisdom, in various other passages, as to utterances of Scripture: so also does *Athanasius*, and even *Cyril of Jerusalem* (see *Herbst*, Einl. i. 35 f.); so that he does not always proceed so strictly in separating those from the canonical Scriptures, as in that catalogue he requires us to do."] Comp. Hæres. viii., Opp. i. 19.

Also the later doctors of the Greek Church acknowledge only these twenty-two books of the Old Testament as canonical: so that the rest of the books were separated from the Canon, not only by the Concilium Trullanum, but also by a Synod at Constantinople in the year 1632, just as in the Council of Laodicea. Comp. *Ph. Fr. Keerl*, die Apokryphen des Alten Test., Leipzig 1852, pp. 125–6. [*Bleek*, p. 698, also notices the constancy with which the Greek Church adhered to this view: "*Johannes Damascenus* (about the year 720), de fide orthodox. iv. 18, adduces only the twenty-two books of the Hebrew Canon as the Old Testament Scriptures; and then he says of the Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus, that they are indeed excellent and beautiful (*ἐνάρεται καὶ καλαί*), but that they are not to be numbered along with the others. And a catalogue which is found at the end of the Chronographia of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch *Nicephorus* (who died in 828), but which he perhaps found already in existence, also adduces none but the twenty-two books of the Hebrew Canon as divine, canonical books, received by the Church: only among them it reckons Baruch instead of Esther; and it places the rest of our Apocrypha, along with Esther, in a second class, Antilegomena, which are not received by the Church."]

(14) *Concil. Laodic.*, Can. 59: "*Οτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης.—Cyrillus Hierosol. l.c.: Φιλομαθῶς ἐπύγνωθι παρὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ποῖαι μέν εἰσιν αἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βίβλοι . . . καί μοι μηδὲν τῶν ἀποκρύφων ἀναγίνωσκε.*—Comp., in addition, *Athanasius*, epist. festal. *l.c.*

(15) It is questionable whether the canonicity of Esther was a matter of doubt already to *Melito* of Sardis and to *Gregory Nazianzen*, in whose catalogues this book is awanting (see Notes 10 and 13): but

it certainly was so to *Athanasius* and to the author of the Synopsis, who enumerate it among the Apocrypha; as also to *Amphilochius* (see Note 13). Also it is remarked by *Junilius*, de partibus legis divinæ, c. 3, that still in his time (in the sixth century) the canonicity of Esther was doubted by many. Yet from the remark in the Synopsis attributed to Athanasius (as quoted in Note 13), that Esther was held to be canonical by the Hebrews, we at once clearly see that these doubts arose from subjective reasons: they are borrowed from the non-occurrence of the name of God in the book, and from the apocryphal additions mixed up with it in the Alexandrian translation.

(16) Comp. *Athanasius*, and the author of the Synopsis, in the passages quoted in Note 13 [together with the additional matter quoted by *Bleek*, which may be at least partly explained in the same way].

(17) Not only is the Apocrypha awanting in the Peshito, but also *Ephrem Syrus* does not acknowledge it as canonical, though he is acquainted with it. Comp. *Häv.* i. 1, p. 408.

(18) According to *Dillmann*, über den Umfang des Bibelcanons der abyssinischen Kirche, in *Ewald's* bibl. Jahrb. v. p. 144 ff., and in *Herzog's* Realencycl. i. p. 170, it is quite impossible to discover how many books were received by this Church in earlier times.

On the contrary, the Latin Church, at the Synods at *Hippo* in 393, and at *Carthage* in 419, under the guidance of *Augustine*, received the Apocrypha also as canonical (19), because hitherto it had enjoyed ecclesiastical authority (20). Yet the learned Fathers and theologians of subsequent times did not permit themselves to be led astray by this, but continued to uphold the well-founded distinction between the canonical and the apocryphal books, and to exclude the latter from the Canon of the Old Testament (21); although this distinction was explained by many doctors of the Church to be of little importance, and thus it gradually came to be obscured in the Western Church (22).

(19) Concil. *Hipponens.* Can. 36, in *Mansi*, iii. 924: "Ut præter Scripturas canonicas nihil in Ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum Scripturarum. Sunt autem canon. Scripturæ: *Gen.*, *Exod.*, *Lev.*, *Num.*, *Deuter.*, *Jesus Nave*, *Judicorum*, *Ruth*, *Regnorum* libri *quatuor*, *Paralipom.* libri *duo*, *Job*, *Psalterium* Dav., *Salomonis* libri *quinque*, *duodecim* libri *Prophetarum*, *Esaias*, *Jeremias*, *Daniel*, *Ezechiel*, *Tobias*, *Judith*, *Hesthēr*, *Esdræ* libri *duo*, *Maccabæorum* libri *duo*."—And so

Concil. *Carthag.* iii. Can. 47, in *Mansi*, iii. 891, and Concil. *Carthag.* anno 419, Can. 24: comp. *Hefele*, Conciliengeschichte, ii. p. 113, with p. 55.—*Innocentius* I. Epist. ad Exsuperium [Bishop of Toulouse in the year 405, adds *Bleek*, p. 696], *ibid.* p. 1040 sq.: "Qui vero libri recipiantur in canone sanctarum Scripturarum, brevis annexus ostendit. Hæc sunt ergo. . . . Mosis libri quinque; nec non et Jesu Nave, et Judicum, et Regnorum libri quatuor; simul et Ruth, Prophetarum libri sedecim. Salomonis libri quinque. Psalterium. Item historiarum, Job liber unus, Tobiæ unus, Esther unus, Judith unus, Maccabæorum duo, Esdræ duo, Paralipomenon duo."—The same books are enumerated in the Decretalis de libris recipiendis which Pope Gelasius I. is said to have issued, along with seventy bishops, at a Council at Rome in 494 or 496, in *Mansi*, viii. p. 146 sqq.: but in the genuine shorter text the catalogue of the books of the Bible is awanting; comp. *Credner*, zur Geschichte des Kanons, p. 149 ff., and *Hefele*, Conciliengesch. ii. pp. 602–3.

(20) *Augustine*, de doctr. Christ. ii. 8: "In canonicis Scripturis ecclesiarum catholicarum quamplurium auctoritatem sequatur, inter quas sane illa sint, quæ apostolicas sedes habere et epistolas accipere meruerunt. Tenebit igitur hunc modum in Scripturis canonicis, ut eas quæ ab *omnibus* accipiuntur ecclesiis catholicis, præponat eis quas *quidam* non accipiunt: in eis vero, quæ non accipiuntur ab *omnibus*, præponat eas quas *plures* gravioresque accipiunt eis quas *pauciores* minoresque auctoritatis ecclesiæ tenent. Si autem alias invenerit a pluribus, alias a gravioribus haberi, quamquam hoc facile invenire non possit, æqualis tamen auctoritatis eas habendas puto." Afterwards he says: "*Illi* duo libri, unus qui Sapientia, et aliis qui Ecclesiasticus inscribitur, *de quadam similitudine Salomonis esse dicuntur:* nam Jesus Sirach eos conscripsisse constantissime perhibetur, qui tamen, quoniam *in auctoritatem recipi* meruerunt, inter propheticos numerandi sunt."—Contra Gaudent. i. 31: "Hanc quidem Scripturam, quæ appellatur *Maccabæorum*, non habent Judæi, sicut Legem et Prophetas et Psalmos, quibus Dominus testimonium perhibet, tanquam testibus suis, Luc. xxiv. 44; sed *recepta est ab Ecclesia* non inutiliter, si sobrie legatur vel audiatur."—Settled criteria were wanting to Augustin for deciding on the canonicity of books. More is given on this subject by *Oehler*, art. Kanon in *Herzog*, p. 264; and by *Keerl*, *ibid.* pp. 132–3.

(21) *Jerome* [died in 420, adds *Bleek*, p. 694], in prologo galeato: "Viginti et duas litteras esse apud Hebræos, Syrorum quoque lingua et Chaldæorum testatur. . . . Porro quinque litteræ duplices apud Hebræos sunt, *Caph*, *Mem*, *Nun*, *Pe*, *Sade* . . . Unde et quinque a plerisque libri duplices existimantur, Samuel, Melachim, Dibre

Hajamim, Esdras, Jeremias cum Kinoth, *i.e.* Lamentationibus suis. Quomodo igitur viginti duo elementa sunt . . . ita *viginti duo volumina* supputantur. . . . Primus apud eos liber vocatur *Beresith*, quem nos *Genesin* dicimus; secundus, *Veele Semoth;* tertius, *Vajikra*, i.e. *Leviticus;* quartus, *Vajedabber*, quem *Numeros* vocamus; quintus, *Elle haddebarim*, qui *Deuteronomium* prænotatur. Iii sunt quinque libri Mosis, quos proprie *Thora*, i.e. *Legem*, appellant. Secundum *Prophetarum* ordinem faciunt, et incipiunt ab *Jesu filio Nave*, qui apud eos *Josuæ Ben Nun* dicitur. Deinde subtexunt *Sophetim*, i.e. *Judicum* librum: et in eundum compingunt *Ruth*, quia in diebus Judicum facta ejus narratur historia. Tertius sequitur *Samuel*, quem nos *Regum* i et ii dicimus; quartus, *Melachim*, i.e. Regum, qui iii et iv *Regum* volumine continetur. Meliusque multo est Melachim, i.e. Regum, quum Melachoth, i.e. Regnorum dicere. . . . Quintus est *Esaias;* sextus, *Jeremias;* septimus, *Ezechiel;* octavus, liber *duodecim Prophetarum*, qui apud illos vocatur *Thereasar*. Tertius ordo *Hagiographa* possidet. Et primus liber incipit a *Job;* secundus a *David*, quem quinque incisionibus et uno Psalmorum volumine comprehendunt; tertius est *Salomon*, tres libros habens, *Proverbia*, quæ illi *Misle*, i.e. Parabolas appellant; quartus, Ecclesiastes, i.e. *Coheleth;* quintus, *Canticum Canticorum*, quem titulo *Sir Hassirim* prænotant; sextus est *Daniel;* septimus, *Dibre Hajamim*, i.e. *Verba dierum*, quod significantius *Chronicon* totius divinæ historiæ possumus appellare, qui liber apud nos *Paralipomenon* primus et secundus inscribitur; octavus, *Esdras*, qui et ipse similiter apud Græcos et Latinos in duos libros divisus est; nonus, *Esther*.—Atque ita fiunt pariter Veteris Legis libri xxii; i.e. Mosis v, et Prophetarum viii, *Hagiographorum* ix.—Quanquam nonnulli *Ruth* et *Kinoth* inter Hagiographa scriptitent et hos libros in suo putent numero supputandos, ac per hoc priscæ legis libros *viginti quatuor*, quos, etc.—Hic prologus scripturarum quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris, quos de Hebræo vertimus in Latinum, convenire potest, ut scire valeamus, quicquid extra hos est, *inter Apocrypha esse ponendum*. Igitur *Sapientia*, quæ vulgo Salomonis inscribitur, et *Jesu* filii *Sirach* liber, et *Judith*, et *Tobias*, et *Pastor*" (it is questionable whether this is the Shepherd of *Hermas* or the Greek Esdras) [*Bleek*, p. 694, is also in doubt, yet inclines to the more common opinion that it is Hermas, which is named by *Rufinus* and *Athanasius* among the "libri ecclesiastici," *ἀναγινωσκόμενα*; yet he observes that *Augusti*, § 54, and *Bertholdt*, iii. 1006, think it is the Greek Esdras, also called *ἱερεύς*, of which "Pastor" might be a translation] "non sunt in Canone. *Maccabæorum primum* librum Hebraicum reperi; *secundus* Græcus est, quod ex ipsa quoque

phrasi probari potest." — Præf. in libros Salomonis: "Fertur et πανάρετος Jesu filii Sirach liber, et alius ψευδεπίγραφος, qui Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur. . . . Sicut ergo Judith et Tobi et Maccabæorum libros legit quidem Ecclesia, sed inter canonicas Scripturas non recipit, sic et hæc duo volumina legat ad ædificationem plebis, non *ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam.*" [*Bleek*, p. 695, refers to *Herbst*, Einl. i. pp. 36–7, and to *Welte's* note there, in proof of the assertion, that "Jerome himself elsewhere in his works, especially in those passages which are of later date, makes quotations unhesitatingly from several of our apocryphal books, in a manner which corresponds perfectly with quotations from the books of the Hebrew Canon, and side by side with them, as utterances of Scripture, and the like; and perhaps the decisions of the African synods which intervened, and by which the reception of these books was formally sanctioned, exerted an influence towards this result. See *De Wette*, § 27, *a.*" But, to say the least of it, this is a very precarious inference, in the absence of any evidence that Jerome retracted statements so clear and well-weighed as those which have been quoted.]—In like manner, only in a different order, these twenty-two books are enumerated by *Jerome* in the bibliotheca divina, and in the epist. ii. ad Paulin. Comp. *Schmidii* hist. ant. et vind. Canon. p. 165 sq.

Hilary [died in 368, says *Bleek*, p. 693], in prolog. in Psalm. explanat. p. 8: "Et ea causa est, ut in *viginti duos* libros Lex Testamenti Vet. deputetur, ut cum litterarum numero convenirent. Qui ita secundum traditiones veterum deputantur, ut *Mosis* sint libri quinque; *Jesus Nave* sextus; *Judicum* et *Ruth* septimus; *primus et secundus Regnorum* in octavum; *tertius* et *quartus* in nonum; *Paralipomenon duo* in decimum sint; sermones dierum *Esdræ* in undecimum; liber *Psalmorum* in duodecimum; *Salomonis Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Canticum Canticorum*, in tertium decimum, et quartum dec., et quintum dec.; *duodecim* autem *Prophetæ* in sextum dec.; *Esaias* deinde, et *Jeremias* cum *Lamentatione* et *Epistola:* sed et *Daniel*, et *Ezechiel*, et *Job*, et *Hester*, xxii librorum numerum consumment. Quibusdam autem visum est, additis *Tobia* et *Judith*, xxiv libros secundum numerum Græcarum litterarum connumerare." Comp. *Schmidii* hist. p. 168 sq.

Rufinus [who died in 411, says *Bleek*, p. 694], in Exposit. in Symbol. Apost. (ad calcem, Opp. *Cyprian.*, ed. Oxon. p. 26): "Spiritus S. est, qui in Vet. Test. Legem et Prophetas . . . inspiravit. . . . Et ideo quæ sunt . . . Vet. Instrumenti volumina, quæ secundum majorum traditionem *per ipsum Spiritum S. inspirata* creduntur, et ecclesiis Christi tradita, competens videtur in hoc loco . . . designare. Itaque Vet. Instrumenti primo omnium *Moysis quinque libri* sunt traditi . . .;

post hos *Jesu Nave*, et *Judicum* simul cum *Ruth*; *quatuor* post hæc *Regnorum libri*, quos Hebræi duos numerant; *Paralipomenon*, qui dierum dicitur liber; et *Esdræ* libri duo, qui apud illos singuli computantur, et *Hesther*. Prophetarum vero *Esaias*, *Hieremias* [*Bleek* observes here, p. 694, that he does not name Lamentations, yet no doubt includes it, and most probably the apocryphal Epistle of Jeremiah also], *Ezechiel*, et *Daniel*: præterea xii *Prophetarum* liber unus. *Job* quoque, et *Psalmi* David, singuli sunt libri; *Salomonis* vero *tres*. . . . Hæc sunt quæ *Patres intra Canonem incluserunt, ex quibus fidei nostri assertiones constare voluerunt.* Sciendum tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt, qui non canonici sed *ecclesiastici* a majoribus appellati sunt: ut est *Sapientia Salomonis*, et alia sapientia quæ dicitur *filii Sirach*, qui liber apud Latinos generali vocabulo Ecclesiasticus appellatur; quo vocabulo non auctor libelli, sed scripturæ qualitas cognominata est. Ejusdem ordinis est libellus *Tobiæ*, et *Judith*, et *Maccabæorum* libri . . . quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri *ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam.* Ceteras vero scripturas apocryphas nominarunt, quas in ecclesiis legi noluerunt."—The view of *Jerome* was firmly held also by the most important of the later teachers in the Western Church. Not only does *Gregory the Great* (Moralia in Job., l. xix. c. 13 [*Bleek*, p. 697, gives the quotation, Moral. in Job. xix. 17: "Non inordinate agimus, si ex libris non canonicis, sed tamen ad ædificationem editis testimonium proferamus"]) expressly declare that first Maccabees is not canonical, as indirectly he says the same of Tobit (comp. *Oehler*, art. Kanon, p. 265); but also *Bede*, *Alcuin* [belonging to the eighth century], *Rhabanus Maurus* [belonging to the ninth], *Agobert* of Lyons [*Bleek*, p. 697, inserts here, belonging to the twelfth century, *Peter* Abbot of Clugny, *Rupert* of Deutz], *Richard of St. Victor*, *John of Salisbury*, *Hugo a S. Caro* (comp. *Liebner*, Hugo v. St. Victor, Leipzig 1832, p. 129), and many others [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, besides some to be named in Note 22, says, of the fifteenth century, *Antoninus* Archbishop of Florence; and of the sixteenth, Cardinal *Francis Ximenes*, Archbishop of Toledo, *Johannes Pico of Mirandola*, *Faber Stapulensis*, *Santes Pagninus*] down to Cardinal *Cajetan* [in his dedication of his Commentary on the Old Testament to Pope Clement VII., says *Bleek*, *ibid.*], *Joh. Driedo*, A.D. 1535, *Joh. Ferus*, A.D. 1540: these authorities, collected by *Keerl*, die Apokryph. pp. 140–144, either separate the Apocrypha from the Canon, or censure those who place it on a level with the canonical books.

(22) Already *Cassiodorus*, de institut. divin. litter. c. 12–14, places the two opinions side by side, with the remark that the difference

between them is not great.—Still more surprising is the view of the African bishop *Junilius*, about the middle of the sixth century, which he assures us that he received from Paulus, a Persian educated in the school at Nisibis, so that he probably follows the ideas of Theodore of Mopsuestia. In his work, de partibus Leg. div. i. 3–7, he distinguishes three sorts of books: the *canonical*, "qui perfectæ sunt auctoritatis," to which belong, of the Old Testament, the five books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the four books of Kings, sixteen Prophets, and the Psalms; the books "mediæ auctoritatis," or *books liable to doubt*, which are, the two books of Chronicles, Job, Judith, the two books of Esdras, the two books of the Maccabees, the book of Wisdom, and the Canticles; finally, books "nullius auctoritatis," probably Baruch and Tobit, although he does not expressly bring forward any. Comp. *J. G. Rosenmüller*, histor. interpret. libr. sacr. v. p. 24 sq.; *Münscher*, Dogmengesch. iii. pp. 90–1.—Still less clear is the view presented by *Notker*, Abbot of St. Gall (who died in 912), in his Notatio of the most celebrated expositors of the Apocrypha: "De libro qui *Sapientia Salomonis* inscribitur, nullius autoris expositionem, nisi tantum per occasionem aliorum librorum pauca testimonia explanata cognovi; quippe qui ab Hebræis penitus respuitur, et apud nostros quasi incertus habetur: tamen quia priores nostri eum propter utilitatem doctrinæ legere consueverunt, et Judæi eundem non habent, *Ecclesiasticus* etiam apud nos appellatur. Quod de hoc, id etiam de libro *Jesu* filii *Sirach* sentias oportet, nisi quod is ab Hebræis et habetur et legitur.—In librum *Tobiæ* et *Esdræ* Beda presbyter aliqua scripsit magis jucunda quam necessaria; quippe qui simplicem historiam vertere conatus est in allegoriam. De libro *Judith* et *Esther* et *Paralipomenon* quid dicam, a quibus vel qualiter exponantur, quum etiam ipsa in eis littera non pro auctoritate, sed tantum pro memoria et admiratione habeatur? Idem de libris *Machabæorum suspicari* poteris." Comp. *Rosenmüller*, *l.c.* pp. 143–4.—On the contrary, *Nicolaus Lyranus*, in the Notitia de libris Bibliæ canonicis et non canonicis, prefixed to his Postilla, declares himself opposed to those who believe "omnes libros qui in Biblia continentur pari veneratione esse reverendos atque adorandos, nescientes distinguere inter libros canonicos et non canonicos, quos Hebræi inter apocrypha computant." Then he enumerates these books in Jerome's way, and determines the difference between the two classes thus: "Canonici sunt confecti Spiritu Sancto dictante: non canonici, sive apocryphi, nescitur quo tempore quibusve auctoribus sint editi." Yet he adds the following statement: "Quia tamen valde boni et utiles sunt, nihilque in eis quod canonicis obviet invenitur, ideo ecclesia eos legit, et permittit ut ad devotionem

et morum informationem a fidelibus legantur. Eorum tamen auctoritas ad probandum ea quæ veniunt in dubium aut in contentionem, et ad confirmandam ecclesiasticorum dogmatum auctoritatem, non reputatur idonea, prout dicit b. *Hieron.* in Prologis super Judith et super libris Salomonis." Finally, he attaches still less authority to the book of Baruch, and to third and fourth Esdras. Comp. *Rosenmueller, l.c.* pp. 285–6.—There is some uncertainty even as to the opinion that the Council of Florence, in the year 1439, under the influence of Pope Eugenius IV., received the Apocrypha into the Canon; for the seventh decree, with the catalogue of the books of Scripture, is not found in the older collections of the decrees of this council. It occurs, for the first time, in the collections of *Caranza* and the Jesuit *Harduin.* Comp. *Keerl, ibid.* p. 150.

§ 217. *Protestant and Neo-Catholic Canon.*

The Reformers agree with the whole ancient Church in acknowledging unconditionally the divine inspiration of the canonical books of the Old Testament (1). But, in opposition to the Romish doctrine (and practice) of tradition, they go back upon the Holy Scriptures as the only pure source and standard of the truths revealed. This scriptural principle, resolved on by them, and triumphantly established, urged them on by an internal necessity to bring anew into recognition the distinction between the canonical and the apocryphal writings, which had been obscured and obliterated especially in the ecclesiastical practice of the middle ages (2). In conformity with this, they acknowledge as canonical only those writings which are to be found in the Hebrew codex; and they separate from them those later books, and portions of books, which are mixed up with them, and added to them, in the Septuagint and Vulgate, under the name Apocrypha which *Jerome* introduced (3); their object being in this respect to disjoin the human from the divine, and to hold fast to the Word of God alone as the source and rule of faith (4).

(1) Comp. *Rudelbach,* die Inspirationslehre, *ibid.* 1840, ii. p. 1 f.; *Oehler,* Prolegomena z. Theol. des Alten Test. p. 19 f.

(2) This is at once seen clearly from *Andr. Carlstadt,* de canon. Scripturis libellus, Witebergæ 1520, reprinted by *Credner,* z. Gesch. des Kanon, p. 291 ff. § 80 (p. 364): "Secundum *Hieronymi* sententiam censebimus apocryphum unumquemque librum Veteris Testa-

menti in prioribus non numeratum. Ergo est apokryphus: *Sapientiæ* liber, item *Ecclesiastici*, item *Baruch*, item *Judith*, item *Tobiæ*, item *Machabæorum*. Hoc dilucide confitetur Hieronymus."—§ 92 (p. 376): "Ex eo (Hieronymi dicto, 'quod apocryphi libri apud Judæos censentur, qui intra catalogum canonicorum librorum non continentur'), consequitur, quod solus canon libros apocryphios efficit, quos excludit: ergo apocryphus est *Tobiæ* liber, *Judith*, et cæteri Hebræorum codices, qui in canone non cernuntur."—§ 113 (p. 338): "Supervacuam duxeram peculiari tractatu demonstrare, quatenus ab Augustino dissideat Hieronymus; illud autem operæ pretium arbitror, ut miremur, ne dicam, miseremur, fraterculorum superstitiosam reverentiam, quorum ductu pro certis incerta, pro receptis apocrypha, pro laudatis deridenda multos jam annos, velut leges consectamur. Nam irrisionem meretur is, qui Hebræorum canonem sese amplecti jactat, quique nolit ne latum quidem unquem a libris Veteris Legis discedere, et ea ipsa, quæ non modo non habent Hebræi, sed repudiant et quasi ronchis rejiciunt, complectitur atque defendit." See more on this subject in *C. F. Jäger*, Andreas Bodenstein v. Carlstadt., Stuttgart 1856, p. 112 ff. [*Bleek*, p. 698, says that *Carlstadt* made a difference among the Apocrypha themselves, designating the books of Wisdom, Jesus Sirach, Judith, Tobit, and Maccabees, first and second, simply as apocryphal, as being "extra canonem Hebræorum, tamen hagiographi;" whereas the third and fourth books of Esdras, Baruch, the Prayer of Manasseh, and the additions to Daniel, are "*plane* apocryphos." He adds: "However, this work of Karlstadt's has not generally exerted much influence upon the judgment of Protestants."]

(3) The *Lutheran* Church has done this more by practice and teaching. Thus, although *Luther* from 1519 onwards published the individual apocryphal books (except third and fourth Esdras) in German, accompanied by prefaces; yet in his first complete translation of the Bible, published by himself in the year 1534, he gave the apocryphal books separated from the canonical books, and only in the way of an appendix to them, with this title, "*Apocrypha*, das sind Bücher so nicht der heil. Schrift gleich gehalten, und doch nützlich und gut zu lesen sind" ["that is, books which are not to be esteemed like the Holy Scriptures, and yet which are useful and good to read"]. Compare with this *Luther's* preface to the apocryphal books in his Works, Erlangen edition, Band 63, p. 91 ff., and his Tischreden [Table-talk], Band 62, p. 130 ff.—The Lutheran confessional writings contain nothing on the subject of the Canon of Scripture [though *Bleek*, p. 704, referring for more full discussion to his own remarks in

the Theol. Studien u. Krit. 1853, 2, p. 280, says, "In the Apology for the Augsburg Confession we find passages twice quoted from them," the apocryphal books, "(from Tobit and 2d Maccabees), without any distinct rejection of these writings"], other than that definition in the Form. concordiæ (p. 517, ed. *J. T. Müller*): "unicam regulam, secundum quam omnia dogmata omnesque doctores æstimari et judicari oporteat, nullam omnino aliam esse quam *prophetica* et apostolica scripta cum Vet. tum Novi Testamenti," by which the dogmatic use of the Apocrypha is excluded.—Following this up, *M. Chemnitz*, Examen concil. Trident., ed. Francofurti 1609, p. 54, defines the difference thus: "Libros illos non proprie vocari Canonicos, qui leguntur quidem in ecclesiis, sed non ad confirmandam ex his fidei auctoritatem, et quorum auctoritas non idonea judicatur ad roboranda ea quæ in contentionem veniunt. Convenit enim appellatio" (namely, canonical) "proprie ad illos libros qui sunt Canon dogmatum et fidei: *ἀπόκρυφοι* proprie vocantur illi libri, quorum occulta origo non claruit illis quorum testificatione auctoritas verarum scripturarum ad nos pervenit; sicut inquit *Augustinus* de Civitate, l. 15, c. 23. Et, contra Faust. l. ii. c. 2, dicit, 'vocari apocryphos, qui nulla testificationis luce declarati et prolati sunt.' Hæc explicatio appellationis recte convenit ad illos libros, qui in vulgatis editionibus habentur quidem, sed non sunt in Canone. . . . Ad tertium genus scriptorum, quæ adulterina et falsa sunt, sive hæc sive alia appellatio accommodetur, non pugno," etc.—Similarly *Hollaz*, *Joh. Gerhard*, in *Oehler*, art. Kanon, p. 266.

The *Reformed* Church thoroughly coincides with this conception of the Apocrypha: in several confessional writings it has given express and settled determinations on the subject of the Canon. In the Zurich edition of the German translation of the Bible, of the year 1529 [*Bleek* says, p. 699, "in the first Protestant editions of the entire German Bible, Zürich, Worms, and Strassburg, 1529–30;" in which, he says again, pp. 702–3, the third and fourth books of Esdras are found, though these are not reckoned canonical by the Church of Rome, any more than the Prayer of Manasses, which is found in the Lutheran collection of the Apocrypha], the Apocrypha translated by *Leo Judæ* are received with this notification: "diss sind die Bücher die bei den Alten under Biblische Gschrift nit gezelt sind, auch bei den Ebreern nit gefunden" ["these are the books which are not reckoned by the ancients among the biblical writings, nor are found among the Hebrews"] (comp. *Herzog's* Realencycl. iii. p. 344).—The *Gallican* Confession of Faith, art. 3, enumerates the books contained in the Hebrew Bible. Then it defines, art. 4, "Hos libros agnoscimus esse

Canonicos, i.e. ut fidei nostri normam et regulam habemus, idque non tantum ex communi ecclesiæ consensu, sed etiam multo magis ex testimonio et intrinseca Spiritus S. persuasione: quo suggerente docemur, illos ab aliis libris ecclesiasticis" (that is, the Apocrypha), "discernere, qui, ut sint utiles, non sunt tamen ejusmodi ut ex iis constitui possit aliquis fidei articulus" (p. 330, ed. *Niemeyer*). Similarly the *Belgic* Confession, art. 4 and 5, with the definition, art. 6: "Differentiam porro constituimus inter libros hosce sacros et eos quos Apocryphos vocant: . . . utpote quod Apocryphos legere quidem ecclesia possit, et documenta ex iis desumere in rebus quæ consentiunt cum libris Canonicis: at nequaquam ea est ipsorum auctoritas et firmitudo, ut ex illorum testimonio aliquod dogma de fide et religione Christiana certo constitui possit," etc. (*l.c.* p. 362).—Precisely so the sixth of the Articles of the Church of England, with the addition, "Alios autem libros (ut ait *Hieronymus*) legit quidem ecclesia ad exempla vitæ et formandos mores, illos tamen ad dogmata confirmanda non adhibet" (and so the individual apocryphal books follow), *l.c.* p. 602.—The first *Scottish* Confession acknowledges as the Word of God only "libri Vet. et Nov. Test. qui a veteribus Canonici habiti fuerunt" (*l.c.* p. 350): and the *Second Helvetic* Confession, "Scripturas canonicas sanctorum Prophetarum et Apostolorum utriusque Testamenti;" with the further remark, "Interim nihil dissimulamus quosdam Vet. Test. libros a veteribus nuncupatos esse Apocryphos, ab aliis Ecclesiasticos, utpote quos in ecclesiis legi voluerunt quidem, non tamen proferri ad authoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam" (*l.c.* p. 468).—The *Declaration of Thorn:* "Libri illi qui non in Hebræo Vet. Test. Canone, sed tantum in Græco textu habentur, sunt Apocryphi, eoque divino Canoni, præsertim sub anathemate" (that is to say, especially under pain of anathema upon those who form a different judgment, as the Tridentine decree has pronounced; comp. Düsterdieck, Götting. gel. Anz. 1854, St. 48, p. 371) "accenseri non debent, etsi utiliter ad ædificationem ecclesiæ legi possunt" (*l.c.* pp. 670-1). Comp. also Conf. *Bohoem. l.c.*, p. 787, and Form. *Cons. Helv.* p. 731.—The first traces of the more modern purism are shown in the *Puritans'* Confession of Faith [that is, the *Westminster* Confession], where, after the canonical books have been enumerated in ch. i. § 3, this decision is pronounced: "Libri Apocryphi vulgo dicti, quum non fuerint divinitus inspirati, canonem Scripturæ nullatenus constituunt; proindeque nullam aliam authoritatem obtinere debent in Ecclesia Dei, nec aliter quam alia humana scripta sunt aut approbandi aut adhibendi" (Collect. Confess. in Eccl. Reform. publ. appendix, ed. *Niemeyer*, p. 2). This decision goes far beyond the practice of the

English Church; for in its Common Prayer Book, the lessons from 28th Sept. to 23d Nov. are taken from the Old Testament Apocrypha. [Those who know the *practice* of the Church of England, are aware how greatly this objectionable principle is modified by all who profess what are known as Evangelical principles.]—Further, at the *Synod of Dort*, when *Gomarus*, *Deodatus*, and others had proposed to remove the Apocrypha from the Bible, at least the books of Esdras, Tobit, Judith, Bel and the Dragon, after long negotiation, the following resolution was adopted in Sess. x.: "Quandoquidem a multis retro sæculis libri hi cum sacris scriptis uno eodemque volumine conjuncti fuerint, atque hæc conjunctio in Reformatis quoque omnium nationum ecclesiis etiamnum servetur, cumque distinctio seu separatio horum librorum a volumine Bibliorum nec exemplo nec suffragiis aliarum ecclesiarum Reformatarum sit comprobata, sed occasionem scandalorum et calumniarum facile datura sit, quanquam optarent quidem omnes libros hosce Apocryphos Sacris Scripturis nunquam adjunctos fuisse: placuit tamen eos hoc tempore sine aliarum Ecclesiarum Reformatarum consensu atque approbatione a corpore voluminis Biblici non esse segregandos, sed eidem conjungendos, adhibitis tamen hisce cautionibus. Ut a libris canon. justo aliquo interstitio et peculiari titulo discernantur, in quo diserte moneatur, hos libros scripta esse humana, ideoque Apocryphos; ut iis exacta præfigatur præfatio, in qua lectores, tum de autoritate horum librorum, tum de erroribus quæ illis continentur, accurate erudiantur; ut aliis minoribus typis excudantur; ut in margine annotentur loca omnia et refutentur quæ cum veritate librorum canon. pugnant, etc.; ut præterea peculiari paginarum numero eos typographi distinguant, ita ut seorsim quoque possint compingi: ac . . . ut populus tanto melius eos a scriptis canon. discernere atque internoscere discat, placuit Belgicis (exteri enim se hic excusari petierunt) ut . . . ad calcem omnium librorum canon. etiam Novi Test. rejiciantur" (Acta synodi nat. Dordrechti habitæ, Hanov. 1620, p. 30). Comp. *Heidegger*, enchir. bibl. p. 317 sq., ed. 3.

(4) By this procedure the Protestant Church has not only preserved the character of critical circumspection; but it has also maintained the right attitude of the Church toward the Holy Scriptures, deducing the canonicity of the biblical books not from ecclesiastical decisions, but only from the sure historical authentication of their origin. This has been already very clearly brought out by *M. Chemnitz*, *l.c.*, for instance at p. 48: "Habet igitur Scriptura Canonicam auctoritatem, principaliter a Spiritu S., cujus impulsu et inspiratione prodita est; deinde a Scriptoribus, quibus Deus ipse certa et peculiaria veritatis testimonia perhibuit; postea a primitiva

Ecclesia habet auctoritatem, ut *a teste*, cujus tempore scripta illa edita et approbata fuerunt." P. 47: "Et sicut vetus Ecclesia tempore Moysis, Josuæ, et Prophetarum, ita etiam primitiva Ecclesia tempore Apostolorum, certo potuit testificari, quæ scripta essent divinitus inspirata." P. 49: "Ecclesiam non habere illam potestatem quod possit ex falsis scriptis facere vera, ex veris falsa, ex dubiis et incertis facere certa, canonica, et legitima, sine ullis certis et firmis documentis, quæ ad hanc rem requiri supra diximus."

On the contrary, the *Council of Trent* [as had been already done by a Synod held at Paris in 1528, against Luther and his adherents, commonly called the *Synod of Sens—Bleek*, p. 702] exalted the ecclesiastical custom into a law, declared all the writings to be canonical which are contained in the Vulgate (not including, however, the Prayer of Manasses, nor yet the third and fourth books of Esdras), and imposed an anathema on any who should think otherwise (5). By this decree, on which the Council resolved, not so much with a reference to the decrees of the more ancient councils which Augustine had guided (6), as merely out of hostile opposition to the Protestants (7), the distinction between the Canon and the Apocrypha which had been made in the earlier centuries, and which is well-founded historically, and is undeniable, was declared to be of no significance, and a nullity: so that the distinction set up by individual [Roman] Catholic theologians between *proto-canonical* and *deutero-canonical* books (8) contradicts the spirit of the Tridentine decree.—Finally, the Greek Church, in the confessions of [an Alexandrian clergyman—*Bleek*, p. 703] *Metrophanes Kritopulos* (1625), and of [the Patriarch of Constantinople—*Bleek, ibid.*] *Cyrillus Lucaris* (printed in Latin in 1629, and in Greek in 1633), conformably to the more ancient view, has declared all the Old Testament writings to be apocryphal, except the twenty-two in the Hebrew Bible. Nevertheless this view was rejected at the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672, in the confession of *Dositheus* [Patriarch of Jerusalem—*Bleek*, p. 704, who states more explicitly that his confession was adopted by the council]; and to the books mentioned in the Catalogue of the Council of Laodicea there were added the most of the Apocrypha in the Greek Bibles, as γνήσια τῆς γραφῆς (9). [*Bleek*, pp. 703–4, notices another Greek council, held in the same year at Constan-

tinople; which, however, went no further than to say that these books were not to be wholly rejected, but were to be called *καλὰ καὶ ἐπενάρετα*, following the language of *Joannes Damascenus*, as given already in the additions to § 216, Note 13. *Bleek* observes, that these two councils were called in opposition to the Calvinists, whom Cyrillus Lucaris had favoured; and he adds: "Since that time the general acknowledgment of these writings as canonical portions of the Holy Scriptures seems to have become continually more firmly established in the Greek Church; as in the last twenty or thirty years that view has been pressed with decided emphasis by this Church in opposition to the Protestant Church, and to the diffusion of Bibles which had not the Apocrypha."]

(5) Sess. iv. c. 1: "Si quis libros integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in ecclesia catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, et traditiones prædictas sciens et prudens contempserit, anathema sit."

(6) Even *Augustine* had not claimed equal respect for the Apocrypha of the Old Testament and for the canonical books: he had done no more than give the title "canonical" to all the books publicly read in the churches; because by "apocryphal" he understood only those writings which were mere fables, and consequently deserved no further regard. Comp. § 216, Note 20, and *Marheinecke*, System des Katholizismus, Band ii. pp. 231–2.

(7) Comp. *Paul. Sarpi*, Histor. del Concil. Trid. ii. 157, ed. Genev. 1660; *Pallavicini*, Histor. Concil. Trid. vi.; *Salig*, Historie des Trid. Conc. i. p. 391 ff.; *Marheinecke*, p. 234 ff.; *Keerl*, d. Apokr. p. 149 ff.

(8) [*Bleek*, p. 703, names first *Sixtus Senensis*, Biblioth. Sancta 1566; the decree of the Council of Trent having been passed 8th April 1546.] *Bern. Lamy* [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, says, Teacher of Theology in the Seminary at Grenoble, died in 1715], Apparat. bibl. lib. ii. c. 5, p. 333, ed. Lugduni 1723: "Idcirco libri qui in *secundo canone* sunt, licet conjuncti cum ceteris *primi canonis*, tamen non sunt ejusdem auctoritatis." So *Jahn*, Einl. i. pp. 119 ff., 140 ff.—Against this view, comp. *Herbst*, Einl. i. p. 41, and *Welte*, spez. Einl. in die deuterokan. BB. des Alten Test. p. 1: "The title 'deutero-canonical' is by no means to be regarded as expressive of the ecclesiastical view and designation of their ecclesiastical value. It is much rather an incorrect opinion, that our Church has at all times, in schools and

writings, strictly distinguished these books from the proto-canonical books, and has placed them in a second Canon (*Jahn*)." [*Bleek*, p. 703, who quite agrees with *Keil* that the distinction is untenable on Roman Catholic principles, refers also to *Welte* in the Tübinger Quartalschrift, 1839, Heft 2, p. 230 ff., and in his notes on *Herbst*, Einl. ii. 3, p. 1 ff.; also to *Scholz*, Einl. i. 263.]—See more upon this varied interpretation of the decree in question, in *Oehler*, art. Canon, p. 268.

(9) After enumerating the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments, the Confess. *Metroph. Krit.* [c. 7, says *Bleek*, p. 703] proceeds: *Τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ βιβλία ἅπερ τινὲς βούλονται συγκαταλέγειν τῇ ἁγίᾳ γραφῇ, οἷον τὸ τοῦ Τωβὶτ, τὸ τῆς Ἰουδεὶθ, Σοφίαν τοῦ Σολομῶντος, Σοφίαν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ Σιρὰχ, Βαροὺχ καὶ τὰς τῶν Μακκαβαίων, ἀποβλήτους μὲν οὐχ ἡγούμεθα· πολλὰ γὰρ ἠθικὰ, πλείστου ἐπαίνου ἄξια, ἐμπεριέχεται ταύταις. Ὡς κανονικὰς δὲ καὶ αὐθεντικὰς οὐδεποτ' ἀπεδέξατο ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία, κ.τ.λ.* (See Monumm. fidei eccl. orient. ed. *Kimmel*, P. ii., Appendix ed. *Weissenborn*, p. 105 sq.).—Confess. *Cyrilli Lucaris* [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, adds, interrogat. 3]: *Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ κανονικὰ βιβλία τοσαῦτα τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι πιστεύομεν, ὅσα ἡ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ σύνοδος ἀπεφήνατο, καὶ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καθολικὴ καὶ ὀρθόδοξος ἐκκλησία ὑπὸ τοῦ παρόντος ὑπαγορεύει. Ἅπερ δὲ ἀπόκρυφα λέγομεν, διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἐπώνυμον οὕτως ἔχουσιν, ὅτι τὸ κῦρος παρὰ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὡς τὰ κυρίως καὶ ἀναμφιβόλως κανονικὰ βιβλία, ἐν οἷς ἡ τοῦ Μωϋσέως πεντάτευχος καὶ τὰ ἁγιόγραφα καὶ οἱ προφῆται, ἅτινα ὥρισεν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ἡ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ σύνοδος, ἀπο τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία εἴκοσι δύο* (*l.c.* P. i. p. 42). If in these definitions there is at work the influence of the intercourse their authors had with Protestant theologians, then, on the contrary, the rejection of them in the confession of *Dositheus* was introduced by Romish influence. This confession runs as follows upon the point in question: *Στοιχοῦντες τῷ κανόνι τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἱερὰν γραφὴν καλοῦμεν ἐκεῖνα πάντα, ἅπερ ὁ Κύριλλος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ συνόδου ἐρανισάμενος ἀριθμεῖ, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀσυνέτως καὶ ἀμαθῶς εἶτ' οὖν ἐθελοκακούργως ἀπόκρυφα κατωνόμασε· τὴν Σοφίαν δηλαδὴ τοῦ Σολομῶντος, τὴν Ἰουδήθ, τὸν Τωβίαν, τὴν Ἱστορίαν τοῦ δράκοντος, τὴν Ἱστορίαν τῆς Σωσάννης, τοὺς Μακκαβαίους, καὶ τὴν Σοφίαν τοῦ Σειράχ. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῆς θείας γραφῆς γνησίων βιβλίων καὶ ταῦτα γνήσια τῆς γραφῆς μέρη κρίνομεν, ὅτι ἡ παραδόσασα ἀρχαία συνήθεια καὶ μάλιστα ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία γνήσια εἶναι . . . παρέδωκε, κ.τ.λ.* (*l.c.* p. 467 sq.).

§ 218. *The more recent Views with reference to the Canon of the Old Testament.*

The opinion as to the Canon of the Old Testament taken by the ancient Church, having been restored by the Reformers, continued to be acknowledged without any dispute in the Protestant Church down to the middle of last century. From that time onward, in consequence of the mighty spread of Deism and Rationalism, the persuasion in the Church of the canonicity of the Old Testament was shaken along with the faith in divine revelation. This was due partly to the perversion of the concept of the Canon, from being the sum of holy books which give a rule for faith and life, into a mere catalogue of books for reading publicly in Church (1); partly to assaults upon the historical, moral, and religious contents of individual books in the Canon (2). For a certain time the conviction of the Church in the canonicity of the books was undermined with apparent success, in so far as a pseudo-criticism which proceeded from naturalistic principles combated the genuineness and credibility of the principal books of the Old Testament, and threatened to annihilate them. By this means the religious character of the Old Testament came to be thoroughly ignored, and its Canon was brought down to the low level of a collection of remnants of the Hebrew national literature, which had come into existence gradually (3). Against this movement, equally unphilosophical and untheological, of a falsely renowned criticism, it is only within the last thirty or forty years (4) that the newly awakened believing science has raised itself in a mighty reaction: and, while vindicating the genuineness and credibility of the writings which have been assailed, it has at the same time begun to restore, historically and as a matter of fact, the origin, the settled state, and the true notion of the Old Testament Canon.

(1) By *J. Sal. Semler*, Abhandl. v. freier Untersuchung des Canon., 4 Theile, 2d ed., Halle 1776; Th. i. p. 14: "*Canon* is the name given to the catalogue of the books which were publicly read in the meetings of the Christians of a particular party." "*Canonical Scriptures*, or books, are just those which are appointed for public reading here, in this society."—*Corrodi*, Beleuchtung d. jüd. u. christl. Bibelkanons, Band. i. p. 10 ff., holds the Jewish Canon to have been

a collection of religious documents of the Jewish Church; but at p. 38 he decides the matter thus: "that the Jews, after the Babylonian exile, by degrees conceived a very high esteem for their ancient writings, as they discovered these and brought them together; and that in the end this esteem was extended to mere monuments of taste, although perhaps at first it was confined to the book of the law and to the prophets. Opinions may have been divided in the beginning as to the divinity of these writings. Or sometimes doubts may have arisen, unfavourable to writings which people had declared to be divine. But finally, the teachers agreed in declaring all those writings to be documents of revelation, which in the time of Christ they held to be so."

(2) It was on such grounds that (besides *Semler*) in particular *G. L. Oeder*, freie Untersuch. über einige BB. des Alten Test., herausgegeben von *Vogel*, and *Corrodi*, *ibid.*, combated the canonicity of the books of Esther, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, the last nine chapters of Ezekiel, and the book of Daniel. Also *J. D. Michaelis* often expressed doubts of the divine inspiration of various books of the Old Testament; for instance, in his orient. Bibl. ii. p. 7 f., and in the prefaces to his translation of the Old Testament.—It was against these assaults that *Chr. Fr. Schmidt* wrote his Historia ant. et vindicatio Canonis, in which, p. 189 sqq., the extremely superficial objections of these opponents are refuted.

(3) Especially by *Eichhorn*, who, in the preface to the second edition of his Introduction, traces the contempt and mockery of the books of the Old Testament to this, that people have sought in them for nothing but ideas of religion, which were not only communicated to the Hebrews by means of many supernatural events, but were also preserved and propagated to succeeding ages by a succession of miracles. *Bertholdt*, too, sees in the Canon only a collection of the ancient literature of the Hebrews,—namely, so much of it as had escaped the tooth of time (Einl. i. p. 13, along with the other books quoted there). Even *Hitzig*, Psalmen, ii. p. 118, still is of opinion that "all Hebrew books originating in the period anterior to Christ are canonical: all canonical books are Hebrew, since all that were written in Greek are reckoned to the Apocrypha."

(4) This struggle, so rich in results, begins first with *Hengstenberg's* Beiträge z. Einl. in das Alte Test. in 1831; and already in this work the question as to the origin of the Canon is subjected to a thorough discussion (§ 155).

But with the returning knowledge and appreciation of the

canonicity of the Old Testament, the distinction between its canonical and its apocryphal books was urged by Reformed theologians with a keenness which went far beyond the decisions of their confessional books. In consequence, there was a vehement demand made that the Apocrypha should be removed from the codex of the Old Testament; and this was effected not only in Scotland and England, but also already in individual German countries adhering to the Reformed Confession (5).

(5) Among all the symbols of the Reformed Churches, it is the Puritan [Westminster] Confession alone which denies all ecclesiastical significance to the Apocrypha (comp. § 217, Note 3): and, in general, the hardest sentences have been pronounced against it by Reformed theologians; comp. for instance, only *Lud. Cappellus*, notæ critt. upon these books. Conformably with this, in recent times it was Scottish ministers and theologians, *Haldane, Gorham* [?], who condemned the Apocrypha as being far below the level of many human writings, full of falsehoods, erroneous doctrines, superstitions, and contradictions of itself and of the Word of God, and so much the more dangerous because it had wickedly professed to be a divine revelation; and who in 1826 and 1827 carried the resolution in the British and Foreign Bible Society, from that time forward to renounce entirely the practice of circulating Bibles containing the Apocrypha. Comp. *O. von Gerlach*, Evang. Kirchen-Zeitung, 1828, Nos. 8, 9, and *Schöll* in *Herzog's* Realencycl. ii. p. 215 f. [This account of the "Apocrypha controversy," and this exhibition of the principles of those who were most jealous for the purity of the Word of God, cannot be regarded as satisfactory. To speak of nothing else, it was the fundamental principle of the Bible Society to circulate the Word of God without note or comment: in which case it was unfair to spend money collected on this understanding in circulating that which is *not* the Word of God; as it was also impossible to apply those cautions and checks without which the Synod of Dort would not have tolerated the continuance of the Apocrypha in the same volume as the Old and New Testaments. See again § 217, Note 3.]—By this concession the controversy was hushed, until it was kindled anew since 1850, by the offer of a prize for works upon the position and significance of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, which was made by the directors in Baden of the Association for Inner Missions of the Augsburg Confession. In consequence of this summons, there appeared a number of witnesses against the Apocrypha; among which, on

account of their scientific treatment of the subject, the first place must be assigned to two works of *Ph. F. Keerl*, die Apokr. d. Alten Test., Erste gekrönte Preisschrift, Leipzig 1852, and die Apokryphen aufs neue beleuchtet [given more fully by *Bleek*, p. 706, die Apokryphenfrage, mit Berücksichtigung der darauf bezüglichen Schriften Dr. *Stiers* and Dr. *Hengstenbergs*, aufs neue beleuchtet. Mit einem Anhange, Philo im Neuen Test.], Leipzig 1855. The rest are treated popularly. *Sutter*, Zeugniss gegen die Apokryphen, Karlsruhe 1850; *F. W. J. Schrœder*, wie reimen sich Stroh u. Waizen zusammen, Elberfeld; *Kraussoldt*, zwei Episteln üb. d. Apokr., Fürth 1851; *J. Schiller*, Gottes Wort u. die Apokr., Neustadt a. H. 1851; *Ebrard*, Zeugnisse gegen d. Apokr., Basel 1851 [characterized by *Bleek*, p. 706, as "a very lightly and superficially written book, with false historical assertions which can scarcely be excused"]; *E. Kluge*, üb. d. Stellung u. Bedeut. der Apokr., Frankfurt 1852 [characterized by *Bleek*, *ibid.*, as "treated popularly, and speaking on the subject in a pretty moderate way, upon the whole"]; *J. U. Oschwald*, die Apokr. und die Bibel [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, gives the title, die Apokr. in der Bibel], Zürich 1853; *Keerl*, d. Wort Gottes u. die Apokr. d. Alten Test., Leipzig 1853; *F. K. Wild*, es ist ein Bann unter dir Israel, Nördlingen 1854; and others besides. All these writings (like *Gomarus* on that occasion at Dort) insist on the removal of the Apocrypha from the volume of the Holy Scriptures, as "tedious and injurious to read, full of soul-destroying errors."—On the contrary, others have declared for the retention of the Apocrypha in the editions of the Bible, decidedly acknowledging the essential difference between the canonical and the apocryphal books, but yet forming a juster estimate of the value of the latter. Such are *Nitzsch*, üb. die Apokr. des Alten Test., in *Schneiders* deutsch. Zeitschrift 1850, No. 47 ff.: *R. Stier*, üb. d. Verhältniss der Apokr. zur heil. Schrift, Evang. Kirchen-Zeitung 1828, No. 59 f.; comp. Andeutungen f. gläub. Schriftverständniss, 2 Samml. 1828, and Die Apokryphen, Vertheidigung ihres althergebrachten Anschlusses an die Bibel, Braunschweig 1853 (only going too far in the search for references to the Apocrypha in the New Testament): *Düsterdieck*, in his review of the last-named work, in the Göttingen gelehrt. Anzeiger, 1854, St. 37 f.; and *Hengstenberg*, der Apokryphenstreit, Evang. Kirchen-Zeitung 1853, No. 54 ff., and also Noch einmal üb. d. Apokryphen, *ibid.* 1854, No. 29 ff.: and finally, *Fr. Bleek* (yet surrendering the specific concept of the Canon [which is, of course, the logical tendency of the view he holds, however it may be kept within tolerably safe limits by the evangelism of individuals]), üb. die Stellung der Apokr. des Alten

Test. im christl. Kanon, Theol. Studien u. Krit. 1853, p. 267 ff. [pp. 267–354, as given by *Bleek* himself, p. 707].

SECOND DIVISION.

THE HERMENEUTICAL TREATMENT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 219. *In General.*

The use of the Old Testament as the Canon of the divine revelation of the old covenant presupposes a determinate apprehension and exposition of its contents. But in every exposition of a book there is not a mere passive reception of its contents; there takes place an adjustment of the spiritual ideas of the expositor with the thoughts and teaching contained in the book which he is to expound (1). Consequently the purport of the Old Testament assumed various forms, as this was developed by exposition: and this not only according to the greater or smaller intellectual capacity of the interpreters to penetrate into its course of thought and its peculiar contents, as these were to be believed and taught; but also according to the relations subsisting between the expositor's principles in the views he takes, which are more or less under the dominion of the general spirit of his time and his people, and the purport of Scripture objectively set before him. The more the expositor is animated and borne along by the religious spirit which produced the Scriptures, just the more easily will he rightly understand and explain its sense and spirit. On the contrary, the more that the predominant spirit of the age, under whose influence the expositor is placed, or the chief interest of the kind of spiritual life which fills him, is removed from the spirit of Scripture, just the more difficult will it be for him to succeed in adjusting his ideas and views with the thoughts contained in Scripture, so that his exposition may develope the true sense of Scripture in a simple and natural manner (2).

Now the Jews reverenced the Old Testament as the totality of the divine revelations, and, in general, as comprising in itself all higher wisdom and knowledge. The hermeneutical treatment of the Old Testament, or its exposition, according to Jewish principles and methods, must therefore assume a different character from that of

Christians who stand upon the footing of the New Testament, and in the Old recognise only the earlier portion of that complete divine revelation which first attained its perfection in Christ Jesus. Besides, that exposition must be variously modified, as well among Jews as among Christians, in accordance with the manifold phases in the development of Judaism and Christianity in the different ages.—Accordingly, we consider the hermeneutical treatment of the Old Testament, *first* among the Jews, as well in the talmudical and rabbinical writings of the Hebrews, as in Hellenistic Judaism and among the other Jewish sects; and *secondly*, among Christians, in more ancient and in more modern times. But we shall do this merely in a historical survey, in accordance with the principal operating forces which characterize the attitude of the individual tendencies in Judaism and Christianity with reference to the contents of the revelation in the Old Testament.

(1) How that criticism, with its pretence of being unprejudiced, which demands that "men should only take what the Bible gives, approaching it with one's own mind, as it were, a 'tabula rasa,'" is unable to take in the peculiar contents of the Bible, either as purely grammatical or as grammatico-historical exegesis, may be seen by comparing on the subject *Sam. Lutz*, bibl. Hermeneutik, Pforzheim 1849, p. 167 ff.

(2) *Lutz*, p. 155: "The relation of the inner life to the truth, the internal inclination, an internal connection with the testing and judging spirit of Scripture, is of abiding decisive importance for all who explain the Bible."—P. 156: "All changes in exegesis have originated from changes in the attitude of the chief interest in life. Do not let us indulge in the fancy that changes in exegesis are the results of the exposition of Scripture. It is never so: they proceed continually in connection with the general knowledge of human objects."

(3) For the history of exposition, comp. *Rich. Simon*, hist. crit. Vet. Test. lib. iii. c. 5 sqq.; *Buddei* Isagoge hist. theol., Lipsiæ 1727, p. 1580 sqq.; *J. G. Rosenmueller*, historia interpretationis libr. sacr. in eccless. Christ., Hildburgh. et Lips. 1795–1814, 5 vols.; *G. L. Meyer*, Geschichte der Schrifterklärung seit der Wiederherstellung der Wissenschaft, Göttingen 1802–8, 5 vols.

CHAPTER I.

THE HERMENEUTICAL TREATMENT OF THE OLD TESTMENT AMONG THE JEWS.

§ 220. *The Hermeneutical Procedure of the Talmudists and of the Rabbins who explained the Scriptures.*

Immediately after the close of the Canon, the study of the Old Testament became an object of scientific treatment. In doing this, the Jewish scribes applied themselves principally to the discussion of the precepts and prohibitions of the law, by more precisely determining that which was undetermined, and by making deductions from the rules and ordinances in the book of the law of Moses, for all individual relations and circumstances of life. And thus they exalted the legislative, ritual, and ceremonial contents of the law, to be the centre of their investigations (1): by which means the growing tendency of the people, after the exile, towards outwardly following the commandments of God, was cultivated into pharisaical righteousness by works. Their explanation of Scripture, termed מִדְרָשׁ (2), was divided into *Halacha* (rule) and *Hagada* (assertion) (3). Under these names were comprehended all the scientific activity and the spiritual production of the Jewish men of learning (*Rabbins*); whether these proceed immediately from elucidation of *Scripture*, and have this again for their object, or whether they are only loosely attached to it, as it comprises all divine teaching. The *Halacha* embraces law and practice—doctrine in its whole extent: the *Hagada* embraces all other scientific products—all the efflux of free meditation; whether its subject-matter might be historical or legendary, ethical, parabolic, or speculative (4).

(1) According to *Josephus*, Antiqq. xvii. 2. 4, and de bello Jud. ii. 8. 14, the Pharisees especially cultivated the μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ νόμιμα. Comp. *Kahnis*, Lehre vom heil. Geiste, i. p. 35.

(2) Its history and literature are given by *Zunz*, die gottesdienstl. Vorträge d. Juden; and by *Hirschfeld*, d. Geist der talmud. Auslegung der Bibel, Erster Theil, Halachische Exegese, Berlin 1840; and his der Geist d. ersten Schrift-auslegungen, oder d. Hagadische Exegese, Berlin 1847.

(3) *Hirschfeld*, Halach. Exeg. p. 13: "הלכה *iteratio*, from הלך, going after, following a precept, siding with and being of a party. הגדה, *dicta, sermones*, from נגד, to speak, to relate, to mean—opinion." *Zunz*, p. 42: "The precepts of the law formed the *Halacha;* the free expositions formed the *Hagada:* the Halacha, as the rule or standard for practice, must be listened to, that is, must be received; therefore, in its character of *Shematha* (שמעתא, 'what is heard'), it was also opposed to the Hagada, the whole worth of which was that it was something *said*."

(4) *Hirschfeld*, Hagad. Exeges. p. 1: "The Hagada and Halacha are the product of the collective activity of the Jewish nation after the destruction of the second temple. The two together furnish the results of its investigation. . . . They embrace the whole province of the *scibile*, and comprehend as well law and morals as philosophy and poetry: they form the sum total of the actual and the imaginary in the Jewish world of that time; they indicate the collective wisdom of the schools and the auxiliary sciences; and they also drew other kinds of knowledge into their circle, so as to be able to lay claim to importance." For the rest, this distinction is more theoretical, and for the sake of a principle, than actually carried out in practice, since the whole of the rabbinical writings contain Halacha and Hagada side by side: nevertheless it is of great importance, in so far as the Halacha was a binding precept for life, custom, and morals; whereas the Hagada developed truths and instructions which had no binding force for faith and life. Comp. *Zunz*, pp. 57–8.

Such was the pharisaic exposition of Scripture, which in the talmudic writings prosecuted the task of deriving from the law, and founding upon it, as the divinely inspired source of all truth and teaching for men, all the dogmas and decisions of Judaism which had been formed in the course of ages, or the entire purport of the Jewish tradition. It was impossible that it could continue to keep to the simple meaning of the words; on the contrary, there was a necessity for its deducing very much in the way of allegory and accommodation.—Starting from the principle that Scripture, especially the Pentateuch, contained an answer to every question of this nature, the Rabbins distinguished the *proper* sense, clearly expressed in the words (מַשְׁמַע, sensus innatus), and the sense *derived* from the words (דְּרָשָׁה, מִדְרָשׁ, sensus illatus). The proper sense was either the *literal* or *verbal sense* (פְּשַׁט), or the *figurative, mystical* sense (סוֹד). The

derived sense was either obtained by simple logical inference (דְּרוּשׁ), or it was merely linked on to the words of Scripture by arbitrary combination (רֶמֶז). In this last case, the sense and thought which it was wished to obtain, or the proof of any dogma whatsoever, was deduced from the various possible meanings of the individual words, setting aside the connection, from their position, sequence, full or defective writing; from pleonasms, unusual grammatical forms, surprising shapes of letters; from the numerical value of the letters; or by changing or transposing the letters, and so forth (5).—Although these deductions might seem so much a matter of play and of caprice, still the simple understanding of the Scriptures was neither set aside nor overlaid by them. Along with this more juridical treatment of the Old Testament, in the Hagada that study of the Scriptures was zealously pursued, by which the practical and religious life of the nation was promoted. And although the Hagadaish explanation and application of Scripture frequently made use of the same artificial means of handling the text as did the Halacha (6), still, in doing so, it did not aim at giving the proper explanation and exposition of the literal sense, for which provision was made by means of Targums and translations, but only at giving a free application of the teaching of Scripture to the life, such as the necessities of the time then present demanded (7).

(5) Comp. *Guil. Surenhusius, Βίβλος καταλλαγῆς*, Amstelodami 1713, lib. iii. p. 57 sqq.; *Waehner*, Antiquitt. Ebræorum, vol. i. p. 357 sqq.; *Hirschfeld*, Halach. Exegese, p. 114 f.

(6) Comp. *Zunz, ibid.* p. 234 ff., and *Hirschfeld*, Hagad. Exegese, p. 211.

(7) *Zunz*, p. 327: "This freedom (of attaching the Hagada to the contents of the Bible) was intended neither to falsify the Scriptures nor to rob them of their natural sense: for that object, on account of which it was employed, was itself only free thought, not a binding commandment. The greater the room for this play that was permitted to every one in the Hagadaish treatment of the sacred books, just the less could be conceded to the word of individuals; and consequently also the Hagada is destitute of any sort of binding authority, either for exposition or for practical life."

From the tenth century onwards a stricter exegetical exposition came to be formed under the Rabbins: it explained the whole Old

Testament according to its grammatico-historical sense; and it either despised entirely the play of allegory, or at all events only communicated this from the writings of the Rabbins, alongside of the proper explanation (8). But although the rabbinical exegetes of the middle ages applied themselves in general to correct hermeneutical principles, still they could not attain to the full and true understanding of the Old Testament; because when they had rejected the true Messiah who appeared in the person of Jesus, who fulfilled and completed both the law and the prophets, they had lost the key of entrance into the sanctuary of truth. And though they might accomplish so much in the way of verbal explanation, still the deeper sense and spirit of the Old Testament, the aim and meaning of the saving revelations deposited in it, remained hidden from them: consequently, also, they wander furthest from the truth in the exposition of the Messianic passages.

(8) The most important of them are the following [*Bleek*, p. 107, speaks first of *R. Saadias Gaon*, already mentioned by *Keil* in § 159. Next named, "and living only a little later, a biblical commentator, but little known till now, *R. Japhet ben Heli*, of Bassora, a Karaite" [see as to them, § 222], "at the end of the tenth century, whose manuscript works fill twenty volumes;" a specimen of his Commentary on the Psalms (on the first two, and his preface) having been published by Professor *E. Barges*, Paris 1846]:—

R. Salomo Jarchi (properly *Sal. Jizchaki*, named רש"י, died in 1105) composed a "short and condensed commentary upon the Holy Scriptures, endeavouring to render its original thoughts according to natural hermeneutics, yet also making use of the received exposition in the Talmud and Midrash. Along with this, the most important Halachas are quoted at suitable passages of the Bible" (*J. Fürst*). Besides, he wrote copious commentaries on all the books of the Old Testament, with and without the text. In these he gives, "besides the literal sense, also the allegorical interpretations of the older Rabbins, and of the works most valued by the Jews, whose own expressions and modes of speech he labours to retain:" on which account, in spite of his dark and difficult style, he is very highly valued by the Jews, and is honoured as the first expositor of Scripture (comp. *De Rossi*, hist. Wörterbuch der jüd. Schriftsteller, a translation from the Italian by *Hamberger*, Leipzig 1839, p. 127). His commentaries are partly printed in the rabbinical Bibles of *Bomberg* and *Buxtorf*, and partly have been often printed as commentaries on single books: also,

with learned notes, and with use made of the commentaries on the commentary, translated into Latin by *J. Fr. Breithaupt*, Gotha 1713–16 [*Bleek*, p. 107, says, 1710–1714, 3 vols.], 4to. All the various editions, with and without translations, are specified by *J. Fürst*, Bibliotheca Judaica, Lipsiæ 1849 ff., ii. p. 78 ff. [*Pressel*, in *Herzog's* Encycl. art. Raschi, says: "Among both Jews and Christians he is also often mentioned by the name of *Jarchi*; and in fact he is often quoted in this way alone in biographical and theological works: yet it is incorrect; for he had not any interest in the native country of the somewhat later Rabbins who received the surname of Jarchi from Lunel in Perpignan, their native city." This identification of Raschi with Jarchi is pronounced to be incorrect also by *Delitzsch* and *Hahn* in their continuation of *Drechsler* on Isaiah, iii. 35, who refer to *Zunz* in Jost's Isr. Annalen, 1839, No. 41.]

Aben (Ibn) *Ezra* (properly Abraham b. Meir Ibn Ezra, died in 1167 [the same date is given by *Arnold* in *Herzog*, art. Aben Ezra, though he prefers 1168; *Bleek*, p. 107, says 1194, which seems a blunder]), whose exegetical works are "admirably arranged commentaries, according to the meaning of the words, upon the entire Holy Scriptures" (*De Rossi, ibid.* p. 2 ff.). "Nemo præ illo Judæos inter tam litteraliter tam sapienter Scripturas interpretatus est: interdum plus quam decet grammatizat, et nimis concisus est ejus sermo. . . . Etsi in genere Patrum traditiones commendet, nugas tamen et fabulas innumeras rejicit, et quantum potest litteralem et genuinum magis sensum investigat" (*R. Simon*, hist. crit. Vet. Test. lib. iii. c. 5, p. 18). They are printed in the rabbinical Bibles; and they have appeared in many editions by themselves, partly with Latin versions. Comp. *J. Fürst, ibid.* i. p. 251 ff.

David Kimchi (about the year 1230) applied himself to grammatico-historical exposition. His Commentaries on the Pentateuch, the earlier and later prophets, and the most of the Hagiographa, are printed partly in the rabbinical Bibles, partly singly, and they have appeared repeatedly. Partly, too, they have been translated into Latin: his comment. in Psalmos Davidis, ex Hebr. Lat. redd., by *Ambr. Janvier*, Parisiis 1666, 4to; ed. *D. Grünhut*, c. præf. *J. Jac. Schudt*, Francofurti 1712. As to these and other editions, comp. *Fürst*, ii. p. 183. The Commentaries of his brother, *Moses Kimchi*, upon Proverbs, Ezra, and Nehemiah, have been incorrectly ascribed to Abr. Ibn Ezra. Comp. *Fürst*, p. 187 f.

Also *R. Tanchum* of Jerusalem (in the thirteenth century, perhaps) was the enemy of the allegorical exposition; comp. *Ewald*, Beitrr. z. Geschichte der ältesten Auslegung und Schrifterklärung d.

Alten Test. i. p. 151 ff. [*Bleek*, p. 108, who gives the same date for him as *Keil* does, says he wrote an Arabic Commentary on the entire Bible except the Pentateuch; of which only a single codex exists, at Oxford, written in Hebrew characters.] Of his Commentaries, written in Arabic (as to which, comp. *Wolf*, Biblioth. Hebr. i. p. 1160, iii. p. 1167 sq.), single specimens were first edited by *Chr. F. Schnurrer*, spec. una cum annotatt. ad aliquot loca l. Judicum [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, says ch. i.–xii.], Tubingæ 1791, 4to; by *William Cureton*, comm. Arab. in Lamentatt., Londoni 1843, 4to; and by *Th. Haarbrücker*, comm. in Prophet. Arab. spec. (on Judg. xiii.–xxi.), Halæ 1842 [1843, says *Bleek*, *ibid.*], and comm. Arab. ad libror. Samuel. et Reg. locos graviores—ed. interpret. Lat. adjec., Lipsiæ 1844 [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, adds that the Commentary on Habakkuk, with a French translation, has been published by *S. Munk*, Paris 1843].

R. Levi ben Gersom [Gerson in *Bleek*, *ibid.*] (Leon de *Bañolas* in Provence, died in 1370) wrote Commentaries on the Pentateuch, the former prophets, and the most of the Hagiographa [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, mentions only Proverbs and Job], illustrating in a philosophical sense, dealing with both the grammar and the matter. They have been printed partly in the rabbinical Bibles, partly singly. Comp. *Wolf*, *l.c.* i. p. 726 sq., iii. p. 646 sqq., iv. p. 892; *De Rossi*, *ibid.* p. 14 ff.; and *Fürst*, i. p. 82 ff.

Don Isaac Abarbanel (or *Abravanel*, died in 1508), on whom *R. Simon*, *l.c.* p. 21, pronounces the following judgment: "Præ ceteris *Is. Abravanel* optimus et utilissimus interpres mihi semper visus. Pure et nitide scripsit, etsi nimis fuse et Rhetoris in morem magis quam interpretis. Aliorum Rabbinorum explicationes refert, interdum expendit; nec non raro libere castigat." His Commentaries, prolix in the discussion of a multitude of questions in the style of the Aristotelian scholasticism of the time, upon the Pentateuch, the former and later prophets, and the book of Daniel, have often been printed. The Commentary on the Pentateuch was published in Latin by *Henr. van Bashuysen*, Hannover 1710, fol.; that on the former prophets, Latin, by *Aug. Pfeiffer*, Leipzig 1686, fol.; that on the later prophets, Amsterdam 1641, fol.; that on Isaiah, Latin, by *J. H. Majus*, Francfurt a. M. 1711, 4to; and also those on several of the minor prophets. Comp. *Wolf*, *l.c.* i. p. 627 sqq., iii. p. 540 sqq.; *Fürst*, i. p. 12 f.

Also *R. Salomo ben Melech* (in the sixteenth century) wrote "perpetuam et litteralem in totam Scripturam Sanctam commentarium," with the title מכלל יפי [Michlal Yophi], repeatedly edited, but best at Amsterdam 1685, fol., with *Abendana's* additions; comp. *Wolf*, *l.c.* i.

p. 1075 sqq., iii. p. 1055 sq. [*Bleek*, p. 108, describes it as being "brief and condensed, giving almost exclusively grammatical and lexical explanations, for the most part from Kimchi's writings."]—Only *Bechai*, or *Bachja ben Asher*, about the year 1201, composed a Commentary on the Pentateuch "in a fourfold style—grammatical, rational, allegorical, and cabbalistic—with quotations from older authorities, and with many anti-Christian passages." Comp. *Fürst*, i. p. 75.

[*Bleek*, p. 108, says: "I mention further a very celebrated learned Jew, *R. Moses ben Maimon* (Maimonides, abbreviated—*Ramban*), born at Cordova, died in 1206 at Cairo in Egypt. Of his writings I name here only his celebrated work מוֹרֶה נְבוֹכִים, 'instructor of the perplexed,' in which he gives an introduction to the right exposition of Scripture (in regard to dogma), with many peculiar and remarkable views, which partly met with approbation among his fellow-believers, but partly with contradiction and accusations of heresy. Originally it was written in Arabic; but it was translated into Hebrew under his own inspection, and in this translation it has been often printed. It was translated into Latin by *John Buxtorf* the son, Basel 1629, 4to."]

§ 221. *The Hermeneutical Procedure of the Hellenistic and Alexandrian Jews.*

Although the talmudic and rabbinic Judaism proceeded from an external apprehension of the divine law, yet, with all its dogmas and pharisaic decisions, it stood upon the firm ground of the Old Testament revelation; and even in its efforts to prove every such decision by exposition or deduction from the Old Testament, it did not mistake its historical sense. On the contrary, Hellenistic Judaism, especially at Alexandria, through intercourse with the Greek philosophers, had appropriated gradually, from the schools of Hellenic wisdom, a multitude of ideas which were foreign to the revealed religion of the Old Testament; and these it had fused along with the faith of the Fathers, in accordance with the eclecticism prevalent at the time, so as to form a peculiar philosophy of religion. This philosophy must somehow be harmonized with the plain sense of the Holy Scriptures, in consideration of the conviction, inherited from the Fathers, that Jehovah, the supreme and true God, had given the law to the people of Israel, and had revealed the highest wisdom in the writings of Moses and the prophets. The medium of allegorical exposition served for this

purpose; as it necessarily comes into existence everywhere, when the religious faith has taken up an attitude of contradiction to the contents of those documents which yet are received as divine, and are firmly retained (1).

(1) *Gfrörer*, Philo, Theil. i. p. 69: "The allegorical explanation could come into existence only among a people possessed of sacred books, and only at a time when the spokesmen and leaders of that nation had already chosen for their possession another philosophy than that presented by the literal meaning of the written revelation." Also *Häv.*, Einl. i. 1, p. 424, finds the deeper reason for this movement "in the whole tendency of Alexandrianism, and in its being internally torn asunder from proper Hebraism." *Olshausen's* objections to this view (ein Wort üb. tieferen Schriftsinn, Königsberg 1824) rest upon an indistinct identification of allegory with the deeper spiritual sense which belongs to the sacred history, inasmuch as it is the *bearer* of divine truths. [See this distinction presented happily from many points of view in *Fairbairn's* Typology of Scripture.]

The beginnings of this interpretation can be pointed out so early as B.C. 180, in the Jew *Aristobulus*, an adherent of the Aristotelian philosophy (2). Homage was done to it by the *Therapeutæ* (3), by the *Essenes* (4), by *Josephus* too (5), and in fact by all Jews who were familiar with Grecian culture. But it reached its zenith in the writings of *Philo* of Alexandria, the whole of which are occupied with explanations or allegorical interpretations of the books of Moses (6).

(2) In the fragments of his Commentary upon the books of Moses which have come down to us. They have been collected by *Eichhorn*, allg. Bibliothek der bibl. Litt. v. p. 253 ff. And their genuineness, which had been doubted by *Rich. Simon* and *Humphrey Hody* [*Bleek* adds, *Eichhorn* and others], is proved by *Valckenaer*, diatribe de Aristobulo Judæo, ed. Luzac, Lugduni Batav. 1806. [*Bleek*, p. 754, quite takes the same view of their genuineness: adding that his work was entitled Ἐξηγήσεις τῆς Μωϋσέως γραφῆς, and was dedicated to Ptolemy Philometor, who reigned B.C. 181–147; and that in 2 Macc. i. 10 he is called a teacher of King Ptolemy, probably of Philometor.] Comp. also *Gfrörer*, Philo, ii. p. 71 ff., and *Dähne*, geschichtl. Darstellung d. jüd. alexandr. Religionsphilos. Th. ii. p. 73 ff.

(3) Of them *Philo* says, de vita contempl., Opera *Mang.* ii. 483: "They regard the entire νομοθεσία (that is, the Holy Scriptures) as a living being (ζῷον): and they hold the words to be the body, and

the deeper sense, which is veiled under the words, to be the soul; into this the rational soul gazes, looking into very hidden thoughts by means of the words, as it were by a mirror." Comp. *Gfrörer*, ii. p. 292 ff.

(4) *Philo*, Quod omnis probus liber, Opp. ii. 458: *Τὰ πλεῖστα διὰ συμβόλων ἀρχαιοτρόπῳ ζηλώσει παρ' αὐτοῖς φιλοσοφεῖται.* Comp. *Olshausen, ibid.* pp. 28–9; *Gfrörer*, p. 316.

(5) This is clear from his words in the preface to his Antiquities, that Moses in his works had only indicated some things, and others he had communicated in allegories worthy of the topics (*τὰ μὲν αἰνιττομένου τοῦ νομοθέτου, τὰ δὲ ἀλληγοροῦντος μετὰ σεμνότητος*); although he did not carry out his design in a separate work, after completing his history (the Antiquities), upon the signification of the Law—that is to say, of developing its allegorical sense. Comp. *Olshausen, ibid.* p. 28; *Gfrörer*, ii. p. 356 ff.

(6) In accordance with those representations, pressed to an extreme in Alexandrian Judaism, of the inspiration imparted to Moses, which constituted him in the highest sense the *ἀρχιπροφήτης, προφήτης κατ' ἐξοχήν*, and *ἑρμηνεύς* of the divine mysteries; whilst the other prophets are only *φοιτηταί* and *μαθηταὶ Μοϋσέως*. Comp. *Gfrörer*, i. p. 60 ff.; and *Kahnis*, Lehre v. heil. Geiste, i. p. 208 ff.

It is true that, in most passages of the Pentateuch, *Philo* acknowledges a verbal or historical sense; but the simple history is written only for the uncultivated, for the mass of mankind, who are incapable of apprehending the divine wisdom (7). The wise, on the contrary, who have elevated themselves to the pure spiritual view of the Divine Being, must press their way into the higher or mystical sense, which is hidden under the allegory of the simple words (8). Yet in many cases, also, he altogether rejects the historical explanation, and allows nothing but the allegory to be meant; so as to set aside all anthropopathisms, and in general everything which does not agree with his philosophical view of the Divine Being (9).—The natural consequence of this procedure was, that he completely altered the peculiar subject-matter and spirit of the religion of the old covenant, whose essential character is constituted by the revelation of God in facts and history; and that he volatilized the truth of God into abstract ideas.

(7) *Philo* names the *verbal* or *proper* explanation *ἡ ῥητὴ ἀπόδοσις, ἡ ῥητὴ ἑρμηνεία, ἡ ἐν φωναῖς ἀποδείξις*. He understands in the proper

or historic sense a good part of the creation, and of the history of the flood; the largest part of the details of the way in which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were led; the most of what is related about the life of Moses, and about the history of the people of Israel in the wilderness; as well as the Mosaic laws, precepts, customs, and feasts. Comp. *Gfrörer*, i. p. 85 ff., and *Dähne*, i. p. 52 ff.

(8) He names the allegorical explanation ἡ δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀπόδοσις, ἡ διὰ τύπων, συμβόλων ἀπόδειξις, ἡ ἀλληγορία. According to it, the persons named in Genesis are only τρόποι ψυχῆς, "modi" of the soul: for instance, Adam is the lower, sensuous man, the ἄνθρωπος γηγενής and χοϊκός; Cain is selfishness; Abel is devotion to God; Enos is the image of hope; Enoch, that of repentance; Noah, that of righteousness. "Abraham becomes the symbol of the soul that has become wise by education; Isaac, of the soul that is wise by nature; Jacob, of one that has become wise by practice. Sarah is τρόπος τῆς ἀρετῆς γενικῆς, Rebecca τῆς ὑπομονῆς, Leah τῆς ἀρετῆς μισουμένης. Joseph is the emblem of political activity, Pharaoh is ὁ ἀντίθεος νοῦς. Moses himself is named ὁ λόγος προφήτης, as the highest representation of the prophetic spirit. Even things become symbols: thus Egypt is the emblem of the body; Canaan, of piety; a ringdove is the emblem of divine wisdom; the house-pigeon is the emblem of human wisdom; the sheep is an image of the pure soul, because it is the purest of animals.—The destinies of these various men, as these are narrated in the book of Genesis, are represented as the various changes and conformations of the faculties of mind common to all" (*Gfrörer*, i. p. 89, comp. p. 87 ff.).

(9) Comp. *Gfrörer*, i. p. 95 ff. "In general, it may be said that Philo admits the truth of the primeval Mosaic history, from the creation down to Abraham, only in its principal features, while he takes almost all the details to be purely allegorical. Thus, in the account of the creation of the world, only the creative act is with him historic truth, not the details: Adam is taken by him to be the first man; but the details of his history, such as the account of the trees in Paradise, of the serpent, of the expulsion, are mere symbols of things connected with the higher life. Further, he takes the flood to be a fact; but again the preceding and immediately succeeding histories are to him the veils of higher truths. The historic world does not begin for him till he reaches the history of the three patriarchs; although here also he almost always places a higher meaning alongside of the outward meaning of the words" (p. 99). Comp. also *Dähne*, i. p. 56 ff.

§ 222. *The Hermeneutical Procedure of the Karaites and the Kabbalists.*

In opposition to the Pharisees and all the Jews devoted to tradition, the *Karaites* rejected oral tradition and talmudic decisions (1), and expounded the Old Testament simply and naturally, and as a rule also, with freedom from all Hagadaish digressions; yet without clinging to the letter and ignoring the spiritual sense. Their expositions manifest an obvious effort to reach the true spiritual understanding: they apply the metaphorical mode of explanation oftener than the talmudical Rabbins; and in general, they have penetrated deeper into the spirit of the Old Testament (2).

(1) Comp. *Rich. Simon*, hist. crit. Vet. Test. lib. ii. c. 29; *Wolf*, biblioth. Hebr. iv. p. 1069 sqq.; *Levin. Warneri*, dissertat. de Karæis, *ibid.* p. 1086 sqq.; and *De Rossi*, hist. Wörterbuch, in the article Karai Mordechai ben Nissan, p. 160 ff. [As to one of their ancient expositors, *R. Japhet ben Heli*, see the first addition from *Bleek* at § 220, Note 8.]

(2) The Karaite *Aharon ben Joseph*, in the thirteenth century, says in his preface to the Psalms, given by *Wolf*, *l.c.* p. 1114: "Most men expound the Scriptures in four or five ways,—a fact which follows from their having lost the truth, or from their wanting knowledge, as they confound the *Peshat* with the *Derash* [see these terms explained in § 220]; but one who explains must examine exactly the form and the subject-matter, and must not deviate from the essence of the subject-matter. The Scriptures which we have in our hands have spirit (הגיון) and subject-matter (תוך), like a soul; and on this account the commentaries deviate from one another in the account they give of its purport."—For instance, he explains the precept in Ex. xiii. 16 as merely a metaphorical ordinance in reference to the enjoined perpetual remembrance of the law. Comp. *Hirschfeld*, Hagad. Exeg. p. 200 f.; and, with reference to his Commentaries, *Wolf*, *l.c.* i. p. 74, iii. p. 119 sqq.; *De Rossi*, *ibid.* pp. 158–9; and *Fürst*, bibl. jud. i. p. 24.

An entirely different attitude toward the Old Testament was assumed by the *Kabbalists*, the Jewish theosophists of the middle ages (3). For they endeavoured to lay a foundation for their theosophic doctrine and theories, formed by fusing Greek (Neoplatonic) and Oriental (Sabæan and Gnostic) speculations together with the Old Testament revelation, in allegorical and mystical inter-

pretations of the Old Testament, especially the history of creation in Genesis, and Ezekiel's vision of the Mercaba or royal chariot of God (4). For this purpose they availed themselves of the artificial hermeneutical methods of the talmudical Hagada (5).

(3) The history of Kabbalism still lies so much in the dark, that entirely opposite opinions prevail in regard to it. Comp. *A. Tholuck*, commentat. de vi quam Græca philosophia in theologiam tam Muhammedanorum tum Judæorum exercuerit, Partic. ii. De ortu Cabbalæ, Hamb. 1837, 4to.—In the more ancient rabbinical literature, both the laws in the body of oral tradition and the teachings of the Prophets and the Hagiographa are contradistinguished from the Mosaic writings by the designation קבלה—*that which has been received* (comp. *Zunz*, *ibid.* p. 44). But at a later time this word was transferred to the secret teaching of the Jewish theosophy, "because the mystics, resting upon ancient names, professed that they had received their teachings by tradition" (*Zunz*, p. 402). Besides, according to *Tholuck*, *l.c.* p. 31, mysticism is to be distinguished from the Kabbala: "Stat itaque sententia *Mysticen et Cabbalam* omnino res esse diversæ naturæ, et inter ipsos Judæorum auctores discernendos esse Cabbalistas a mysticis, quorum illi si quando etiam mysticorum personam gerebant, intimam cum Deo conjunctionem canentes, hoc non peculiari Cabbalæ naturæ, sed commercio cum Arabibus tribuendum."—The current distinction between an older and younger form of the Kabbala leads people to think of the *former* "as the sum of the knowledge of God and divine things which was yielded to enlightened theocratic men by experience, study of Scripture, and the tradition of sundry revelations and communications from men of God which had not been set down in writing; all this being transmitted by oral tradition from one generation to another;" and of the *latter* "as a secret doctrine of unclean Judaists, borrowed and brought together from Egyptians, Chaldeans, Parsees, Pythagoreans, and Platonists" (comp. *M. Baumgarten*, Echtheit der Pastoralbriefe, p. 172). This is founded upon the alleged high antiquity of the kabbalistic books, *Bahir*, *Zohar*, *Jezira*, and others; but it can be proved that these originated at a much later time—not sooner than the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. Comp. *Zunz*, p. 404 ff.; *Tholuck*, *l.c.* p. 10 sqq.; and *Ad. Jellinek*, Moses ben Schem Tob de Leon u. seine Verhältniss zum Sohar, Leipzig 1851, p. 15 ff.—The beginnings of the Kabbala, properly so called, do not reach beyond the second half of the eighth century. Its origin is thus explained by *Delitzsch*, zur Geschichte der jüd. Poesie, Leipzig 1836, p. 64: "The mutual

opposition of two parties, the one of which explained away the written Word philosophically, and the other anathematized all philosophy, produced a third, which retired to the repose of a phantastic contemplation and the activities of a demoniacal magic: I mean the Kabbala, the Jewish gnosticism,—that secret doctrine which was entrusted with the Scriptures first in Persia, from the second half of the age of the Gaons (about 780), and the oldest of our written monuments of which are books composed in Persia, the mother-country of Gnosis — the books *Jecira*, Hekalot, *Raziël*, and the alphabet of *Aqiba*." Comp. *Tholuck*, *l.c.* p. 26 sqq., and *Zunz*, *ibid.*

(4) See *Zunz*, p. 163 ff., on the subject of the more ancient modes of treatment accorded to these chapters.

(5) It is in the following manner that *Zunz*, p. 403, characterizes the kabbalistic treatment of Scripture: "The contents and signification of the biblical and talmudical doctrines were linked on to traditional or self-imagined laws for the regulation of the world, to the mysteries of the Divine Majesty. The secrets of the law became now the deeper sense of the old precepts and opinions when this had been unriddled. It was believed that these secrets had been deposited in the letter of Scripture, but were legible only by the initiated or inspired, who knew how to set free the spirits confined in the words. Thus, then, in all that was given by the Scripture and the Hagada, men saw a sum of letters and signs, whose arbitrary combination led to the unveiling of mysteries; and as the use of similar means occurred already in the Hagada, such a spiritualizing of the letter, by means of which the connection of Judaism with the eternal order regulating the heavens became known, was held to be the glory of the law, the highest attainment of all exposition, and the final aim of all wisdom. The contents of the Holy Scriptures, the Halacha as well as the Hagada, the secret doctrine and the results of philosophy —the whole was the bearer of an order which regulated the world; in which God and law were the foundation, the written Word was the symbol, but the alleged body of tradition was the *truth*. Into that domain of the 'Mercaba' and the 'Bereshith' ['the Chariot' and 'the Creation'], at one time kept at such a distance from the public, everything of expository material which antiquity had bequeathed was gradually drawn in, and was extended into philosophico-mystical systems of Judaism, in writings of the most manifold description."

REMARK.—The *Samaritans* also had renowned expositors of their Pentateuch: *Zadaka ben Manga ben Zadaka* (physician and poet,

died in 1223), *Maddib eddin Jussuf b. Abi Said b. Khalaf*, and *Ibrâhim Shems el Choema* (Sun of Wisdom). Comp. *Juynboll*, comm. in hist. gentis Sam. p. 56 sq.; and *Jost*, Geschichte des Judenthums u. s. Sekten, p. 86.

CHAPTER II.

THE HERMENEUTICAL TREATMENT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

§ 223. *In the Ancient Church till the Reformation.*

The most ancient church teachers followed the example of the apostles, and diligently searched the Scriptures of the Old Testament, in order to strengthen their faith in Christ, and to adjust it to the dogmatic contents of the Old Testament revelation: partly also to convince the Jews, and even the heathens, of the truth of the Christian faith by means of the Messianic prophecies; since many a one, like *Justin Martyr*, came to the faith by reading the prophets. But here they permitted themselves to be misled, partly by the polemic against Judaism with its external, literal, or carnal apprehension of the Old Testament; partly by the gnosis which was diffused abroad from Alexandria, with its allegorical interpretation of Scripture: so that they identified the Jewish literal apprehension with the historico-theological, and attached the deeper spiritual sense to the letter of Scripture by means of the most arbitrary allegorizing, instead of developing out of the letter and the history the spirit which lies within them (1). In opposition to this prevalent tendency in the Church, the anti-Jewish Gnostics for the most part understood the Old Testament in the most coarsely literal manner (2), with the view of either rejecting it entirely, or at least of greatly depreciating it as the work of the Demiurge. Now, as the most ancient of the Fathers in general explained the Scriptures of the Old Testament principally for an apologetical and dogmatic purpose, they not only contended against Gnosticism for the truth that the God of the Old Testament is not different from the God of the New; but they also went further, and asserted that the doctrines of the New Testament are already contained in the Old (3). Through this tendency they

were led to fall into the opposite error of mixing up the two Testaments: so that not only the Alexandrian divines *Clement* and *Origen*, who brought down the antithesis of the law and the gospel to a mere difference of degree, changed the unity of the Old and the New Testaments into a perfect agreement in doctrine; but also *Augustine*, who had a more correct perception of the relation of the law and the gospel, by means of allegorical interpretation exalted the Old Testament to the same authority as the New as exegetical proof for Christian dogmas (4). [It cannot be said that this is a very clear and happy statement. It may here be sufficient to remark, that whatever in the Old Testament *Scriptures* can be shown to be peculiar to the Old Testament *dispensation*, must be considered to be so far different from the New; but the difference is one of degree, between germs and full developments. Much information on these subjects will be obtained by consulting *Fairbairn's* Typology of Scripture viewed in connection with the whole series of the Divine Dispensations, 2 vols., 4th ed., 1864; and his Revelation of Law in Scripture, considered with respect both to its own nature and to its relative place in successive Dispensations, 1869.]

(1) So already *Clemens Romanus*, but especially *Barnabas*, *Justin Martyr*, and the rest of the apologists of the second century. See the proofs of this in *Rosenmüller*, histor. interpret., P. i. pp. 48 sqq., 115 sq., 161 sqq.; and *H. N. Klausen*, Hermeneutik des N. Test., Leipzig 1841, p. 97 ff.

(2) This apprehension comes out to view most harshly in the antitheses of Marcion: whilst other Gnostics (especially the Valentinians) sought to bring the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament into harmony with their systems by means of allegorical interpretations; so that *Irenæus* and *Tertullian* declare against arbitrary allegorizing, and offer many correct remarks upon sound historico-theological exposition of the Scripture. Comp. *Klausen*, p. 127 ff., and *Rosenmüller*, P. ii. p. 29 sqq. and p. 190 sq. On the contrary, in the Clementines it is maintained that much falsehood is mixed with the truth in the Old Testament. Comp. *Rosenmüller*, i. p. 102 sqq.

(3) Comp. the utterances of *Clemens Alexandr.* and *Origen* on this point, in *Redepenning*, Origenes, Bonn 1841, i. pp. 137 f. and 273.—Already the Apostolical Constitutions take up the fundamental position, that the gospel is to be explained so that it may agree with

the law and the prophets; and again, that the law and the prophets are to be in harmony with the gospel. And yet besides, every difference between the Old and the New Testament was not to be taken away by this. For the author of these Constitutions distinguishes the Decalogue as νόμος φυσικός from the δευτέρωσις (lex adscitia); and explains that only the former is obligatory on Christians, while the latter is abrogated. Comp. *Rosenmüller*, i. p. 122 sqq.

(4) "The position, in itself perfectly correct, 'Novum Testamentum in Vetere latet, Vetus Testamentum in Novo patet,' was misunderstood to such a degree, that it was believed to be necessary to show almost the whole subject-matter of the Christian doctrine of faith already complete in the Old Testament; for which purpose the allegorical exposition presented every assistance that could be wished." (*Oehler*, Prolegom. p. 17 f.)

The first properly exegetical labours upon the Old Testament proceeded from the Alexandrian theology, whose principal representative, *Origen*, wrote scholia (σημειώσεις), commentaries (τόμοι), and homilies upon most of the books in it (5). In this school a distinction prevailed between πίστις, simply receiving the truth and holding it fast, and γνῶσις, knowing what we believe firmly and surely (6). In accordance with this, Origen distinguished also in the Scripture a twofold sense, the *literal* and the *spiritual*, which latter he further divided into the moral and the prophetical: so that, corresponding with the Platonic trichotomy of human nature into body, soul, and spirit, he adopted the notion of a triple sense in Scripture,—namely, a *literal*, a *psychical* (tropical and ethical), and a *pneumatic* or allegorical sense (7). Now, although with all this he commonly explained the letter as being the form of the spirit, and viewed the literal understanding as the preparative for the spiritual understanding: yet he believed that he found many σκάνδαλα καὶ προσκόμματα, or even ἀδύνατα καὶ ἄλογα, especially in the Old Testament; which not only pointed to the fact that a secret sense lay hidden behind the letter, but also made it necessary to abandon entirely the literal apprehension or historical sense, and to adhere to the allegorical truth alone (8).

(5) Already *Pantænus* and *Clement* had composed expositions of the Old Testament, although nothing of them has been preserved. Clement merely mentions the fundamental principle of Pantænus

(comp. *Jerome*, catal. scriptt. eccles. c. 36): "prophetas indefinite plerumque voces efferre, atque præsenti tempore simul et pro futuro et pro præterito uti." Comp. *Mosheim*, de rebus gest. Christ. ante Constantinum magnum, p. 300. Clement expresses clearly the fundamental principle, that all Scripture has an allegorical sense: *Περὶ πάσης γραφῆς τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἐν τοῖς ψαλμοῖς γέγραπται, ὡς ἐν παραβολῇ εἰρημένης* (Strom. v. p. 406 sq.). *Rosenmüller*, *l.c.* p. 211 sqq., and *Redepenning*, *ibid.* p. 136 f.

(6) Comp. *Klausen*, Hermeneutik, p. 100 f.

(7) Besides *Rosenmüller*, *l.c.* iii. p. 15 sqq., see particularly *Jo. Jac. Bochinger*, de Origenis allegorica Scripturæ sacræ interpretatione, Partt. 3, Argentorati 1830, and *Redepenning*, *ibid.* p. 296 ff. This last writer has also brought together, pp. 301 and 304 f., the various designations of which Origen makes use for the double sense.

(8) *Περὶ ἀρχῶν*, iv. § 15: *Συνύφηνεν ἡ γραφὴ τῇ ἱστωρίᾳ τὸ μὴ γενόμενον πῇ μὲν, μὴ δυνατὸν γενέσθαι, πῇ δὲ δυνατὸν μὲν γενέσθαι, οὐ μὴν γεγενημένον καὶ ἐσθ' ὅτε μὲν ὀλίγαι λέξεις παρεμβεβλημέναι εἰσὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα* (sensu historico) *οὐκ ἀληθευόμεναι, ἐσθ' ὅτε δὲ πλείους. Τὸ δὲ ἀνάλογον καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐκληπτέον, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶ πολλάκις εὑρεῖν καὶ τὸ αὐτόθεν χρήσιμον πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς νομοθεσίας ἁρμόζον· ἐνιότε δὲ χρήσιμος λόγος οὐκ ἐμφαίνεται καὶ ἄλλοτε καὶ ἀδύνατα νομοθετεῖται διὰ τοὺς ἐντρεχεστέρους καὶ ζητικωτέρους· ἵνα τῇ βασάνῳ τῆς ἐξετάσεως τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐπιδιδόντες ἑαυτοὺς πεῖσμα ἀξιόλογον λάβωσι.* Homil. vi. in Genes.: "Quæ nobis edificatio erit legentibus Abraham, tantum patriarcham, non tantum mentitum esse Abimelech regi, sed et pudicitiam conjugis prodidisse? Quid nos ædificat tanti patriarchæ uxor, si putetur contaminationibus exposita per conniventiam maritalem? *Hæc Judæi putent, et si cum eis sunt literæ amici, non spiritus.*" Homil. vii. in Levit.: "Si adsideamus *literæ*, et secundum hoc vel quod Judæis, vel id quod vulgo videtur accipiamus quæ in Lege scripta sunt, erubesco dicere et confiteri quia tales leges dederit Deus: videbuntur enim magis elegantes et rationabiles hominum leges, v. gr. vel Romanorum, vel Atheniensium, vel Lacedæmoniorum. Si vero secundum hanc intelligentiam, quam docet Ecclesia, accipiatur Dei Lex, tunc plana omnes humanas supereminet leges, et veri Dei Lex esse creditur."

This assumption transformed into mere caprice the truth which lay at the foundation of the distinction between the verbal (historical) and the deeper (spiritual) sense of the Old Testament. And therefore, great as was the influence which Origen exerted upon numerous disciples, and through them upon the collective development of the

theology of the Church, by means of his distinguished personal qualities and his learning (9); still there arose a strong opposition to that allegorical interpretation of Scripture which he had carried to an extreme. At Antioch, in Syria, there was formed a school of historical exegesis which combated allegorizing, one which insisted on holding fast to the verbal or historical sense, and aiming at a sounder apprehension and exposition of the Old Testament (10). Yet this school also fell into an error, the opposite extreme of ignoring its deeper spiritual sense, in the case of *Theodore of Mopsuestia* (died in 429) (11); while *Theodoret*, bishop of Cyrus in Syria (who died about the year 458), and *John Chrysostom* in his practical expositions or homilies, endeavoured to do justice to both the historical and the spiritual sense of the Old Testament (12).

(9) The remains of *Origen's* exegetical works on the Old Testament are collected in Commentt. ed. *Huetius*, Rothomag. 1668, 2 vols. (Opp. ed. *De la Rue*, vols. ii. iii.). [*Bleek*, p. 110, says: "The most of his explanations of the Old Testament are lost; in particular, the whole of his σημειώσεις. Of his commentaries, only some fragments on the different books have been preserved; of his homilies, in particular, nineteen upon Jeremiah: besides several of his writings in the not very trustworthy Latin translation of *Rufinus*. Many of *Origen's* expositions are to be found in the later Greek expositors, and in the Catenæ. Although *Origen* was not unacquainted with Hebrew, as has been already said, yet his exegetical works furnish as good as nothing either for the linguistic or for the historical exposition of the Old Testament books."]—Of his disciples, *Hippolytus*, the bishop of Portus Romanus, wrote expositions of various books of the Old Testament; but his writings are lost, except a few fragments (comp. *Rosenmüller*, *l.c.* iii. p. 164 sq.). And others were written by *Pierius*, presbyter at Aquileia from 282 onwards (comp. *Rosenmüller*, p. 177); by *Eusebius*, bishop of Cæsarea (comm. in Psalm. [*Bleek*, p. 110, says they are extant on Ps. i.–cxix.], in Jesajam); by *Hilary* of Poictiers (who died in 368: comm. in Psalm.); by *Ambrose* of Milan (who died in 397: In Hexaemer. ll. vi.), of whom *Jerome*, epist. 90, says, "Originem noster Ambrosius in quibusdam secutus est," and who pressed to the uttermost the play of allegory; by *Cyril* of Alexandria (who died in 444: Γλαφύρα, *i.e.* comm. in Pent.; in Jesajam; in proph. minores), who laid down this fundamental proposition, Ἀνωφελὴς ὁ νόμος, εἰ μὴ νοοῖτο πνευματικῶς. Comp. *Klausen*, Hermeneutik, p. 110.

Homage, too, was largely offered to the allegorical exposition by *Ephraem Syrus*, abbot at Edessa (who died in 378), "Syrorum propheta," although he warns against the allegorical exposition of the Gnostics (comp. *C. von Lengerke*, comm. de Ephraemi Syri arte hermeneut. 1831, pp. 23 sqq., 55 sqq.). His commentaries upon the Old Testament [*Bleek*, p. 109, says, "almost over the whole Old Testament, with the exception of the Psalms and the Solomontic writings"], according to the Peshito, are in his Opp. Syr. et Lat., ed. *Petr. Benedictus*, Romæ 1737, fol., t. i. and ii.

(10) To it belong *Theodorus Heracleota; Eusebius of Emisa* (who died in 360), "vir in divinis scripturis eruditissimus . . . fertur multa et pæne infinita scripsisse opuscula; sed nos paucorum solos titulos et numeros potuimus invenire" (*Trithemius*, de script. eccles. c. 66); *Diodorus of Tarsus* (who died about 394), who commented on the whole Old Testament, according to Suidas, and according to *Socrates*, hist. eccl. vi. 3, and *Sozomen*, hist. eccl. viii. 2, followed the historical and rejected the allegorical mode of apprehending it; and others besides. Comp. *Fr. Münter*, de schola Antiochena, 1811.

(11) He wrote tomos v. adversus allegoricos, and Librum de allegoria et historia contra Origenem; also commentaries on most of the books of the Old Testament, of which that upon the prophets has been preserved, and has been edited by *A. F. V. a Weęnern* (Theodori Mops. Opera quæ supersunt, t. i., Berolini 1834). [*Bleek*, p. 111, says his Commentary on the Minor Prophets is the only one in Greek which has been printed; part of it having been *given* already by *Mai* in his Scriptorum veterum nova *collectio, tom.* i., Romæ 1825. He adds: "Of his expositions of the Octateuch, much is found in the Catena given to the world by *Nicephorus*. Others of his exegetical writings are extant, as manuscripts, *in* a Syrian translation."] Comp. *O. Fr. Fritzsche*, de Theodori Mops. vita et scriptis commentat. hist. theol., Halæ 1836; and *Siefert*, Theodorus Mops. Veteris Test. sobrie interpretandi vindex, Regiomonte 1827. He explains only three psalms of Christ; and he explains most of the Messianic predictions in the prophets of persons and events which lay nearer the prophets' sphere of vision,—namely, of Zerubbabel and the return from Babylon.

(12) *Chrysostom* restricts the use of allegory by the rule—that we must avoid as *κακουργία τοῦ διαβόλου*, by which the door is opened wide to pernicious teaching, all arbitrary treatment of the Word by addition or subtraction, by change or distortion, *πλεονασμὸς ἢ ὑφαίρεσις ἢ διαστροφὴ ἢ μεταβολή* (comp. *Klausen*, Hermeneutik, p. 141).

Also, as a rule, *Theodoret* gives the historical sense first, then the spiritual interpretation; and he is moderate in his allegorizing. His Quæstiones in Pent., Jos., Jud., Ruth, Sam., Reg., Paralip.; and his comment. in Psalm., Cant. Cant., Prophetas [*Bleek*, p. 111, observing, "of which, however, the Commentary on Isaiah is not yet printed entire, but only so far as *Sirmond* had restored it from the Catenæ], stand in his Opp. ed. *J. L. Schulze*, Hal. 1769 ff., t. i. ii. 8vo.

This tendency, which rejected arbitrary unmeasured allegorizing equally with the interpretation of Theodore of Mopsuestia that went so far as to ignore the divine character of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, came to prevail in the Church. But while the fact is so, still this method of interpreting never was able to make its way to a correct and true adjustment of the historical and the spiritual understanding of the Old Testament. For it kept the letter and the spirit apart in too abstract a manner; it did not clearly apprehend the sacred history as the bearer of the Divine Spirit; and it placed the historical and the allegorical explanations together in a merely external manner, so that the preponderance was assigned sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other (13). Amongst all the Fathers, the presbyter *Jerome* was he who did most for the linguistic and historical exposition of the Old Testament; while his contemporary *Augustine*, in spite of his strong allegorizing, for the most part penetrated deeper into the spirit of Scripture (14).

(13) This mediating tendency is followed by *Basil the Great*, by the two *Gregories* (of *Nyssa*, in his Hexaem., and of *Nazianzum*), by *Athanasius* (expos. in Psalm.), by *Isidore of Pelusium*, and others.

(14) *Luther* has already designated the relation of the two as that of the historical and the dogmatic exposition. The commentaries of *Jerome* (in Prophet., Eccles.; Quæst. Hebr. in Genes.; Epist. critt. xviii. [*Bleek*, however, p. 114, follows *Martianay* in denying the genuineness of the commentaries on Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Lamentations, and Habakkuk], Opp. ed. *Martianay*, 1704 ff., vols. ii. iii., fol.) are a rich mine for the rabbinical tradition of his time, and for historical and critical notices: yet it is rather compilation than independent exposition; and in reference to the dogmatical and ethical contents of the Old Testament, it falls far short of the writings of *Augustine*, notwithstanding the latter's representation of the Old

Testament as an uninterrupted series of allegories, expressed partly in words and partly in historical events. Comp. *Engelstoft*, Hieronymus Stridon. interpres, criticus, exegeta, etc., Havniæ 1797.—*Augustine* wrote de Genesi ad litteram liber imperfectus [as far as Gen. i. 26, says *Bleek*, p. 113]; de Genesi ad litteram libri xii. [again, only to the expulsion from Paradise, says *Bleek*, *ibid.*]; Quæst. in Heptateuch. libri vii. [*Bleek* more precisely says, "Quæstiones in Heptateuchum" (Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges); Locutionum libri vii., noting down the peculiar modes of expression in the Latin translation of the books of the Heptateuch, where he often traces them back to the Greek of the Septuagint]; Enarrat. in Psalm.; Annotatt. in Job. lib. i., Opp. ed. Benedict., Parisiis 1679 ff., t. iii. iv., fol. Comp. *H. N. Clausen*, Augustinus Scripturæ S. interpres, Havniæ 1827.

Along with theological science in general, in particular the exegetical study of the Old Testament (which must at any rate have remained defective, on account of the want of knowledge of the original language on the part of most of the Fathers) fell utterly into decay from the sixth century and onwards: in the Greek Church, owing to the prevalence of subtle dogmatic controversies; and in the Latin Church, owing to the increasing power of the hierarchy and of tradition. Hence it came to be confined to mere extracts from the exegetical writings of the more ancient doctors of the Church in the form of *Catenæ*, *Σειραί*. In this way, so early as the sixth century, *Procopius of Gaza* [a teacher of rhetoric in the first half of that century, says *Bleek*, p. 111] had in the East epitomized the writings of Theodoret (15). In the West, *Leo the Great* (who died in 461) was the last of the more independent expositors of Scripture (16). Already *Cassiodorus* (who died later than 562) drew from the writings of Augustine. Others, like *Bede* and *Alcuin*, epitomized the commentaries of Jerome. Most of the writers, from *Haymo* of Halberstadt (who died in 853) and *Rhabanus Maurus* (who died in 836) onwards, furnished extracts from several Fathers: most of them, indeed, according to the fourfold exposition—the historical, the allegorical, the tropological, and the anagogical (17). These extracts were also reduced to short glosses; and the *Glossa ordinaria* of *Walafried Strabo* (who died in 849), and the *Glossa interlinearis* of *Anselm Laudun.* (in the twelfth century), were exegetical authorities throughout the whole of the middle ages (18). Yet the Minorite

Nicolaus de Lyra (who died in 1341) formed an illustrious exception (19); for in his Postilla he developed the historical sense with great ability: yet this corresponded so little with the taste of the times, that *Paulus Burgensis* considered it necessary to enrich the work with allegorical additions.

(15) *Procopii Gaz.* Comm. in Octateuchum Lat., Tiguri 1555. [*Bleek*, p. 111 f., says this is a defective Latin translation; but that the Greek original is to be found in the library at Augsburg, along with the Commentary on Canticles. He also says that an extended commentary of his on Isaiah was published at Paris in 1580 by *Curterius*. See this work mentioned by *Keil* afterwards in the present note, among the Catenæ]. Scholia in libros Regum [the *four* books, says *Bleek, ibid.*] et Paralipp., Græc. et Lat., a Jo. Meursio, Lugduni Batav. 1620, 4to.—Chrysostom was chiefly drawn upon by the two following writers: *Theophylact* (who died after 1071) [*Bleek*, p. 112, says, "Archbishop of Achrida in Bulgaria, at the end of the eleventh century"], Commentary on Four Minor Prophets [*Bleek, ibid.*, says, Hosea, Habakkuk, Jonah, Micah, Nahum]; *Euthymius Zigadenus* (about 1118), comm. in omnes Psalm. Dav.—Printed, in Greek and Latin, in Opp. omnia Theophylacti, Venet. 1754 ff., tom. iv. 4to.—The following are Catenæ: Σειρὰ ἑνὸς πεντήκοντα ὑπομνηματιστῶν εἰς τὴν Ὀκτάτευχον καὶ τῶν Βασιλειῶν . . . ἐκδοθ. ἐπιμελείᾳ Νικηφόρου, Lipsiæ 1772, 2 vols. fol.—Variorum in *Esajam* proph. commentariorum epit., Græc. et Lat., a *Jo. Curterio*, Parisiis 1580.—Catena patrum Græcc. et Latin. in *Jeremiam*, *Lamentatt. Jer.*, et *Baruch*, in *Mich. Ghisleri* comm. in Jerem., Lugduni 1623, fol.—One on *Daniel*, in *Ang. Mai* Scriptor. vett. nova collect., tom. i.—Cat. Græcc. patrum in b. *Job*, collectore *Nicetæ* [*Bleek*, p. 112, says he was "probably Nicetas, a Greek theologian in the second half of the eleventh century, Archbishop of Sarræ, that is, Heraclea, in Macedonia;" the book containing "much of the exposition of a certain *Olympiodorus*, a deacon at Alexandria, probably at the beginning of the seventh century, an intelligent and refined commentator, although his exposition has reference only to the Septuagint"] . . . op. et studio *Patric. Junii*, Londini 1637, fol.—*Balthasar. Corderii* expositio patrum Græc. in Psalmos, Gr. et Lat., Antverp. 1643, fol. [*Bleek*, p. 112, says it is only a Latin translation, in 3 vols., 1643–46.]—One on the *Song of Solomon*, by *J. Meursius*, Lugduni Batav. 1617, 4to.

(16) *Gregorii Magni* libri 35 Moralium in exposit. Job.; Homil. in Ezech.; Commentar. in Cantic.: Opp. ed. Benedict. 1705, tom. i. iii., fol.

(17) *M. Aurel. Cassiodori* expos. in Psalm., Opp. ed. Rothom. 1679, tom. ii., fol.—*Beda* Venerab. (who died in 735), in principium Genes., etc. (Gen. i.–xxi. 10); de Tabernaculo et vasis ejus ac vestibus sacerdotum libri iii; in primam partem Samuhelis libri iii; de ædificatione templi allegor. exposit. libri ii; in Regum librum xxx quæstionum liber; in Proverbb. Salom. libri iii; in Cantica Cant. libri vii; in Esram et Nehem. libri iii; in libr. b. Tobiæ, and others, which are lost. Comp. *Schöll*, in *Herzog's* Realencycl. i. pp. 761–2. —*Flacc. Alcuin* (Albinus), lib. quæstionum in Genes., expos. in Psalm.; Ecclesiast.—*Haymonis* explan. in omnes Psalm. et Cant. vi; comment. in Esajam; in xii proph. minores: comp. *L. Heller*, in *Herzog's* Realencycl. v. p. 590.—*Rhabani Mauri* comment. in Pent., Jud., Ruth, Reg., Paralip., Proverb. Sal., Jerem., Ezech., Esth., Judith, Sapient., Ecclesiastic., Machab.: Opp. Coloniæ 1627, fol.—*Rupert von Deutz* (who died in 1135), comment. in Pent., Jos., Jud., Reg., Psalm., Proph. maj. et minor., Ecclesiast., Job.—*Hugonis de S. Victore* (who died in 1141), adnotatt. elucidatoriæ in Pent., Jud., Ruth, Reg., plur. Psalm., Thren., Joel, Obadj.: comp. *Liebner*, Hugo v. St. Vict. p. 151 ff.—*Petri Lombardi* (who died in 1164) glossæ in Psalm.—*Alexandri de Hales* (who died in 1245), comm. in Psalm.—*Hugonis de St. Caro* (who died in 1263), postillæ, seu breves annotatt. in universa Biblia, Basileæ 1487, and often; Coloniæ 1621, 8 vols. fol.—*Thomæ Aquinatis* (who died in 1274) expos. in Job., in quinquag. Psalm., Cant. Cant., Jesaj., Jerem., et Thren.—*Bonaventuræ* (who died in 1274) expos. in Psalter., Ecclesiast., Thren.—*Alberti Magni* (who died in 1280) comm. in Psalm., Dan., xii proph. minores, Thren., Jerem., Baruch.—And there are others.

(18) Both glosses are in the Biblia Sacra cum *glossa ordinar.* a *Strabone Fuld.* . . . novis. patrum Græc. et Latin. explicationibus locupletata, et Postilla *Nicolai Lirani*, cum additionibus *Pauli Burgensis* ac *Matthiæ Thoringi* replicis, theolog. Duácensium studio emend. Omnia denuo recens. *R. P. Dr. Leander a S. Martino*, Bened., etc., Antverpiæ 1634, fol., and often reprinted. Comp. *J. G. Walchii* biblioth. theolog. iv. p. 396 sqq.

(19) In the Prologus secundus to this work he makes the following declaration: "Sub quolibet membro potest fieri explicationum mysticarum multiplicatio in spirituali sensu, omnes tamen præsupponunt sensum literalem tanquam fundamentum. Propterea sicut ædificium declinans a fundamento disponitur ad ruinam, sic expositio mystica discrepans a sensu literali reputanda est indecens et inepta, vel saltem minus decens ceteris paribus et minus apta. Et omnibus volentibus proficere in studio Sacræ Scripturæ necessarium est inci-

pere ab intellectu sensus literalis." Comp. *Rosenmüller*, *l.c.* v. p. 280 sqq.

§ 224. *In the Protestant Church.*

The Reformers were the first to oppose, with great decision, and with happy results, the prevalent exposition of the Old Testament in manifold senses; and by their fundamental principle, whose validity they proved both in theory and in practice, that Scripture has only one sense, they procured the victory for the historico-theological exposition over the allegorical interpretations. The Saxon and the Swiss Reformers were at one as to this fundamental principle; and also as to this other, that the Word of God must be expounded only according to the analogy of that faith which is drawn from the plain utterances of Scripture (1).

(1) *Luther* declares himself against allegorizing most strongly in his Table Talk, c. 52 (Band 62, p. 31 ff., of the Erlangen edition); and frequently in his exegetical writings. So does *Melanchthon*, in his Elementarum Rhetorices libri duo, Vitebergæ 1536, where it is said in the section, de quatuor sensibus sacrarum literarum: "Quidam inepti tradiderunt quatuor esse Scripturæ sensus, literalem, tropologicum, allegoricum, anagogicum. Et sine discrimine omnes versus totius Scripturæ quadrifariam interpretati sunt. Id autem quam sit vitiosum, facile judicari potest. Fit enim incerta oratio, discerpta in tot sententias. . . . Cæterum nos meminerimus, *unam quandam ac certam et simplicem sententiam, ubique quærendum esse*, juxta præcepta Grammatices, Dialecticæ, et Rhetoricæ. Nam oratio, quæ non habet unam ac simplicem sententiam, nihil certi docet. . . . In sacris literis semper illa sententia retinenda est, quam consuetudo sermonis parit." See also many similar utterances of the other Reformers in *G. W. Meyer*, Geschichte der Schrifterklärung, Band ii. p. 152 ff., and p. 346 ff. Compare the luminous representation of the Reformers' fundamental principles of exegesis in *Klausen*, Hermeneutik des Neuen Test. p. 228 ff.

"One text of holy divine Scripture ought to be explained and expounded by another," says the Protest at Spires, 1529.—Confessio Helvetica, 1536, art. 2: "Sanctæ Scripturæ interpretatio ex ipsa sola petenda est, ut ipsa interpres sit sui caritatis fideique regula moderante."—Confessio Helvetica, 1566, c. 2: "Illam duntaxat S.S. interpretationem pro orthodoxa et genuina agnoscimus, quæ ex ipsis

est petita Scripturis (ex ingenio ejus linguæ in qua sunt scriptæ, secundum circumstantias item expensæ, et pro ratione locorum similium, plurium, et clariorum expositæ) cum regula fidei et caritatis congruit, et ad gloriam Dei hominumque salutem eximie facit." The foundations of Protestant Hermeneutics were theoretically laid for the first time by *Matth. Flacius Illyricus* (who died in 1575), Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ, seu de sermone litterarum sacrarum, Antverpiæ 1567, in the second part, entitled de ratione cognoscendi sacras literas.

It was *Luther* who, by his German translation of the Bible, and by his popular and his learned expositions of various books and portions of the Old Testament (2), penetrated most deeply into the spirit and sense of the Old Testament history and revelation; and who especially developed thoroughly its religious and dogmatic truths, and victoriously defended them against the errors of the Romish Church and of other parties. Yet at the same time *Melanchthon*, *Bugenhagen*, *Brenz* [or Brentius], *Victorinus Strigel*, *Lucas Osiander*, *Chytræus*, and others, earned lasting merit on account of philosophical, historical, dogmatic, and practical exposition, by their commentaries on single parts and books of the Old Testament (3).—Nevertheless, clearly and plainly as *Luther* had unfolded the distinction between the Law and the Gospel, and deeply as he had penetrated into the historical understanding of the Old Testament; still he did not carry out consecutively the distinction between the Old and the New Covenant, nor keep himself free from too strong an intermingling of the two Testaments (4). Within the Lutheran Church greater sharpness was imparted to this identification, by means of the opposition to the [Roman] Catholics (5) and the Socinians (6). The correct fundamental principle, that the right understanding of the Old Testament is first given by studying the New, was many a time understood and applied so, that men believed they must find all the dogmas of the New Testament already in the Old, mistaking the gradual and successive course of divine revelation; and in particular, they interpreted the Messianic prophecies much too immediately of Christ and the individual events in the gospel history. And in general, owing to the predominant polemical interest, the eye was too much turned away from the historical estimate of the Old Testament revelation, and too much turned towards the contemplation of it on the dogmatic side; so that the Old Testament came to be used always more and more as a mere

repertory of "dicta probantia" for the individual theorems in teaching Christian faith and morals. By such treatment an arrest was put to a large extent on the wealth of the contents of the Old Testament revelation, and the true historico-theological understanding of it greatly obscured: especially because a dogmatic tradition came to be formed for the exposition of the Messianic passages, which came forth ever more and more rigid in the seventeenth century. This was less the case with *Joh. Tarnov*, *Joh. Gerhard*, and others (7); but it was much more so with *Abraham Calov*, *Martin Geier*, *Sebastian Schmidt*, and others, in whose commentaries the exegetical development of the course of thought was greatly narrowed and injured by dogmatical polemics (8).

(2) Sermons on Genesis; Enarrationes in Genesin; exposition of some chapters in Exodus and Leviticus; exposition of the seven penitential psalms, and of many others; Operationes in Psalmos; Enarratt. in Psalm. xxv priores; Comm. in xv Psalm. graduum; expositions, partly in German, partly in Latin, of most of the minor prophets [*Bleek*, p. 121, notices that there is none upon Haggai, but that on Hosea and on Joel there are two], and on some chapters of Ezekiel and Daniel, on the Song of Solomon, and others [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, adds, on Deuteronomy, on Isaiah, and on Ecclesiastes].—Luther's German exegetical writings have appeared complete in the Erlangen edition of his works, Bänd. 33–42, edited by *J. Conr. Irmischer;* but of the Latin ones in this edition, there first appeared the Enarr. in Genesin, cura *Chr. Steph. Theoph. Elsperger* et *Henr. Schmid*, and the works on the Decalogue, Deuteronomy, and Psalms, cura *J. C. Irmischer* (Exeg. opera Lat., Erlangæ 1829 sqq.).

(3) *Phil. Melanchthon:* explicatio Proverbb. Salom.—Enarrat. brevis concionum libri Sal.—Ecclesiastis.—Comm. in Danielem proph.—In Zachar., etc.

Joh. Bugenhagen (Pomeranus, who died in 1558): Comm. in Deuteron.—Adnotatt. in libros Sam., Reg.—Job.—Psalm.—Jerem. et Threnos.

Joh. Brentius (who died in 1578) [1570, *Bleek*, p. 122, and *Hartmann* in *Herzog*, art. Brenz]: Comm. in v libros Mosis.—Jos., Jud., Ruth, Sam., Reg., Esr., Neh., Esth.—Job., Psalm., Ecclesiast., Jesaj., Jerem., Hos., Am., Jon., Mich. (Opp. ed. Tubingæ, 1578 sqq., tom. i.–iv.) [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, says these are the first four of his works in 8 vols. fol., 1576–1590. And he characterizes him as "the best acquainted with Hebrew of all the Lutheran expositors at that time:

his exposition, though principally dogmatic, yet bestows great care upon the linguistic explanation."]

Victorinus Strigel (who died in 1569): Hypomnemata in omnes Psalm. Davidis.—Comm. in Exod.—Libb. Sam., Reg., et Paralip.—Thren.—Argumenta et Scholia in Genes., Jos., Jud., Ruth, Esr., Neh., Esth., Job., Provv., Ecclesiast., Cant., Jerem., Ezech., Dan.

Nic. Selnecceri (who died in 1592): Comm. in Genes.—Exposition of the Psalter; of Isaiah, Jeremiah and Zephaniah, Lamentations, Ezekiel (Latin and German), Hosea, Joel and Micah, Jonah, Nahum, and Habakkuk.

Luc. Osiander (who died in 1604): Biblia Lat. juxta veterem seu vulgarem translationem, ad Ebræam veritatem emend. et brevi ac perspicua explicatione illustr., insertis etiam præcipuis locis communibus, etc., Tubingæ 1588–1592, 3 tomi, fol.

Dav. Chytræus (who died in 1600), Enarratt. in v libros Mosis.—Prælect. in lib. Jos.—Comm. in histor. Judicum.—Explicat. Michæ et Nah.—Malach., etc.

(4) Especially in his exposition of the Psalms.

(5) For instance, *Bellarmin* had laid down the erudite distinction between the teaching of the Old and that of the New Testament, as "doctrina inchoata" and "perfecta;" and he had asserted that the mysteries of the faith, particularly that of the Trinity, were taught in the Old Testament only "obscure et imperfecte." But in opposition to this, *Joh. Gerhard* (loci theolog. ed Cotta, vi. p. 138) lays down the principle, "Quod ad rem ipsam sive mysteria fidei attinet, doctrina Vet. Test. *nequaquam est imperfecta*, siquidem *eosdem* fundamentales *fidei articulos* tradit, quos Christus et Apostoli *in* Nov. Test. *repetunt*. Quod ad docendi modum attinet, *fatemur*, quædum fidei mysteria clarius et dilucidius in Nov. Test. expressa esse quam in Vet. Test.; sed," etc.

(6) The Socinians did not indeed *deny the* divinity of the Old Testament, but they pronounced it superfluous for the settlement of doctrine. Catech. Racov. Quæst. *i.*: "Non est cur dubitetur de auctoritate ejus libri, qui appellatur Vetus Testamentum, cum is a Novo manifeste confirmetur."—*J.* [*F.?*] *Socini* de auct. Sanctæ Scripturæ, in Opp. i. p. 270: "Considerandum est, si recipiatur Novum Test., non posse ad ipsam religionis summam quidquam fere momenti habere quamcunque Vet. Test. depravationem, cum nihil non levis momenti potuerit esse in Vet. Test. quod Novo non contineatur. . . . Adeo ut utilis quidem plures ob causas sit lectio Vet. Test. iis qui Novum recipiunt, i.e. hominibus Christianæ religionis, sed non tamen necessaria." Further, comp. *Oehler*, Proleg. p. 22.

(7) *Joh. Tarnovii* (who died in 1629) Comm. in Psalm. passionales; decem Psalm. priores; Psalm. graduum; Psalm. pœnitentiales; in Threnos Jer.; in proph. minores: these appeared one by one, from the year 1621 onwards, at Rostock. *Tarnov* was severely blamed for not explaining all passages of Christ in the traditional manner; comp. *Buddei* Isagoge hist. theol. p. 1690.

Joh. Gerhardi (who died in 1637) Comm. super Genesin, Jenæ 1693, 4to; Comm. super Deuteron., *ib.* 1657, 4to; Adnotatt. in proph. Amos et Jon., *ib.* 1676, 4to.

Joh. Quistorpii (who died in 1648) Adnotatt. in omnes libros bibl., Rostochii 1648, 4to, 2 vols.

(8) *Abr. Calov* (who died in 1686 [Professor of Theology and General Superintendent at Wittenberg, says *Bleek*, p. 129]), Biblia Vet. et Nov. Test. illustrata, Francofurti 1672 [2 vols. fol., says *Bleek, ibid.*], Dresd. 1719, 4 tomi, fol. [*Bleek*, p. 129 f., says it is very much a polemic against Grotius, whose annotations are set down in full and refuted. He adds: "Still the work contains much that is valuable and worthy of notice; for the author possessed not a little philological and antiquarian learning, nor did he want acuteness and depth."]

Martini Geieri [*Bleek*, p. 131, says, Professor and Superintendent at Leipzig, then Court-preacher at Dresden] (who died in 1680) Comm. in Psalm. Davidis, Dresd. 1668 [2 vols. 4to, says *Bleek, ibid.*], and often, till 1709, fol.—Provv. Salomonis enucleat., Lipsiæ 1653, and often, till 1725, 4to. Comm. in Salomonis Ecclesiasten, *ib.* 1647, and often, till 1711, 4to.—Prælectt. acad. in Daniel., *ib.* 1667, [*Bleek, ibid.*, says, and often, till] 1702, 4to. [*Bleek, ibid.*, says that all these were also published in a collected form, Amsterdam 1695–6, 2 vols. fol. For grammatico-philological exposition, he considers Geier the most thorough exegetical writer on the Old Testament in that age.]

Seb. Schmidt (who died in 1696 [as Professor of Theology at Strassburg—*Bleek*, p. 130]), Annotatt. super Mosis libr. i., Argentorati 1697, 4to. Prælectt. in viii priora capita Jos., in his comment. in Jesaj., Francofurti 1692, Hamburg. 1723, 4to. Comment. in libr. Judd., Argentorati 1706, 4to. Annotatt. in libr. Ruth, *ib.* 1696, 4to. Comm. in libros Sam., *ib.* 1697, 4to. Annotatt. in libros Regg., *ib.* 1697, 4to. Comm. in Job, *ib.* 1705, 2 vols. 4to. In Coheleth, *ib.* 1704, 4to. Super prophet. Jesaj., Hamburg. 1702, 4to. In Jerem., Francofurti ad M. 1706, 2 vols. 4to. In prophet. minores, Lipsiæ 1698, 4to. [*Bleek* says, pp. 130–1: "These commentaries appeared one by one, mostly published by himself, from the year 1670 onwards (namely, those on Judges, Samuel, the Messianic Psalms, Job, Eccle-

siastes, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea); the others, not till after his death (on Genesis, Ruth, Kings, the other minor prophets): the former are, in general, superior to the latter."]

Jo. Adam Osiander (who died in 1697): Comm. in Pentat., Tubingæ 1688. In Jos., *ib.* 1681. In Judic., 1682. In Ruth, 1682. In 1 et 2 libros Sam., Stuttgardiæ 1687, fol.

Aug. Pfeiffer [*Bleek*, p. 126, says, Professor of Oriental Languages and Theology at Leipzig, then Superintendent at Lübeck] (who died in 1698): Dubia vexata Scripturæ Sacræ, seu loca difficilia Vet. Test., etc. [*Bleek, ibid.*, says, first Dresd. 1679, 4to], Lipsiæ 1685, 5th ed. 1713, 4to.—Comm. in Obad., Vitebergæ 1666, 1670. Prælectt. in proph. Jonæ, *ib.* 1671, 1704.

Sal. Deyling (who died in 1755): Observationum sacr., P. i.-iii., Lipsiæ 1708–15, 3d ed. 1735–39, 4to. Observationes miscellan., *ib.* 1736. Observationum sacr., P. v., *ib.* 1748, 4to.

Henr. Ben. Starck (who died in 1727): Notæ sel. critt. philoll. exegg. in loca dubia ac difficiliora Pent., Jos., Jud., Sam., Reg., Chron., Esr., Neh., Lipsiæ 1714. Notæ . . . Job, Prov., Eccles., Cant., *ib.* 1717. Notæ sel. . . . Jesaj., Jerem., Ez., Hos., Am., Mich., Nah., Hab., Zeph., Zach., Mal., *ib.* 1723, 4to.

The dogmatism of orthodoxy was keenly opposed, indeed, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, by the pietism which proceeded from *Ph. Jac. Spener*. But with all his effort at edification from Scripture, he secured only unimportant advantages for thorough investigation of Scripture, because he searched for the *life-giving* Spirit, less in that power of God which resides in the *written* Word, than in a subjective spiritual excitement. Neither the prolix writings of *Joachim Lange* nor the ascetico-typological explanations in the *Berleburg Bible* guide us any deeper into the peculiar spirit of the Old Testament (9). Only *Joh. Heinrich Michaelis* and *Christian Benedict Michaelis*, and *Joh. Jakob Rambach*, by their remarks in the Halle Hebrew Bible, furnished valuable contributions to the more correct understanding of the Old Testament, by carefully collecting and comparing the parallel passages (10).

(9) *Joachim Lange* (who died in 1744): Mosaisches Licht und Recht. Biblisch-histor. Licht und Recht. Davidisch-Salomonisches Licht und Recht. Prophetisches Licht und Recht. Halle 1732–38.

Die heilige Schrift A. u. N. Testaments, nach d. Grundtext übersetzet, nebst einiger Erklärung des buchstäblichen Sinnes, wie auch

der fürnehmsten Fürbildern und Weissagungen von Christo u. s. Reich; u. s. w. Berleburg, 1726–42, 8 vols. (4 of the Old Testament and 4 of the New) fol.

(10) [See something of the labours of the two critics *Michaelis* at § 161, Note 10.] *J. H. Michaelis* (who died in 1738), Annotatt. in Vet. Test., in his Biblia Hebraica, Halæ 1720 [4to and 8vo, says *Bleek*, p. 134; who adds that his sister's son, *C. B. Michaelis*, had an important share in these]. Also, Uberior. annotatt. phil. exeg. in Hagiographos Vet. Test. libros, Halæ 1720, 3 vols. 4to [*Bleek, ibid.*, says *Joh. Heinrich Michaelis* wrote on the Psalms, Job, Song of Songs, Ezra, and 1st Chronicles; *C. B. Michaelis*, upon Proverbs, Lamentations, and Daniel; and *Rambach* (Professor of Theology at Halle, then at Giessen, who died in 1735) upon Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Nehemiah, and 2d Chronicles]. There is a useful handbook for ministers, *Christoph Starke* (who died in 1744), Synopsis bibliothecæ exeg. in Vet. Test., which is a concise extract of the most profound and useful expositions, Leipzig 1741–47, 2d ed. 1744 ff., 5 vols. 4to.

In the Reformed Churches, *John Calvin* excelled, in spiritual, historical, and psychologico-theological exposition of the Old Testament, not only his predecessors *Zwingli*, *Œcolampadius*, *Bucer*, and *Pellican* (11), but also his successors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. And yet amongst these latter, *Mercier* [*Mercerus*], *Piscator*, *Drusius*, *Louis de Dieu*, and others, partly in extended commentaries upon single books, partly in brief annotations by means of comparison of the ancient versions, partly also by happy use of the rabbinical and the Syriac *usus loquendi*, advanced more than ever the philological element in exposition. *Calvin*, too, so far overcame the Rationalism which stands out strongly in *Zwingli's* exposition of Scripture, with its constantly recurring *ἀνθρωποπαθῶς* (12), that he not only explains the writings of the prophets and apostles to be the foundation of the Church, and the Holy Scriptures to be *αὐτόπιστος* as given by God (13); but he even explains the Old and New Testaments to be completely one in substance and matter, and to be different only with regard to administration (14). In one respect Calvin's exegesis has an advantage over even Luther's exposition of Scripture; namely in this, that he developes the dogmatic contents more strictly in a grammatico-historical manner from the text of

Scripture. Yet, in spite of this stricter philological character, his explanation of Scripture is so under the sway of his dogmatic system, that he does not give himself up to the written Word wholly and unconditionally, and penetrates much less than Luther into the full depth of the divine revelation. His exposition of the Old Testament is pervaded by a spiritualistic element, which injures the historical reality of the Old Testament history of salvation, and which often generalizes too much the concrete contents of prophecies, and also often restricts them too much to Old Testament persons and relations, by which procedure the deeper reference to Christ and His kingdom is degraded into a mere type (15). This spiritualism, which separates Word and Spirit in an abstract manner, cleaves generally to the Reformed exposition of Scripture (16); and at a later time it degenerated more and more into bare philological explanation of words, which consequently led to an undervaluing of the theological contents of Scripture, and deprived it of all strength and depth. These injurious consequences become markedly prominent in the celebrated Arminian, *Hugo Grotius*. For his Annotationes in Vet. Test. libros are for the most part confined to parallels from profane authors, by which the sacred history is said to be explained and confirmed; whereas by this process the peculiarity in the contents of the divine revelation of salvation is entirely mistaken, and is removed to the domain of general divine providence (17). It is true that *Joh. Cocceius*, on the contrary, sought to apprehend more deeply the essence and character of the divine revelations by his Œconomia fœderum (18); yet, through his want of clear insight into the relation of Law and Gospel in the Old and New Covenants, he fell into the most arbitrary typology, especially in his explanations of the predictions of the prophets. Even his most distinguished pupils, *Camp. Vitringa* and *Joh. Marck*, were unable to keep themselves wholly free from this, although they avoided their teacher's extremes; and by extensive erudition in philology and historical antiquities, as well as by spiritual depth of thought, they achieved important results for the exposition of the Old Testament, especially of the prophets (19).

[It need perhaps scarcely be said that *Reformed* theologians would not admit that justice has been done here to Zwingli and Calvin: in fact, they will pronounce the whole paragraph an un-

favourably exaggerated sketch of Reformed exegesis. It is a pity that they have often to complain of this spirit working, consciously or unconsciously, in writers of the Lutheran communion, from whom they differ on certain points of some importance, but for whom they desire to cherish the utmost possible esteem and regard. It is monstrous to exhibit Grotius as an example of the tendency of Reformed exegesis. That remarkable man was among the very foremost of the opponents of all the peculiarities of Calvinism, and he was suspected of strong proclivities towards Socinianism: and he could not possibly be reckoned among the *Reformed* commentators alongside of whom he is named, except on the ground of a technical meaning attached to this word, since he was a *Protestant*, and yet not a *Lutheran*.]

(11) *Ulric Zwingli* (who died in 1531), complanat. Jesaj.—Jerem.—Farrago adnotatt. in Genesin.— . . . Exod. . . . ex ore illius . . . except.

Jo. Œcolampadius (who died in 1531) [*Bleek*, p. 122, says: "He possessed a profound knowledge of Hebrew, which he manifests in his exegetical writings upon various books of the Old Testament"], Adnotatt. in Genesin, ex ore ejus except.—Comm. in Jerem.—Ezech.—Hypomnemata in Jesaj.—Adnotatt. in proph. minores.—Exegemata in Job.

Martin Bucer (who died in 1551): Comm. in libr. Jud.—Psalm.—Job.—Eccles.—Sophon.

Conrad Pellican [mentioned already on account of his Hebrew Grammar, § 160, Note 3] (who died in 1566): Comm. in libros Vet. Testamenti (omnes, præter Jon. et Zachar.), Tiguri 1532, vols. i.–iv. [*Bleek*, p. 117, says that his prelections on the Old and New Testament were printed in 7 vols. fol., 1532–39, at Zurich, where he had been teacher of Hebrew from 1526.]

Wolfgang Musculus (who died in 1563): Comm. in Genesin, Basileæ 1554, and often; in Psalm., 1550, and often; in Jesaj. 1557, and often, fol.

Sebastian Münster, Annotatt. in omnes libros Vet. Test., in his Biblia Hebr. Lat., 1535–46 (also in the Critici Sacri): these are almost exclusively philological.

(12) Comp. *Mich. Baumgarten*, theol. Comm. i. p. xli.

(13) *J. Calvinus*, institutio Christ. relig., liber i. c. 7. 2: "Ecclesiam ille (Paulus) testatur, Prophetarum et Apostolorum fundamento

sustineri (Eph. ii. 20). Si fundamentum est Ecclesiæ Prophetica et Apostolica doctrina, suam huic certitudinem ante constare oportet, quam illa exstare incipiat." C. 7. 5: "Maneat ergo hoc fixum, quos Spiritus Sanctus intus docuit, solide acquiescere in Scriptura, et hanc quidem esse *αὐτόπιστον*, neque demonstrationi et rationibus subjici eam fas esse: quem tamen meretur apud nos certitudinem, Spiritus testimonio consequi. . . . Illius ergo virtute illuminati, jam non aut aliorum judicio credimus, *a Deo esse Scripturam:* sed supra humanum judicium, certo certius constituimus, hominum ministerio ab ipsissimo Dei ore ad nos fluxisse."

(14) Comp. *l.c.* lib. ii. c. 10. 2–4, where Calvin brings out the evidence "vetus et novum fœdus re ipsa unum esse, quamvis administratione diversum." For the rest, the attempt made to determine more precisely the relation of the Old and New Testament revelation (lib. ii. c. 10, de similitudine Veteris et Novi Testamenti, c. 11, differentia unius Testamenti ab altero) is not free from contradictions. Comp. *Oehler*, Proleg. p. 20 f.

(15) *Calvin's* exegetical works on the Old Testament are partly commentarii, in libr. Genes. (exscr. cur. *Hengstenberg*, Berolini 1842, 2 Partes); [on the other books of the Pentateuch]; Jos.; Psalm. (exscr. cur. *Tholuck*, Berolini 1846, 2 Partes); Jesaj.: partly they are prælectiones (taken down by those who heard them), in Jerem. et Thren.; viginti capp. Ezech.; Daniel; prophetæ minores. These are in his Opp., Amstelodami 1671 [ff., 9 vols.], fol.

(16) The most important expositors of that age are the following: —*Aug. Marloratus* (who died in 1562), comment. in Genes.; Job.; Psalm. et sacra cantica; Jesaj.: they appeared at Paris and Geneva from 1562 onwards (useful compilations).—*Jo. Mercerus* (who died in 1570) [was successor of Vatablus as Professor of Hebrew at Paris for several years, says *Bleek*, p. 122], Comm. in Genes., Genevæ 1598 [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, says, Paris 1598, fol., edited by Beza]; in Job., Provv., Eccles., Cantic., 1573, fol. [2 vols., and again in one volume fol. at Amsterdam 1651, says *Bleek*, *ibid.*]; in Prophet. quinque priores inter eos qui minores voc., 1698, 4to [*Bleek*, pp. 122–3, says, "first without the year or place of printing being given, published by *Peter Cevallerius* (le Chevalier); then in a mutilated edition, Giessen 1695, 4to." And he also mentions, Scholia et versio ad prophetiam Haggæi, Ebraice, Parisiis 1551. He characterizes him as "one of the most skilful investigators into the Hebrew language; and, in particular, his explanations of Job and the Solomontic writings contain very useful remarks of permanent value: he also makes diligent use of the earlier commentators, especially Jerome and the Rabbins, and gives

extracts from them; yet these materials have scarcely been wrought up in the work upon the Minor Prophets"].—*David Pareus* (who died in 1622) [Professor of Theology at Heidelberg]: Comm. in Genes., Francofurti 1609; in Hos., Heidelbergæ 1605; notæ brevior. in proph. Joel, Hagg., et Amos, Oxon. 1631, 4to.—*Jo. Piscator* [*Bleek*, p. 123, says, Teacher of Theology at the Reformed Gymnasium in Herborn] (who died in 1626), Comm. in omnes libros Vet. Test., Herborn. 1646, fol. [*Bleek*, p. 123, says this appeared in 24 vols., published one by one, Herborn 1601 ff., 8vo; afterwards at the same place in 4 vols. fol., 1643–45. "In this commentary he gives for every chapter in the Old Testament two Latin translations—his own, and that of *Immanuel Tremellius* and *Francis Junius;* he also gives a copious analysis of the contents, with illustrative exegetical remarks upon it, and finally, dogmatic and moral reflections."]—*Jo. Drusius* [*Bleek*, p. 123, says, properly *van der Driesche*, born in Flanders 1550, Professor of Oriental Languages at Oxford from 1572, then at Leyden from 1575, and from 1585 Professor of Hebrew at Francker] (who died in 1616), Annotatt. in loca diffic. Pentat., Franeker. 1617, 4to; in loca diffic. Jos., Judd., et Sam., 1618, 4to. Lectiones in proph. Nahum, Habac., Sophon., Joel, Jon., Abdiam, Leid. 1595. Lectt. in Hos., etc., *ib.* 1599. In Amos, *ib.* 1600. In Mich., Agg., Zach., et Malach., Amstelodami 1627, 4to. Comm. in proph. minores, *ib.* 1727, 4to. Comm. in libr. Ruth, 1586, 4to. Annotatt. in libr. Esther, Leid. 1586. Schol. in Job, Amstelodami 1636; in Coheleth, *ib.* 1635, 4to. [*Bleek*, p. 123, says: "We have from him works on most of the books of the Old Testament, partly continuous readings and commentaries, partly explanations of more difficult passages; at which in part he laboured in obedience to special commissions laid upon him by the States-General of the Netherlands, and some of which were not printed till after his death. Without losing himself in dogmatic investigations, he proceeds to examine how the words of Scripture are to be understood, by means of the Hebrew *usus loquendi*, the Jewish expositors, and the ancient translations."]—*Lud. de Dieu* [already mentioned on account of his labours in grammar; see § 161, Note 4] (who died in 1642), Animadverss. in Vet. Test. libros omnes, Leid. 1648. Critica sacra, sive animadverss. in loca quædam diffic. Vet. et Nov. Test., Amstelodami 1693, fol.—*Lud. Cappellus* [already mentioned on account of his labours in textual criticism, § 165, Note 1; § 204, Note 8. *Bleek*, p. 131, says, "from 1613 Professor of Hebrew at Saumur, afterwards preacher and Professor of Theology, died in 1658"], Comm. et notæ criticæ in Vet. Test., cum *Jac. Cappelli* [his elder brother, preacher and Professor of Theology at Sedan, died in

1624, says *Bleek*, *ibid.*] observatt. in Vet. Test., Amstelodami 1689, fol. [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, says, edited by the son of Louis, *Jac. Cappellus*, *junior*, likewise Professor of Hebrew at Saumur].

The exegetical performances of the English divines are brought together in the Annotations upon all the books of the Old and New Testament, London 1645 and 1657, 2 vols. fol.—*Matthew Henry*, Exposition of the Old and New Testament, London 1707–15, 5 vols. fol. [and, of course, very often since].—From English divines there also proceeded the following compilations:—Critici sacri, Londini 1660, 9 vols. fol. (by *J.* and *R. Pearson*, *Scattergood*, and *Gouldman*); reprinted and enlarged, Amstelodami 1698, 9 vols. fol.; published by *Gürtler*, Francofurti 1696, 7 vols., and 2 supplementary vols. 1700–1, fol. [*Bleek* says, p. 130, that on the Old Testament this includes Seb. Münster, Vatablus, Castellio, Isidore Clarius (an unimportant expositor), Drusius, Grotius; besides several commentaries on single books, especially that of Masius on Joshua.]—Also, *Matt. Polus* (*Pool*, who died in 1679), Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque Scripturæ Sacræ interpretum, Londini 1669–76, 5 vols. fol.; and often, Francofurti, 5 vols. 4to, and 1712, 5 vols. fol., cum J. T. Pritii præfatione. (This collection contains many more expositions than the Critici Sacri.) [*Bleek*, p. 130, says, among others additional, it contains extracts from *C. a Lapide*, *Piscator*, *Buxtorf*, *Bochart*, *Sal. Glass*, and *Geier*: "also there are found here the explanations of the ancient translations; yet the oriental ones not in a trustworthy shape, being only according to the Latin translations of them."]

(17) *Hug. Grotius* (who died in 1645), Annotatt. in Vet. Test., Parisiis 1644, 3 vols. fol. [often reprinted, says *Bleek*, p. 129], ed. *J. G. L. Vogel* et *Doederlein*, Halæ 1775–6, 3 vols. 4to. To this add an Auctarium by *Doederlein*, 1779, 4to. Already the older divines said of his exposition of the Old Testament, "*Grotium* nusquam in sacris litteris invenire Christum, *Coccejum* ubique." Comp. *Buddei* Isagog. hist. theol. p. 1736. In the preface to his Commentary on the Old Testament, Grotius makes the announcement, "Attuli ex historiis externis quidquid ad sacræ historiæ confirmationem aut explicationem pertinet." And this purpose he carried out in the manner stated above. Comp. *Mich. Baumgarten*, *ibid.* p. xlvi.

(18) *Joh. Coccejus* [or *Cock*, born at Bremen in 1603; finally, from 1650, Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Leyden, says *Bleek*, p. 128] (who died in 1669): Comm. in Psalm.—Job, Prov., Eccles., Cantic.—Jesaj., Jerem., Ezech., Dan., xii proph. minores; also on various sections of the books of Moses [including Exodus and Leviticus, says *Bleek*, p. 129], the song of Deborah, and that of Hannah

(Opp. ed. Amstelodami 1701, fol.) [*Bleek, ibid.*, says, in the earlier of the 8 vols. of his works, Amstelodami 1675–78, and twice afterwards reprinted]. *Cocceius* wished to unfold the gradual advance of the divine revelations, and to attain to a historically organic apprehension of the Old Testament, by means of his distinction of a twofold covenant between God and men: of which the first, the covenant of nature and of works, was made with Adam in a state of innocence; the second, the covenant of grace and of faith, was entered into after the fall, and subsists in a threefold administration—before the Law, under the Law, and under the Gospel. But he went astray, through his abstract division of the Law from the Gospel, into arbitrary typology, by which the whole history of Israel is turned into an empty picture-frame for types of the Christian Church. On the subject of his teaching, comp. *Walch*, histor. u. theol. Einleitung in die Religionsstreitigkeiten ausser der luther. Kirche (3d ed. 1733), p. 459 ff.; and on his attitude towards the Old Testament, comp. *Baumgarten*, p. xlvii. ff.

(19) *Camp. Vitringa* (who died in 1722): Comm. in libr. proph. Jesaj., Leovardiæ 1714–20; ed. nova, Basileæ 1732, 2 vols. fol. (a poor German epitome of it by *Büsching*, Halle 1749, 1751, 2 vols. 4to). Commentarii ad libr. proph. Zachariæ quæ supersunt, ed. *H. Venema*, Leovardiæ 1734, 4to. Comm. in Canticum Mosis, Deut. xxxii., Op. posth. ed. *H. Venema*, Harl. 1734, 4to. Observationum sacr., libri vi., Franekeræ 1711–19; ed. novissima, Jenæ 1734, 4to.—*Jo. Marckii* (who died in 1731) Comm. in prophetas minores, Amstelodami 1696–1701, 4 vols. 4to; cum præfat. *Christoph. Matth. Pfaffii*, Tubingæ 1734, 2 vols. fol. Comm. in Cantic. Salom., Amstelodami 1703, 4to. In præcipuas quasdam partes Pentat. comment., s. ultimorum Jacobi, reliquorum Bilhami, et novissimorum Mosis analys. exeg., Lugduni Batav. 1713, 4to. Textuales exercitatt. ad 50 sel. loca Vet. et Nov. Testamenti, Amstelodami 1694, 4to. Exegeticæ exercitationes ad 50 sel. loca Vet. et Nov. Test., *ibid.* 1687, 4to. Biblicæ exercitatt. ad 50 sel. loca Vet. et Nov. Test., *ibid.* 1707, 4to. Exercitatt. miscellaneæ, *ibid.* 1690, 8vo. Opuscula philol. theol., Groningæ 1743, 2 vols. 4to. Scripturariæ exercitatt. ad 25 sel. loca Vet. Test., Amstelodami 1709, 4to.—*Herm. Venema* [*Bleek*, p. 134, describes him as a particularly well-known pupil of Schultens, Professor of Theology at Franecker from 1723 onwards, the author of commentaries at great length on various books of the Old Testament, quite after the manner of Schultens, and in his diffuse style] (who died in 1787), Comm. in Psalm., Leovardiæ 1762–67, 6 vols. [4to]; ad libr. proph. Jerem., *ibid.* 1765, 2 vols. [4to]; lectt. acad. ad Ezech., P. i., usque ad cap.

21, ed. *J. H. Verschuir*, *ibid.* 1790; dissertatt. ad vatic. Dan. cap. 2, 7, et 8, *ibid.* 1745; comm. ad Dan. xi. 4–xii. 3, *ibid.* 1752; sermones acad. vice commentar. in libr. proph. Zachar., *ibid.* 1789; comm. ad libr. elencht. proph. Malachi., *ibid.* 1759, 4to; dissertatt. select. ad Sacr. Scriptur. Vet. et Novi Test., *ibid.* 1747, 4to.

About this time begins the decay of the theological exposition of the Old Testament,—in fact, so early as in the case of *Joh. Clericus* (who died in 1736). Following out the course on which Grotius had entered, and also a man of kindred spirit, *John Spencer* (20), in spite of an external acknowledgment of revelation, miracles, and prophecy, he reduced to a minimum the distinction between the economy of the Old Testament and heathenism; and in his commentaries (21) he supposed that he had explained the contents of the Old Testament Scriptures, when he had given paltry, superficial, philological, historical, and antiquarian remarks upon them.—Immediately after this, in Holland, by means of *Albert Schultens*, the man in last century who had the greatest knowledge of the Arabic language and literature, a one-sided philological direction was exalted into the ideal of Old Testament studies; and this was widely diffused by his pupils (22). Of these, *Joh. David Michaelis* contributed most, by the great fame of his oriental and biblical erudition, to deprive the contents of the Old Testament, viewed as a revelation, of all their depth; and by his shallow apologetical *raisonnement*, to prepare the way for deistical views (23). Contemporaneously with him, *Jo. Sal. Semler* was labouring incessantly to perfect the distinction between Holy Scripture and the Word of God, by sifting out "the popular histories, indigenous to Judea, of all the little old events related in the Jewish books," and by restricting the divine element to "the moral, or generally useful," for the furtherance of truth and religion (24). Another of his aims was to establish the Rationalist apprehension of the Old Testament, which proposed the task to itself of representing clearly and purely the historical and religious contents of the venerable documents of Judaism; though, on account of its estrangement from spirit and life as they proceed from God, it was not in a condition for rightly estimating the human form of the Old Testament, and much less still for understanding its divine purport. This apprehension of the Old Testament showed itself strong only in negation and destruction.

The much-vaunted criticism did indeed burst the fetters which the rigid dogmatism of the seventeenth century had placed upon the theological understanding of the Old Testament, and it did thoroughly expose the weakness of this method of treatment. But as soon as it attempted to unfold and represent, historically or philosophically, the history or religion of the old covenant, its incapacity for conceiving revealed divine truth stood out clearly in the light of day (25).

(20) *John Spencer*, in his work De Hebræorum legibus ritualibus, undermined the divine character of the Mosaic ceremonial law, by drawing parallels between it and the religious usages of the heathen; and by his inference from their points of external agreement, that God had adopted, "ut superstitioni quovis pacto iretur obviam, ritus non paucos, multorum annorum et gentium usu cohonestatos, quos *ineptias norat esse tolerabiles*, aut ad mysterium aliquod adumbrandum aptos, in sacrorum suorum numerum." These ideas were adopted by *Clericus* in his commentaries, in which he seeks to set aside all the doings and testimonies of the living God in Israel, by the ever-ready phrase, Anthropopathism or Anthropomorphism; although he had not yet advanced so far as to venture to deny revelation and miracles as a whole. Compare the characteristics of both, as given by *Hengstb.* Beitrr. ii. p. iv. sqq. And on the subject of Clericus' view of inspiration, see *Rudelbach* in his and *Guericke's* Zeitschrift, 1840, ii. p. 54. On Spencer, see *Oehler*, Proleg. p. 36.—This naturalistic apprehension of the Old Testament was combated by the defenders of the divinity of the old covenant with no great success in last century, because they used weapons which were partly taken from the armoury of deism. So *Warburton*, Divine Legation of Moses (comp. *Hengstb.* Beitrr. iii. p. 561 f., and *Lechler*, Geschichte des englischen Deismus, p. 388 ff.); *Shuckford's* Connection of Sacred and Profane History, translated into German by *Arnold* (comp. *Oehler*, *ibid.* p. 27); *Lilienthal*, d. gute sache der göttl. Offenbarung, Königsberg 1752–82, 16 vols.; and others.

(21) *Jo. Clericus* [*Bleek*, p. 131, says: "Le Clerc, born at Geneva in 1657, Professor of Hebrew, then of Church History, in the Remonstrant College at Amsterdam, died in 1736], Comm. in Pentat. [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, says: "Genesis, Amstel. 1693, fol., and the other books of the Pentateuch, 1696; both of these enlarged and improved"], Amstelodami 1710; in libros hist. Vet. Test., 1708; in Hagiogr. 1731; in Proph. 1731, fol.: reprinted, Tubingæ 1733, fol.

(22) *Albert Schultens* [see him mentioned already in connection

with his linguistic labours, § 161, Note 6] (who died in 1750), Liber Jobi, cum nova vers. ad Hebr. fontem et commentario perpet., Lugduni Batav. 1737, 2 vols. 4to; in compend. redegit, observatt. crit. atque exeget. adop. *G. J. L. Vogel*, Halæ 1773, 2 Partes.—Proverbia Salom., versionem integr. ad Hebr. fontem expressit atque commentar. adj., Lugduni Batav. 1748, 4to; in comp. redegit, etc., *Vogel*, Halæ 1768.—Animadversiones phil. et crit. ad varia loca Vet. Test., Amstelodami 1732. Opera minora animadvv. in Jobum, etc., Lugduni Batav. 1769.

(23) *J. D. Michaelis* [mentioned already at § 161, Note 12] (who died in 1791), Uebersetzung des Alten Test. mit Anmerkk. für Ungelehrte, 13 vols., Göttingen 1769–83, 4to. On the subject of his attitude toward Old Testament revelation, comp. *Hengstb.* Beitrr. ii. p. xiii. ff.—The transition from the orthodox to the abstract supernatural apprehension of the Old Testament was already made by the English commentary on the Bible which was published in German by *Rom. Teller*, *Baumgarten*, *Dietelmaier*, and *Brucker*, Leipzig 1749–70, 19 vols. 4to. [*Bleek*, p. 137, says: "It appeared originally in French in the year 1742, for the benefit of the French Reformed in England, and was said to contain the best of what English expositors of the Old and New Testament had furnished. Already in the same year an edition was begun in Dutch (by *Johann van den Honert*), and a few years later it was wrought up in German, Leipzig, 19 vols. 4to, of which the first eleven, 1748–1766, contain the canonical books of the Old Testament, elaborated (at least the last and principal volumes) by *J. Aug. Dietelmair*, Professor of Theology at Altorf (died in 1785), with some additions by the editor. But the work suffers too much from diffuseness and prolixity."] To this class belongs also *J. Chr. F. Schulz* [*Bleek*, p. 137, says, at Giessen, died in 1806], Scholia in Vet. Test., inde a tom. iv. contin. a *G. Lor. Bauer* [*Bleek*, *ibid.*, says, Professor at Altorf, from 1805 at Heidelberg, died in 1806], 10 vols., Norimb. 1783–98: the volumes at which Bauer laboured pass already over into Rationalism.—A faint supernaturalism breathes in a work valuable as a diligent compilation from older good commentaries, with original historical and antiquarian illustrations, Scholia in Vet. Test., by *E. Fr. Karl Rosenmüller* [*Bleek*, p. 137, says, Professor of Oriental Languages at Leipzig, died in 1835]: P. i., containing Gen. and Exod., Lipsiæ 1788, 3d ed., 2 vols., 1821–2; P. ii., Lev., Numb., and Deut., 1790, 3d ed. 1824; P. iii. secs. 1, 2, Isaiah, 1790–93, 3d ed., 3 vols., 1829–34; P. iv. vols. 1–3, Psalms, 1800–4, 2d ed. 1821–23; P. v. vols. 1, 2, Job, 1806, 2d ed. 1824; P. vi. vols. 1, 2, Ezekiel, 1808, 2d ed. 1826;

P. vii. vols. 1–4, Minor Prophets, 1812–16, 2d ed. 1827–28; P. viii. vols. 1, 2, Jeremiah and Lament., 1826–7; P. ix. vols. 1, 2, Solomontic writings, 1829–30; P. x., Daniel, 1832; P. xi. vol. 1, Joshua, 1833, and vol. 2, Judges and Ruth, 1835. [*Bleek*, p. 138, says: "The author was prevented by death from completing his work. Besides, extracts from several of these parts were wrought up more briefly by Rosenmüller himself, or appeared under his oversight— Scholia in Vet. Test. in compendium redact.: 1. The Pentateuch, 1828; 2. Isaiah, 1834; 3. The Psalms, 1831; 4. Job, 1832; 5. Ezekiel, 1833."]

(24) Comp. *Rudelbach*, *ibid.* pp. 57–8.

(25) This holds true, not only of the labours on the Old Testament by *Eichhorn*, *Gabler*, *Lor. Bauer*, *Gramberg*, *Dan. v. Cölln* (comp. *Oehler*, *ibid.* p. 29 ff.); but also of *Ewald's* Geschichte des Volks Israel, and of the writings of *Vatke* and *Bruno Bauer* on the religion of the Old Testament.

In the beginning, rationalistic exegesis of the Old Testament wavered between *Eichhorn's* attempted natural explanation of the miraculous revelations of God, and the scheme for setting these aside by the assumption of myths. But, in the end, the latter view prevailed. It volatilized the biblical history into an aggregate of historical, philosophical, and other myths; and it partly expounded the predictions as "vaticinia post eventum," partly explained them away into indefinite anticipations. After many worthless productions (26), it obtained a firmer scientific support only within the last twenty or thirty years; in which (certainly without understanding the spirit of the divine revelations) it has advanced the philological and critical side of exposition in manifold ways (27).

(26) The commentaries and the translations of biblical books with remarks, which this tendency has produced in the period between 1790 and 1830, have accomplished extremely little even for linguistic and historical explanation. This is the case with the Exegetisches Handbuch des Alten Test. (by *J. G. Ch. Höpfner* and *J. Ch. W. Augusti*), Leipzig 1797–1800, Parts 1–7, and 9; and other earlier works on individual books, which have been already named. Only one celebrated exception is made by Gesenius' Commentary on Isaiah, with its discussions rich in philological and lexical materials.

(27) In the Kurzgefasstes exeget. Handbuch zum Alten Test., —the work of *Hirzel*, *Hitzig*, *Thenius*, *Knobel*, *Bertheau*, and *Just.*

Olshausen; in the commentaries of *Ewald, Gust. Baur, Simson;* in a work intended for beginners, Comment. gramm. crit. in Vet. Test., scripsit *Franc. Jos. Val. Dominic. Maurer,* vols. i.–iv., Lipsiæ 1835–48 (vol. iv. by *Aug. Heiligstedt*); and in others.

A new period for the exposition of the Old Testament begins with the appearance of *Hengstenberg's* Christology of the Old Testament, 1829–35; a work which gives evidence, not less of profound philological and historical erudition, than of believing insight into the truths of divine revelation. It opened up the way for all whose earnest aim and endeavour it was, in the careful use of the theological investigations of earlier times, and also of the sure results of more recent grammatical and historical studies, to penetrate deeper into the spirit of the Old Testament; to explore its purport and its form in due relative proportion; and rightly to grasp the testimonies to the revelation of Jehovah in the old covenant, in the law and the prophets, in the history and the poetry of the Old Testament, in accordance with its distinction from, and yet its internal connection with, the revelation of Jesus Christ in the new covenant; and to unfold this clearly and distinctly, and to make it fruitful for the edification of the Lord's Church (28).

(28) Besides the commentaries already mentioned, by *Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Caspari, Delitzsch, Drechsler, Umbreit, Stier, Fr. Ad.* and *Otto Strauss, H. A. Hahn, Schlottmann,* and others, we have to reckon here *Hofmann* (Weissagung und Erfülling), *Bähr* (Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus), *Kurtz* (Geschichte des Alten Bundes) [and his work on the Mosaic sacrifices, which is as sound as *Bähr* is the reverse, on the great fundamental doctrine of substitution and propitation], and others; also *Otto von Gerlach,* das Alte Test. nach Dr. Mart. Luthers Uebersetzung, mit Einleitt. u. erklär. Anmerkungen, 4 vols. (the fourth by *H. E. Schmieder*), Berlin 1844–53. [To the list of commentaries must be added a most important work now in progress of publication at Leipzig, an evangelical counterpart to the kurzgefasstes exeg. Handbuch named in Note 27, the "Biblischer Commentar über das Alte Testament, herausgegeben von *Carl Friedr. Keil* und *Franz Delitzsch.*" *Keil* has hitherto taken the historical books, also the minor prophets; *Delitzsch* has taken the other prophets and the poetical books. This work is also appearing in English translations, published by T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh.]

§ 225. *In the Roman Catholic Church.*

The decrees of the Council of Trent, that the Vulgate must be employed as the authentic text in all theological discussions (see at § 199, Note 2), and that the Church has to decide upon the true sense and the correct exposition of Scripture (1), have set limits in the Roman Catholic Church to exegetical inquiry, which must have hindered men from penetrating deeper into the purport and spirit of the Old Testament. Even Cardinal *Cajetan*, Luther's contemporary and antagonist, brought a sharp rebuke upon himself by his procedure in developing the historical sense of Scripture without reference to the authority of the Fathers (2). After that event, most of the exegetes in this Church confined themselves to one of two courses. Either they brought together, in commentaries at full length on the Old Testament, the historical, the moral, and the allegorical senses, in the traditional fashion, for the most part from the writings of the Fathers and the older theologians; so the Jesuits, *Nicol. Serarius* (who died in 1609), *Cornelius a Lapide* [von Stein, of Liege, lectured on the Bible at Louvaine, then at Rome—*Bleek*, p. 120] (who died in 1637), *Jac. Bonfrere* (who died in 1643), *Joh. Maldonatus* [a Spaniard, taught with approbation at Paris, and died at Rome—*Bleek*, p. 120] (who died in 1683) [a misprint for 1583, as in *Bleek*, p. 120], and others: or else they gave mere short remarks on the historical sense of the words; like *Franciscus Vatablus* (who died in 1547) [*Bleek*, p. 119, says: "The French king, Francis I., had named him to be Professor of Hebrew at Paris in 1530, and he filled this chair with the greatest approbation. But as at the same time he lectured upon the Old Testament, the theologians of Paris endeavoured to procure an injunction that he should give this wholly up, or that at least he should not permit the Vulgate to be blamed. Yet they were not successful in thus restricting him"], *William Estius* (who died in 1613), *Isidore Clarius* (who died in 1555), *Jac. Tirinus* (who died in 1636) (3). And only a few individuals, like the learned Benedictine *Augustin Calmet* [of Sénones in Lorraine—*Bleek*, p. 120] (who died in 1757), and in more recent times *Brentano* (who died in 1797), *Dereser* (who died in 1817) [in 1827, as in *Bleek*, p. 138, at Breslau, where he was Professor and Canon], and *Scholz* (who died in 1852),

not only applied themselves to historico-theological interpretation with profound erudition and independent investigation, but also endeavoured, without overstepping the limits marked out by the Church, to observe the progress made by Protestant exegesis, and to procure for those of their own communion a more correct understanding of the Scriptures of the old covenant (4).

(1) Concil. Trident. sess. iv., decret. de edit. et usu sacr. librorum. Against it, comp. Chemnitii examen. t. i. p. 103.

(2) His commentaries, in his Opp. omnia, Lugduni 1639, fol., extend over all the historical and poetical books of the Old Testament, with the exception of Canticles, and over the first three chapters of Isaiah. In the preface to the Pentateuch, he remarks, after announcing that his principal object is the investigation of the *sensus literalis*: "Nullus detestetur novum Sacræ Scripturæ sensum ex hoc, quod dissonat a priscis doctoribus; sed scrutetur perspicacius textum ac contextum Scripturæ, et si quadrare invenerit, laudet Deum qui non alligavit expositionem Scripturarum Sacrarum priscorum doctorum sensibus, sed Scripturæ ipsæ (?) integræ sub catholicæ ecclesiæ censura." But, says *Buddeus*, Isagoge hist. theol. p. 1705 sq., "ob novam hancce methodum acres suorum incurrit censuras, parumque abfuit, quin in hæreticorum numerum referretur."

(3) *Nic. Serarius*, Josue, s. commentariorum in libr. Jos., t. i. ii., Moguntiaci 1609–10, fol.; Judices et Ruth explanati, *ibid.* 1609; in libr. Reg. et Paralip. commentaria posthum., *ibid.* 1617, fol.—*Corn. a Lapide*, Comm. in omnes Script. S. libros, Antverpiæ 1664, and often, Venet. 1688, 10 vols. fol., and often [*Bleek*, p. 120, says, last at Venice, 1730. He says that he was prevented by death from writing on Job and the Psalms. He adds: "His knowledge of Hebrew is not precisely very comprehensive, and generally his exposition does not go deep into the subject: yet he met with much approbation, especially in the [Roman] Catholic Church, particularly on account of a certain completeness in representing the various explanations, as well as a multitude of dogmatic deductions. Also he has been much used by later Protestant expositors"].—*Jac. Bonfrerius*, Pentat. Moysis commentario illustr., Antverpiæ 1625; comm. in Jos., Jud., et Ruth, Parisiis 1639, 1659; comm. in libr. Reg. et Paralip., Torn. 1643, 2 vols. fol. (all in a collected form, Lugduni 1736).—*Casp. Sanctius* (who died in 1628), Comm. in 4 libr. Reg. et 2 Paralip., Lugduni 1625; in libr. Ruth, Esdr., Neh., Tob., Judith, Esther, et Machab., *ibid.* 1628; in libr. Job., 1625; in Cantic., 1616; in Jesaj., 1615; in Jerem. et Thren., 1618; in Ezech., 1612, 1619; in Dan., 1612,

1619; in proph. min., 1621, fol.—*Jo. Steph. Menochius* (who died in 1655), brevis exposit. sensus literal. totius Scripturæ, ex optim. auctoribus per epitomen collectæ, Coloniæ 1630, fol., and often; Parisiis 1719, 2 vols. fol.—*Jo. Maldonatus*, comm. in præcip. libros Vet. Test. (Psalm., Prov., Eccles., Cant., 4 proph. major.), Parisiis 1643, fol. [*Bleek*, p. 120, says there is much that is valuable in his commentaries.]—*Franc. Vatablus*, Annotatt. in Vet. Test., ex ejus prælectt. collectæ a *Bertino le Comte*, Parisiis 1545 (also attached to the text of the Vulgate by *Rob. Stephanus* in the year 1545 [*Bleek*, p. 119, gives the date 1557], and in the Critici Sacri).—*W. Estius*, adnotatt. in præcipua difficiliora S. Scripturæ loca, Antverpiæ 1621, and often, 1699, fol.: these also stand in the Critici Sacri. There, too, are to be found those of *Is. Clarius*, which first appeared as scholia to the Vulgate edition of the Old and New Testament, emended by him after the Greek text, at Venice 1542, 3d ed. 1564, fol.—*Jac. Tirinus*, commentar. in S. Scripturam, Antverpiæ 1632, fol., with the text of the Bible, in 3 vols. fol., and without it, *ibid.* 1645, and often; last edition, Augustæ Vindel. 1704, 2 vols. fol.—Several of the commentaries and annotations now mentioned, along with others, are adopted into *Jo. de la Haye's* Biblia magna, Parisiis 1643, 5 vols. fol., and Biblia maxima, Parisiis 1660, 19 vols. fol.; also in the Biblia S. vulg. editionis . . . cum selectiss. litteralibus commentariis, Venet. 1744 ff., 4to.

(4) Commentaire litterale sur tous les livres de l'ancien et du nouv. Test., par *Augustin Calmet*, Paris 1707–16, 23 vols. 4to [*Bleek*, p. 120, says 8vo], and *ibid.* 1724–26, 8 vols. fol., and often; also translated into Latin [by *Mansi*, at Lucca 1730, fol., and Würtzburg 1787 ff., 4to, says *Bleek*, p. 120. He says: "It is elaborated with great diligence, and use is made of the best preceding expositors; with a great deal of erudition, especially in history and antiquities: yet in his case also the exposition does not go very deep"].—Die heilige Schrift des Alten Test., von *Dominikus v. Brentano*, mit Anmerkk., erster Theil; fortgesetzt von *Thaddæus Dereser*, zweiter Theile in 3 Bänden; dritter Theil in 2 Bänden, geendiget v. *Scholz*; vierter Theil in 4 Bänden, Frankfurt 1797–1833 (the earlier parts in a second and a third edition, 1820–32). [*Bleek*, p. 138, says *Scholz* was the editor of these newer editions; and that the work is "a German translation, with explanatory remarks attached, among which those of *Dereser* in particular contain much that is valuable."]—The more important commentaries by [Roman] Catholic expositors upon single books in the most recent times have been mentioned in an earlier part of this work.

INDEXES.

I.—PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE ILLUSTRATED OR EXPLAINED.

GENESIS.

ii. 4, . . Vol. i. 104
iv. 4, . . . i. 193
xi. 1, etc., . . i. 39
xii. 10-19, . . i. 117
xiv. 14, . . i. 192
xv. 18, . . i. 105
xvii., . . . i. 117
xxi. 9-21, . . i. 117
xxv. 27-33, . . i. 106
xxvi. 34, . . i. 107
xxvii. 46, . . i. 106
xxviii. 18, 19, . i. 118
xxx. 24, . . i. 106
xxxvi. 2, 3, . . i. 107
xxxvi. 24, 25, . i. 107
xxxvi. 31, . . i. 191
xxxvii. 23-30, . i. 108
xxxix. 20-23, . i. 108
xlii. 27, 28, i. 108, 109

EXODUS.

ii. 22, . . . i. 111
iii. 1, . . . i. 109
iii. 13-15, . . i. 99
iii. 14, . . . i. 101
vi. 2, . . i. 98 *bis*, 102
vi. 9, . . . i. 110
vi. 11, . . . i. 110
vii. 1, . . . i. 268
xii. 1-28, . . i. 118
xiii. 21, 22, . . i. 111
xiv. 5, . . . i. 110
xiv. 8, . . . i. 110
xv. 17, . . . i. 191
xvi., . . . i. 118
xvii. 1, etc., . i. 119
xvii. 14, . . i. 160
xviii. 13, . . i. 142
xxi. 1-6, . . i. 112
xxiii. 19, . . i. 191
xxiii. 29, 30, . i. 153

LEVITICUS.

xxiii., . . . i. 112
xxiii. 18, 19, . . i. 113
xxvii. 27, . . i. 111

NUMBERS.

i., . . . Vol. i. 113
iv. 6, . . i. 113, 114
iv. 23, etc., . . i. 114
x. 12, . . . i. 114
xi. 16, . . i. 114, 115
xii. 7, . . . i. 163
xiii. 16, . . i. 116
xiv. 45, . . . i. 116
xvi., . . i. 119, 120
xviii. 28, . . i. 190
xx. 14-21, . . i. 143
xxi. 14, 17, 27, . i. 189
xxiv. 1-12, . . i. 105
xxiv. 25, . . i. 116
xxxi. 8, 16, . . i. 117
xxxiii. 7, . . i. 114
xxxvi. 13, . . i. 138

DEUTERONOMY.

i. 9-18, . . . i. 142
i. 22, . . . i. 142
i. 37, . . . i. 140
i. 44, . . . i. 142
ii. 12, . . . i. 148
ii. 19, 18, . . i. 141
ii. 19, 37, . . i. 140
ii. 29, . . . i. 142
iv. 41-43, . . i. 141
viii. 10, . . i. 154
ix. 22, . . . i. 140
x. 8, . . . i. 140
xvi. 1-7, . . i. 112
xvi. 17, . . i. 151
xvii. 14-20, . . i. 150
xviii. 2, . . i. 151
xix. 14, . . i. 148, 149
xx. 19, . . . i. 152
xxviii. 36, . . i. 150
xxxi. 9-11, 34, . i. 161
xxxi. 24, . . i. 162
xxxiv., . . . i. 163

JOSHUA.

v. 6, . . . i. 213
xi. 23, . . . i. 205

JUDGES.

x. 4, . . Vol. i. 192
xi. 26, . . . i. 223

1 SAMUEL.

vii. 13, . . . i. 235
vii. 15-17, . . i. 234
ix. 9, . . . i. 269
x. 8, . . . i. 236
x. 10-12, . . i. 242
xi. 14, 15, . . i. 236
xii. 2, . . . ii. 86
xiii. 8, . . . i. 236
xiii. 14, . . i. 242
xiv. 47-52, . . i. 237
xiv. 52, . . . i. 234
xv. 26, . . . i. 242
xvi. 14-23, . . i. 238
xvii. 5, . . . i. 240
xvii. 15, . . i. 238
xviii. 10, . . i. 242
xxvi., . . . i. 243
xxxi., . . . ii. 35

2 SAMUEL.

iii. 14, . . . i. 240
viii. 3, . . . i. 105
viii. 15-18, . . i. 235
viii. 17, . . . ii. 90
x. 3, . . . ii. 84
xix. 2, . . . i. 241
xxi. 10, . . i. 241
xxv. 1, . . . i. 242

1 KINGS.

v. 12, . . . i. 22
v. 15-32, . . ii. 65
v. 20, . . . ii. 84
vi. 1, . i. 222, 223, 224
ix. 13, . . . i. 256
ix. 27, 28, . . i. 257
x. 22, . . . i. 257
x. 13, 15, . . ii. 83
xi. 28, . . . i. 256
xii. 25, . . . i. 256
xx. 13, etc., . . i. 257
xx. 42, . . . i. 257

xxi. 19, . Vol. i. 256
xxii. 8, . . . i. 257
xxii. 49, . ii. 82, 83
xxii. 49, 50, . . ii. 95

2 KINGS.
ix. 21, . . . i. 256

1 CHRONICLES.
x. 6, . . . ii. 83
x. 9, 10, . . . ii. 65
xii., . . . ii. 85
xii. 22, . . . ii. 86
xix. 3, . . . ii. 84
xxi. 1, . . . ii. 86
xxi. 5, . . . ii. 85
xxi. 29, . . ii. 91

2 CHRONICLES.
i. 3, . . . ii. 90
ii. 1, etc., . . ii. 84
ii. 7, . . . ii. 84
vii. 1, . . . ii. 87
ix. 12, . . . ii. 83
ix. 14, . . . ii. 83
ix. 21, . . ii. 82, 83
ix. 29, . . . i. 263
xiv. 2, . . Vol. ii. 89
xvi. 2, . . . ii. 91
xxi. 1, etc., . . ii. 86
xxiii. 1, etc., ii. 97, 92
xxiv. 4-14, . . ii. 92
xxviii. 23, . . ii. 89
xxix. 3, . . ii. 89
xxxii. 31, . . ii. 87
xxxiv. 8-14, . . ii. 92

NEHEMIAH.
viii. 1, . . . ii. 113
viii. 8, . . . i. 69
xiii. 24, . . i. 68

PSALMS.
lx. 2, . . . i. 459

PROVERBS.
xxv. 1, . . . i. 479

ISAIAH.
xix. 18, . . i. 28

JEREMIAH.
xxvi. 18, . . i. 404

EZEKIEL.
i. 1, . . Vol. ii. 354

DANIEL.
i. 1, . . ii. 2, 3, 4
viii. 11, 27, . . ii. 5

JOEL.
i. 6, 7, . . . i. 388
ii. 4. 7, 9, . . i. 381
ii. 17, . . . i. 383

AMOS.
vi. 5, . . . i. 22

MATTHEW.
xxiii. 35, . . ii. 342
xxiv. 15, . . ii. 9
xxvii. 9, . i. 424, 430

1 PETER.
i. 10-12, . . ii. 349

2 PETER.
i. 21, . . i. 271, 272

II.—PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS.

Abarbanel, R. Isaac, ii. 385.
Aben Ezra, ii. 163, 384.
Abraham, the accounts of the twofold denial of his wife consistent, i. 117.
Abu Baracat, ii. 279.
Abu Said, ii. 279.
Accents, the Masoretic system of, ii. 209.
"Acts, the, of Uzziah," ii. 72.
Agag, i. 192.
Agur, i. 477, 478.
Ahashverosh, ii. 121, 125.
Aids to the study of the text of the Old Testament, ii. 180-182.
Alexandrian Canon of the Old Testament, ii. 340.
Alexandrian version. *See* Septuagint.
Alexandrian and Hellenistic Jews, their hermeneutical treatment of the Old Testament, ii. 386.
Allegorical exposition among the Hellenistic and Alexandrian Jews, ii. 386, 387, 388.
Alphabetical Psalms, the, i. 446, 447.
Alting, Jacob, ii. 176.
Amos, the prophet, i. 384, 385.
Amos, the book of, commentaries on, 384; contents of, 387-389.
Angulology, the, of the book of Daniel, ii. 38.
Anglo-Saxon translation of the Vulgate, the, ii. 293.
Antiochus Epiphanes, and the heathen kings of Daniel, their different attitude towards Israel, ii. 39, 40.
Antwerp Polyglot, the, ii. 323.
Apocalyptic character of the prophecies of Daniel, ii. 34.
Apocrypha, the, not received into the Palestinian Canon, ii. 337, etc.; often quoted by the most ancient Fathers as they quote the canonical Scripture, 350, 351; some of the books of, included in catalogues of the Canon, 353, 354; the reading of, forbidden by the Greek Church, 355, 359; not received by the ancient Syrian Church, and not included in the Peshito, 355, 360; received by the Latin Church, 360; yet some learned Fathers continued to exclude it from the Canon, 360, 361; the distinction between, and the canonical Scriptures gradually obscured in the West, 360, 364-366; rejected by the Protestant Church, 366, etc.; all the books of, included in the Vulgate, received and authorized by the Church of Rome, 371, 372; views of the Greek

Church as to, 371, 372, 373; modern views and controversies respecting, 376-378.
Aquila, and his Greek version of the Old Testament, ii. 230-232.
Arabic language, the, ii. 36, etc.
Arabic translations of the Old Testament, ii. 258, 259; those derived from the Peshito, 274, 275; from the original text, 275-277; of the Pentateuch, from the Samaritan Pentateuch, 278.
Aramaic language, the, i. 30, etc., 32, etc.; when it began to spread in Palestine, 61.
Aristeas, his account of the translation of the Septuagint, ii. 216, 217, 219, 220.
Aristobulus, his account of the origin of the Septuagint, ii. 216, 217, 220.
Aristobulus, fragments of his commentary on the books of Moses, ii. 387.
Armenian version, the, of the Old Testament, ii. 259.
Artashasta, ii. 102, 104.
Asaph, one of the authors of the Psalms, i. 460.
"Ashdod, the language of," i. 35, 68.
Astruc, his "Conjectures sur les Mémoirs Originaux," etc., i. 80.
Athias' Hebrew Bible, and editions of which it is the basis, ii. 324-326.
Avenarius, Johannes, ii. 171.

Baba Bathra, quoted on the Canon of the Old Testament, ii. 146; arrangement of the books of the prophets in, 157.
Babylonian and Phœnician styles of writing, ii. 184, 186.
Balaam, i. 117.
Beeri, i. 369.
Belshazzar, various references to, ii. 29, 30, 31.
Berosus, quoted respecting Nebuchadnezzar, ii. 25, 26.
Beth-arbel, i. 370.
Bethel, i. 118, 192.
Bible, origin of the name, ii. 153, 154.
Bible, the Hebrew, printed editions of, ii. 320-326.
Bohle, Samuel, ii. 171.
Bomberg's Hebrew Bible, ii. 322.
"Book of the Acts of Solomon, the," i. 262, 263.
"Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah, the," i. 71, 72, 73.
"Book of the Wars of the Lord, the," i. 189.
Buxtorf, John, ii. 169.
Buxtorf's Hebrew and Rabbinical Bible, ii. 324.

Cajetan, Cardinal, rebuked for his free exposition of Scripture, ii. 421, 422.
Calasio, Marius de, ii. 170.
Calvin, as a commentator, ii. 409, 411, 412, 413.
Canaan, the language of, i. 28, 35; the conquest of, 202, 205.
Canon, origin and meaning of the term, ii. 335.
Canon, the, of the Old Testament, how it originated,—collections of sacred writings earlier than the exile, ii. 132; collections of sacred writings after the exile, 138; testimony of Josephus on the subject, 139; Jewish legends as to Ezra's work in relation to, 140; testimony of the book of Maccabees, 141; testimony of Elias Levita, 145; *Baba Bathra* quoted as to, 146; close of the, Jesus Sirach quoted as to, 147; fundamental principle of the collection of the books of the, 149; Kimchi quoted in relation to, 150; no support for the hypothesis of recent critics respecting, 151, 152; the idea of, 335; the Palestinian, 337, etc.; the Alexandrian, 340; the Samaritan, 344; view of the ancient Church respecting the authority of, 347; catalogues, by Christian writers and councils, of the books contained in, 352, etc.; the Protestant, 366-370; the Neo-Catholic, or Romish, 371-373; more recent views respecting, 374, etc.
Capitula, the, of Jerome, ii. 201.
"Captivity of the land, the day of the," i. 227.
Castellus, Edmund, ii. 173.
Catalogues of the books of the Old Testament, from Christian sources, ii. 352, etc.
Chaldaisms, i. 61; in Isaiah, 330.
Chaldee language, the, i. 29, 31; difference between, and the Syriac, 32; helps for learning, 32.
Chaldee paraphrases. *See* Targums.
Chaldee sections in Daniel, ii. 12, 18; in Ezra, 102, 103.
Chapters in the text of the Bible, the origin of, ii. 206.
Church, the ancient, the history of Old Testament hermeneutics in, till the Reformation, ii. 393, etc.
Chronicles, the books of, commentaries on, ii. 47; name, division, and contents, 47-49; relation of, to the other historical books,—parallels, 49, etc.; omissions, 54, etc.; passages in, enlarged in Samuel and Kings, 56, etc.; the greater frequency of the *scriptio plena* in, as compared with the parallel books, 56; greater distinctness, 58; abbreviations, 59, etc.; additions for the sake of plainness, 61; object of, 62; sources of, 63; date of, 75; author of, 77, etc.; the historical character of the passages of, parallel to Samuel and Kings, 80, etc.; charges of De Wette against, refuted, 81-95; historical character of, in narratives peculiar to, 96, etc.

"Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and Judah, the," i. 262.
Clementine and Sixtine editions of the Latin Vulgate, ii. 291-293.
Cocceius, as a Hebrew lexicographer, ii. 173; as a commentator, 414, 415.
Commentators in the ancient Church, ii. 395, 397-402; Protestant, 403-420; Romish, 421-423.
Complutensian Polyglot, the, ii. 322.
Concordances, Hebrew, ii. 170.
Controversy respecting the integrity of the Masoretic text, the, ii. 328; results of, 330, etc.
Contradictions alleged to exist in the Pentateuch examined, i. 104-120; between Deuteronomy and the preceding books, 142; in Joshua, 205.
Coptic, the, or Memphitic version of the Old Testament, ii. 257.
Covenant, the setting up and cutting of a, i. 124.
Critical apparatus of the Hebrew Bible, ii. 326.
Critici Sacri, the, ii. 414.
Criticism of the unprinted text of the Old Testament, history of the, ii. 294, etc.
Cyaxares, ii. 228.
Cyrus, ii. 28.

Daniel, his personal history, ii. 2, 6, 7.
Daniel, the book of, commentaries on, and introductions to, ii. 1; contents of, 7, etc.; unity of, 9; genuineness of,—history of the opposition to, 19; objections to,—position of, in the Canon, 21; not mentioned in Ecclesiasticus, 22; honourable mention of Daniel in, 23; corrupt Hebrew in, 23; a romance, 24; historical inaccuracies in, 27; miracles of, 32, 33, 34; apologetic character of the prophecies of, 34; the dogmatic and ethical representations of, 37; considerations fatal to the view that it originated in the Maccabean age, 39, etc.
Danz, Johannes Andreas, ii. 176.
Darius the Mede, ii. 28.
David, his introduction to Saul, i. 238; and Jonathan, 341; twice spares Saul's life, 243, 244; his authorship of the Psalms, 460.
Davidson, Dr. Samuel, his view of the constitution of the Pentateuch, i. 87.
Delitzsch, his peculiar view of the composition of the Pentateuch, i. 183.
Demetrius Phalereus, his connection with the Septuagint, ii. 221.
De Rossi, his *Variæ Lectiones Veteris Testamenti*, etc., ii. 327.
Deuteronomy, the relation of, to the earlier books of the Pentateuch, i. 136; contents of, in relation to the preceding books, 138, etc; deviations in, in respect to historical relations, 139; additions in the legislative sections of, 141; alleged contradictions in, 142; the *usus loquendi* of, 144, 146; historical point of view of the laws of, 147.
Didactic and lyric poetry among the Hebrews, i. 437, 438.
Divination and prophecy, the essential distinction between, i. 270, 271, 272.
Divisions, indications and marks of, in the Hebrew text, ii. 197; *Parashas*, 199; *Pesukim*, 202, 203; *Sederim*, 206; *Parashas* and *Haphtaras*, 207, 208.
Divisions of the books of the Old Testament, ii. 155.
Document, constitution of the imaginary fundamental, of the Pentateuch, i. 84, etc.
Documentary theory of the Pentateuch, i. 80, etc., 120, etc., 127, etc., 131, etc.
Döderlein and Meisner's Hebrew Bible, ii. 326, 327.
Dramatic poetry, absent from Hebrew literature, i. 437, 438, 439.

Ecclesiastes, the book of, commentaries on, i. 512; import of the name of, 513; character of, 514; contents, plan, and aim of, 515, 516.
Editions of the Hebrew Bible, the earlier, ii. 320.
Egyptian versions of the Old Testament, ii. 257, 258.
Elias Levita, quoted on the Canon of the Old Testament, ii. 145.
Elijah and Elisha, the miracles performed by, i. 258.
Elihu, i. 482; the genuineness of the discourses of, 497-500.
Elohim, the derivation of the name, i. 101; distinction between, and Jehovah, 102, 103.
Elohim and Jehovah Psalms, the, i. 465.
Elohistic and Jehovistic (so-called) sections in the Pentateuch, the, i. 120; artificial separations effected by the defenders of, 122, etc.
El-Shaddai, i. 99.
Empires, the four, of Daniel, ii. 8.
Epanorthotæ, or *Correctoria Biblica*, in the Vulgate, ii. 288.
Epic poetry, absent from Hebrew literature, i. 437, 438, 439.
Esther, the book of, commentaries on, ii. 120; contents, end, and object of, 120, 121; historical character of, 122; the feast of Purim, the principal evidence for the historical truth of, 124; author and age of, 128, etc.; the name of God not mentioned in, why, 130.
Ethiopic language, the, i. 38.
Ethiopic versions of the Old Testament, ii. 256.
Ethiopic words in the Pentateuch, i. 41.
Evil-merodach, ii. 30.

Ewald, H. A., as a Hebrew grammarian, ii. 177, 179.
Exodus, the, alleged differences between the different authors of the Pentateuch respecting, i. 110, 111.
Exodus, the book of, contents of, i. 74, 75; alleged gaps in, 94; alleged contradictions in, 109.
Ezekiel, the prophet, i. 354.
Ezekiel, the book of, commentaries on, i. 353; the style of, 356, etc.; contents and arrangement of, 359; genuineness of, 361; origination of, 362.
Ezra, the author of Chronicles, ii. 77; author of the book which bears his name, 108; Jewish legends respecting his connection with the Canon, 140, 141.
Ezra, the book of, its relation to Chronicles, ii. 77, etc.; commentaries on, 101; contents of, 101, 102; Chaldee sections in, 102; unity of, 103; independence of, 107; author and credibility of, 108, 109.

Feasts of the Jews, the number of, i. 112, 113.
Formulæ in the Talmud, for regulating the reading of the Hebrew text, ii. 309, etc.
Forster, John, as a Hebrew lexicographer, ii. 171.
Fragmentary theory, the, of the Pentateuch, i. 82.
Fragments of three anonymous Greek versions of the Old Testament, ii. 235.
Fürst, Julius, his *Librorum Sacrorum Veteris Testamenti Concordantiæ*, ii. 170; and *Handwörterbuch*, 179.

Gaon, R. Saadias, ii. 383.
Genuineness of the Pentateuch, i. 164-184; of Isaiah, i. 291, etc., 320, etc.; of Jeremiah, i. 342, etc.; of Ezekiel, i. 361, etc.; of Zechariah, ch. ix.-xiv., i. 425, etc.; of Job, i. 494; of Daniel, ii. 10, etc.
Georgian, or Grusinic version of the Old Testament, ii. 260.
Gershom, R. Levi ben, ii. 385.
Gershom's Hebrew Bible, ii. 321.
Gesenius, Wilh., as a Hebrew lexicographer, ii. 177, 178.
Glass, Sal., as a Hebrew scholar, ii. 170.
God, the names of, in the Pentateuch, i. 98, etc.; in Nehemiah, 111, 112; the name of, absent from Esther, ii. 130.
Gothic version, the, of Ulphilas, ii. 260.
Gousset, Jacob, ii. 175.
Grammar, the first Hebrew, by a Christian, ii. 166.
Grammarians, Hebrew, ii. 163-165, 166-182.
Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible, —the Alexandrian, ii. 216, etc.; of Aquila, 230; of Theodotion, 232; of Symmachus, 233, 234; fragments of three anonymous, 235; from the Samaritan Pentateuch, 278.

Habakkuk, the prophet, the person and age of, i. 411-413; his style as a writer, 413, 414.
Habakkuk, the book of, commentaries on, 411; contents of, 414.
Haggai, the prophet, i. 419, 420.
Haggai, the book of, commentaries on, 419; contents of, 420, 421.
Hagiographa, classification of the, i. 435; poetical writings of the, 436, etc; character of the historical writings of the, ii. 41; Targums on the, 269, 270.
Halacha and *Hagada*, derivation and meaning of the words, ii. 380, 381, 382, 383.
Halle, the school of, ii. 177.
Haphtaras, ii. 207.
Hebrew Bible, principal editions of the, ii. 320-326.
Hebrew Bibles with various readings, or critical apparatus, ii. 326, 327, 328.
Hebrew language, that of the Old Testament, i. 26; origin of the name, 27; and other Shemitic languages, 29, etc.; its age and character, 38, etc.; antiquity of, 40; extent of its vocabulary, 41; course of the development of, 43; in the age of Moses, 45; in the age of David and Solomon, 53; in the age of the exile, 61, etc.; how it died out as a national language, 67, etc.; argument derived from the sameness of, in the books of the Old Testament against the antiquity of the Pentateuch, considered, 194; transmission of, among the Jews as a dead language, ii, 159; philological cultivation of, among the Jews, — grammars of, 163; lexicons and lexicographers, 164, 165; the study of, among Christians till the Reformation, 165; cultivation of, from the Reformation to the present time,—first period, 168, 169; second period, 171; third period, 177; aids to the investigation of, 180-182.
Hebrew lexicography and lexicons, ii. 164, 165, 172-180.
Hebrew literature in the time of Moses, i. 17; development of, after Moses, 19; progress and cultivation of, under the kings till the exile, 21; decay and termination of, after the exile, 25.
Hebrew poetry, the fruit of religion, i. 436; lyric and didactic, 437; not epic nor dramatic, 437, 438, 439; form of, 440.
Hebrew text. *See* Text of the Old Testament.

Hebrew written character, changes in the, ii. 184; most ancient system of vowel marks, 190; the Masoretic system of vowel points, 195; divisions of words by open spaces and paragraphs, 197; division in the sense distinguished by open spaces, 199.
Hebron, i. 188.
Hengstenberg's Christology, begins a new period of Old Testament exposition, ii. 420.
Hermeneutics of the Old Testament, the, ii. 378; among the Jews, 380, etc.; among the Alexandrian Jews, 386, etc.; among the Karaites and Kabbalists, 390, etc.; in the ancient Christian Church till the Reformation, 393, etc.; in the Protestant Church, 403, etc.; in the Romish Church, 421, etc.
Hexapla, the, of Origen, ii. 237, etc.; the labour bestowed on, by Origen, 241; lost, with the exception of a few fragments, 241.
High places, the worship of Jehovah on, how to be accounted for, i. 196.
Historical books of the Old Testament, the peculiarity of the, i. 197; regulated and governed by the theocratic principle, both in matter and form, 197-200.
History and prophecy, i. 274.
Holy writings, the, i. 435.
Hosea, the person of, i. 369; the birthplace, descent, and the term of the ministry of, 369, 370; the style of, 371.
Hosea, the book of, commentaries on, 368; subject of, 371-374; composed by Hosea himself, 374.
Hupfeld, his grammatical works, i. 177, 179.

Introduction, historical and critical, to the Old Testament, the idea and problem of, i. 1; division of the subject, 4; history and literature of, 5-13.
Inspiration of the prophets, i. 273.
Isaiah, the person and history of, i. 282; the time of, 283; the high place his prophecies hold among the prophetic books, 284; the lofty style of, 285; the mission of, 286.
Isaiah, the book of, commentaries on, i. 281; contents of, 285; the two great groups of the prophecies of, — first group, 286-288; second group, 288, etc.; date and genuineness of ch. i.-xii., 291, etc.; of ch. xiii.-xxvii., 294, etc.; prophecies against Babylon, 296; prophecy against Moab, 302; prophecy against Egypt, 304; prophecy respecting Tyre, 306; genuineness of ch. xxiv.-xxvii., 308; date of the composition of ch. xiii.-xxiii., 312; of ch. xxviii.-xxxv., 315; of ch. xxxv.-xxxix., 319; date and genuineness of ch. xl.-lxvi., 320; origin of, 331, 332.
Itala version, the, of the Old Testament, ii. 247; relation of, to the κοινή of the Alexandrian, 249; a critical revision of, undertaken by Jerome, 250.

Jacob, the change of his name, i. 118.
Jahn, Joh., his *Biblia Hebraica*, ii. 327.
Jarchi, R. Salomo, his commentaries on the Old Testament, ii. 383, 384.
"Jasher, the book of," i. 211, 213.
Jehovah, the name, as used in the Pentateuch, i. 98; antiquity of the name, 99; derivation of the name, 101; the distinction between the name, and Elohim, 102, 103.
Jehovah, the neglect of the worship of, at various times, no argument against the Mosaic legislation, i. 195.
Jeremiah, not the author of the book of Kings, i. 260, 261; person and history of the prophet, 333; his term of labour, 334; his prophecies a true copy of his inward life, 335; author of the book of Lamentations, 510.
Jeremiah, the book of, commentaries on, i. 332, 333; contents and structure of, 337-342; genuineness and unity of, 343; origin of, 349.
Jerome, author of the Latin Vulgate, ii. 281; is censured and assailed on account of his labours as a translator, 283; defends himself against Rufinus, 284; and Augustine, 285.
Jerusalem Targum, the, ii. 267; character of the, 268, 269.
Jesus Sirach, quoted on the Canon, ii. 147, 148.
Jethro, i. 109.
Jews, early schools of the, ii. 160, 162.
"Jews' language, the," i. 68.
Job, the book of, commentaries on, i. 481; the idea of, 481, 483; contents of, 482; matter and form of, 485-488; age of, 488-492; country of the author, 492, 493; genuineness of, 496, 497; genuineness of Elihu's discourses, 497-500.
Joel, the person and time of, i. 375-379.
Joel, the book of, commentaries on, i. 375; contents of, 379.
Jonah, the prophet, i. 395, 400; time of his mission, 401.
Jonah, the book of, commentaries on, i. 394; contents and historical character of, 395-397; fundamental thought of, 398; principal objections to the historical character of, answered, 398-401; author and date of, 401, 402.
Jonathan Ben Uzziel, and his Targum, ii. 265; character of the Targum of, 266.
Josephus, quoted on the Canon of the Old Testament, ii. 138.

Joshua and Hoshea, i. 116.
Joshua, the book of, commentators on, i. 201; name of, *ibid.*; contents of, 202; object of, *ibid.*; independence of, 203; unity of, 204, etc.; date of, 210; sources of, 213; historical character of, 214.
Joshua, the book of, so called, possessed by the Samaritans, ii. 344.
Judges, reference to the appointment of, in Deuteronomy, i. 152; what they were, 216.
Judges, the book of, its testimony to the existence of the Pentateuch, i. 165; commentaries on, 214; contents, title, and object of, 215, 216; the twofold appendix to, 217; unity of, 218-222; the chronology of, 222-226; date and author of, 226-228; sources and historical character of, 228-230.

Kabbalists, their hermeneutical treatment of the Old Testament, ii. 390-392.
Kadesh, i. 188.
Karaites, the, ii. 390.
Karkaphensian recension of the Peshito, the, ii. 274.
Kethubim, the, i. 434, ii. 155.
Kimchi, David, ii. 384.
Kings, the books of, the testimony furnished by, to the Pentateuch, i. 169; commentaries on, 251; name of, *ibid.*; division of, into two books, and the periods embraced by, 252; object of, 252, 253; unity and independence of, 254; date and author of, 260, 261; sources of, 261; historical character of, 264.
Kirjath Arba, i. 188.
Koheleth, meaning of the word, i. 513, 524; resemblance of, to Malachi, 522.
Korah, the psalms of, i. 460.

Labynetus, ii. 30.
Laish, or Leshem, i. 192.
Lamentations, the book of, commentaries on, i. 508; name, contents, and form of, 508; author and date of, 510, etc.
Language, the primitive, i. 39.
Languages, the, of the Old Testament, i. 26, etc.
Lemuel, i. 477, 478.
Levites, the, laws respecting, in Deuteronomy, i. 152, 153; not confounded by the Deuteronomist with the priests, 153, 154; lists of, in Chronicles, ii. 97.
Lexicography and lexicographers, Hebrew, ii. 164, 165, 170, 172-180.
Literæ majusculæ, minusculæ, inversæ, et suspensæ, in the Hebrew Bible, ii. 313.
Literature, Hebrew. *See* Hebrew Literature.
Locusts, the, of the prophet Joel, are they to be understood allegorically or literally? i. 379, 380-384.
Luther as an expositor of Scripture, ii. 403, 404, 405.
Luz, i. 192.
Lyric poetry among the Hebrews, i. 437.

Maccabean age, the book of Daniel did not originate in the, ii. 39, etc.
Malachi, the person and age of, i. 431, 432.
Malachi, the book of, commentaries on, i. 431; divisions and contents of, 433; form of representation which distinguishes, 433, 434.
Malachi, analogy between the name and Koheleth, i. 522.
Manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible, the general nature and character of, ii. 210; care taken in the preparation of, 210, 211, 213; synagogue rolls, 211; private, 213; age of, 214; private, in rabbinical characters, 215.
Masorah, the, ii. 316; the greater and less, ii. 317.
Masoreth, ii. 309.
Masoretic accents, the, ii. 209.
Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible, the controversy respecting the integrity of, and its results, ii. 328-332.
Meier, Ernst, as a Hebrew scholar, ii. 180.
Melek, R. Salomo ben, ii. 385, 386.
Menahem de Lozzano, his "Light of the Law," ii. 327.
Metre, or rhyme, foreign to Hebrew poetry, i. 447, 448, 449.
Micah, the prophet, i. 403.
Micah, the book of, commentaries on, i. 403; genuineness of, 404; contents of, 405, 406.
Michaelis, J. H., and Christian Benedict, their labours as Hebrew scholars, ii. 177, 178.
Midrash, the, of the book of Kings, ii. 72, 73.
Minor prophets, the, commentaries on, i. 364; collection of, 364; arrangement of, how far chronological, 365-368.
Miracles, involved in revelation, i. 184; De Wette's assertion in reference to, 185.
Miracles, the, of the book of Daniel, the object of, ii. 32, 33, 34.
Missionary spirit, the, in the Jewish Church, i. 526, 527.
Morasthites, the, i. 403.
Moses, the creator of Old Testament literature, i. 17.
Moses, the five books of [*see* Pentateuch]; the author of the Pentateuch, 160, etc.; author of the ninetieth Psalm, 460.
Munster, Sebastian, ii. 169.

Nabi, i. 268, 269.

Nabonid, ii. 30, 31.
Nahum, the prophet, what is known of him, i. 407, 408.
Nahum, the book of, commentaries on, i. 406; the *usus loquendi* of, 408; contents of, 409, 410.
Name of God, the, why not mentioned in the book of Esther? ii. 130.
Names, the use of the divine, in the Pentateuch, i. 98, etc.; in Nehemiah, ii. 111, 112.
Names of the Old Testament, ii. 153, etc.
Nathan, Mardochai, R., ii. 170.
Nebuchadnezzar, date of his invasion of Judea, ii. 2, 3, 5; his madness, 25.
Nehemiah, the book of, commentaries on, ii. 109; contents and component parts of, 109, 110; genuineness, integrity, and credibility of, 110, etc.
Neumann, Caspar, ii. 175.
New Covenant, the, ii. 154.
Nicholas, de Lyra, ii. 166, 167.
Nineveh, the date of the destruction of, i. 416.
Norzi, the *Biblia Hebraica* of, ii. 326.
Number, the, of the books of the Old Testament, different reckonings of, ii. 153, etc., 158.
Numbers, exaggerations of, in the books of Chronicles, ii. 85.
Numbers, the book of, contents of, i. 76; alleged contradictions in, 113.

Obadiah, the prophet, i. 390; the time he lived, 390, 391, 393.
Obadiah, the book of, commentaries on, i. 389; contents and date of, 390-394.
Obed Edom, ii. 96.
Old Testament, origin of the name, ii. 153.
Old Testament, the, language of, i. 26, etc.; general classification of the books of, 71; collection of the writings of, earlier than the exile, ii. 132, etc.; collection of the writings of, after the exile, 137, etc.; close of the collection of, 147, etc.; names, divisions, and enumerations of the Scriptures of, 153, etc.; variations in the numbering of the books of, 158; history of the transmission of, 159; aids to the study of the text of, 180-182; original form of, 182, 183; diffusion of, by means of translations, 215; character of, in general, 332; doctrine of the Canon of, 335; Palestinian Canon of, 337; the Alexandrian Canon of, 340; the Samaritan Canon of, 344, etc.; authority of the Canon of, in the ancient Church, 347, etc.; view of the ancient Church respecting the number of the books contained in the Canon of, 352, etc.; hermeneutical treatment of, in general, 378; hermeneutical treatment of, among the Jews, 380, etc.; hermeneutical treatment of, among the Alexandrian Jews, 386; hermeneutical treatment of, by the Karaites and Kabbalists, 390, etc.; hermeneutical treatment of, in the ancient Church, till the Reformation, 393, etc.; hermeneutical treatment of, in the Protestant Church, 403, etc.; hermeneutical treatment of, by the Church of Rome, 421, etc.
Onkelos, an account of, ii. 263; the Targum of, 264; editions of the Targum of, 265.
Origen, his Διόρθωσις of the Septuagint, and *Hexapla*, ii. 237-242; as an interpreter of Scripture, 395, 397.

Padan-Aram, and Aram Naharaim, i. 130.
Pagninus Santes, ii. 168, 170.
Palestinian Canon, the, of the Old Testament, ii. 337.
Palmyrene dialect, the, i. 34.
Parallelism, the, of Hebrew poetry, i. 441.
Parallels between Chronicles, Kings, and Samuel, ii. 49, etc.
Paraphrases, the Chaldee. *See* Targums.
Parashas, ii. 199, 207, 208.
Pentateuch, the, i. 71; names and divisions of, 72; contents of, 74; aim and plan of, 77; sources of, and documents in, 79; Astruc's documentary theory respecting, 80-84; constitution of the imaginary fundamental document of, 84-87; Dr. Davidson's view of the composition of, 87-90; Vaihinger's view of the composition of, 90-92; examination of the documentary theory of, 92-98; use of the divine names in, 98-103; alleged contradictions in, 104, etc.; no different legends in, as to the same occurrence, 117, etc.; alleged difference in the circle of ideas, and the *usus loquendi* in, 120, etc.; no proofs of two different composers of, 127, etc.; alleged linguistic peculiarities of the supplemental portion of, 134, etc.; relation of Deuteronomy to the earlier books of, 136, etc.; contents of Deuteronomy compared with the earlier books of, 138, etc. [*see* Deuteronomy]; unity of, in reference to matter, 155; to language, 159; the author of, 160; historical testimonies to the Mosaic authorship of, 164; proofs of the existence of, in the books of Samuel, 168; in the books of Kings, 169; all prophecy presupposes its existence, 171; the poetical literature of the age of David presupposes its existence, 174; testimony of the Synagogue and the Christian Church to the Mosaic authorship of, 175; assaults on the genuineness of, and defences of, 178, etc.; objections to the genuineness of: its alleged unhistorical

character, 184, etc.; alleged traces of an age later than the Mosaical in, 187, etc.; remaining general objections to, 194; peculiar view of Delitzsch as to the composition of, 183.
Pentateuch, the Samaritan, ii. 277.
Persian translation of the Pentateuch, the, ii. 280.
Peshito version of the Old Testament, the, ii. 270; author and age of, 271; character of, 272, 273; recensions of, 273, 274; versions derived from, 274, 275.
Pesukim, ii. 202, 203.
Philo, quoted respecting the Septuagint, ii. 218; as an interpreter of Scripture, 388, etc.
Philology, Hebrew, the preservation and cultivation of, ii. 159, etc., 163. [*See* Hebrew Language.]
Philoxenian Syriac version of the Old Testament, the, ii. 254.
Phœnician and Babylonian styles of writing, ii. 184, 186.
Phœnician dialect, the, i. 34.
Pietistic expositors, ii. 408, etc.
Poetical diction, the, of the Old Testament, how distinguished from prose, i. 42; character of, 436.
Poetical writings of the Old Testament, the literature of the, i. 436.
Poetry, Hebrew, the enlargement and enrichment of, subsequent to the age of Moses, i. 56; character of, 436-439; form of, 440-449.
Poli Synopsis Criticorum, ii. 414.
Porphyry, quoted against the book of Daniel, ii. 19.
Postellus, Wilhelm, ii. 172.
Primitive language, the, i. 39.
Prophecy, the position of, in the theocracy, i. 266; essential distinction between divination and, 270; nature of, 271, etc.; form of, in general, 275; date of the origin of the literature of, 278-280.
Prophet, the official name of, i. 268, 269.
Prophetic discourse, i. 276.
Prophetical and predictive books, the literature of the, i. 265, 266.
Prophets, the, the greater and the less, i. 280; the twelve minor, i. 364; the acquaintance of, with the Psalms, ii. 135; division of the books of, 156.
Protestant commentators,—Lutheran, ii. 403, etc.; Pietistic, 408; Reformed, 409; Rationalistic, 416; of the period of the Revival, 420.
Proverbs, the book of, commentaries on, i. 486; names and character of, 469; contents and component parts of, 471; author of ch. i.-xxix., 473-477; authorship of the appendices, 477; origin of, 479.
Psalms, alphabetical, i. 446.
Psalms, the, commentaries on, i. 449; titles of, 450; contents of, 452, etc.; Messianic, 453; divisions of, 453, 454; deviations in the numbering of, in the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, and Vulgate, 454; superscriptions of, 455-457, 462; appended notes to, 457; authors of, 460, 461; age of the anonymous, 462, etc.; origin of the collection of, 464; Elohistic and Jehovistic, 465, 466; the principle which dominates the entire collection, 467; five books of, 468.
Ptolemy Philadelphus, his connection with the Septuagint, ii. 218, 221.
Punctæ extraordinariæ, ii. 313.
Purim, the feast of, ii. 122; the principal evidence of the historical truth of the book of Esther, 124.

Raguel, i. 109.
Rashi, ii. 383, 384.
Rationalism, its denial of the transcendental origin of prophecy, i. 274, 275.
Rationalistic exposition and expositors of the Old Testament, ii. 419.
Reformed Churches, commentators belonging to the, ii. 409-420.
Reuchlin as a Hebrew scholar, ii. 166, 167.
Rhyme, or metre, foreign to Hebrew poetry, i. 447, 448, 449.
Rhythm, the, of Hebrew poetry, i. 440, 441.
Roll, the form of a, ii. 183.
Rolls, synagogue, ii. 211.
Romish commentators, ii. 421-423.

Sacred writings, the, of the Old Testament, collections of, before the exile, ii. 132; multiplied by copyists before the exile, 134, etc.; collections of, after the exile, 137, etc.; close of the collection of, 147, etc.
Sadducees, the, did they receive only the law? ii. 346.
Sahidic or Thebaic version of the Old Testament, the, ii. 257.
Σαμαριτικόν, τό, ii. 278.
Samaritan Canon, the, ii. 344.
Samaritan character, the, ii. 184.
Samaritan expositors of the Pentateuch, ii. 392, 393.
Samaritan language, the, i. 35, 36.
Samaritan Pentateuch, the, the origin of, ii. 302; the age of, 303; importance of, to the criticism of the Hebrew text, 305; translation from, in the Samaritan dialect, 277; Greek and Arabic translations from, 278, etc.
Samuel, the books of, commentaries on, i. 230; name of, 231; contents of, 231-233; object of, 233; composition and

unity of, 233-235; alleged contradictions in, 235-245; date and author of, 245, etc.; sources of, 248; historical character of, 250.
Sarah, Abraham's twofold denial of, self-consistent, i. 117.
Saul, the difficulties of the narrative of David's introduction to, i. 238, etc.; twice spared by David, 243, 244; the narrative of his treatment after death in Samuel and Chronicles, ii. 65.
Schools, early Jewish, ii. 160, 162.
Schultens, Albert, as a Hebrew scholar, and his works, ii. 174, 175.
Scriptio plena, the frequent occurrence of, in Chronicles, ii. 56.
Scriptures, the Holy, ii. 153.
Seer, i. 268, 269.
Sepharad, i. 392.
Septuagint, the origin and nature of, ii. 216; testimony of Aristobulus respecting, 216, 217; testimony of Aristeas, 217, 219, 220; testimony of Philo, 218; testimony of Jesus Sirach, 222; dialect and birthplace of, 222, 223; Egyptian words in, 223; influence of Alexandrianism on, 224; the work of several translators, 223, 224, 225; character of the translation of the prophets, 223, 225, 226; of the historical books, 227; of the Psalms, 227; of the Pentateuch, 223, 237; the high repute enjoyed by, at first, among the Jews, 228, 229; became at length, on polemic grounds, an object of suspicion to the Jews, 228; intense opposition of the Jews to, 229, 230; history of, in the time of Origen, 237; Origen's διόρθωσις of,—the *Hexapla*, 237-242; history of, after Origen, 243, 244; printed editions of, 245-247; versions derived from, 247, 261; affords little aid towards a critical recension of the Hebrew text, 306-309.
Servant of Jehovah, the, i. 325, 326, 327.
Shalman, i. 370.
Shemitic languages, the, i. 28; general character of, 29, etc.
Sixtine and Clementine editions of the Latin Vulgate, the variations of the, ii. 291-293.
Solomon, the author of Proverbs, i. 472; of the Song of Songs, 501; is he the author of Ecclesiastes? 516-518, 523-529.
Solomon, description of the temple of, in Kings and Chronicles, ii. 66.
"Solomon, the Book of the Acts of," i. 262, 263.
Soncino Hebrew Bible, the, ii. 321.
Song of Songs, commentaries on, i. 500; name and author of, 501; nature and object of, 503; unity of, 505; plan of, 507, 508.
Sopherim, the, ii. 262.
Spaces, open, in the text of the Hebrew Bible, ii. 197-200.
Spencer, John, his *De Hebræorum Legibus Ritualibus* characterized, ii. 416, 417.
Square character, the Hebrew, ii. 184, 185, 187, 188, 189.
Stier and Thiele's *Polyglotten Bibel*, ii. 325, 326.
Στίχοι, ii. 201, 202, 203.
Superscriptions to the Psalms, the, i. 455, 457, 462.
Supplementary hypothesis, the, in relation to the Pentateuch, considered, i. 104, etc., 134.
Symbolical actions, i. 276, 277.
Symmachus and his version of the Old Testament, ii. 233, 234.
Synagogue rolls, ii. 211.
Syriac language, the, ii. 32, 33; helps for learning, 33.
Syriac versions of the Old Testament—mediate, 251-256; the Philoxenian, 254; the Peshito, 270-274; the Karkaphensian, 274.

Tabernacle and tent, i. 115.
Talmud, the, its bearing on the Hebrew text, ii. 309, 310.
Talmudists, the, ii. 162; and Rabbins, their hermeneutical treatment of the Old Testament, 380-386.
Tam and *Welsche* styles of Hebrew writing, the, ii. 212.
Tanchum, R., ii. 384, 385.
Targums, the, the origin of, ii. 261-263; Targum of Onkelos, 263; of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, 265; of Jerusalem, or the pseudo-Jonathan, 267; on the Hagiographa, 269, 270.
Temple of Solomon, description of, in Kings and Chronicles, ii. 66.
Tent and tabernacle, i. 115.
Testament, origin of the name in its application to Scripture, ii. 153.
Tetrapla, the, of Origen, ii. 238.
Text, the printed, of the Hebrew Bible—principal editions of, ii. 320-326; critical apparatus—collections of various readings of, 326, 327; controversy respecting the integrity of, 328-332.
Text, the unprinted, of the Old Testament—history of the criticism of, ii. 294, etc.; state of, before and at the close of the Canon, 298; how it took firm shape in the age of the *Sopherim*, 300; state of, judged by the Targums, in the first and second Christian centuries, 301, etc.; the Samaritan-Alexandrian, 302, etc.; no peculiar critical recension of, furnished by the Septuagint, 306; state of, in the Talmudic period, 309, etc.; treatment of, during the Maso-

retic period, 314, etc.; subsequent fortunes of, 316, etc.
Theocracy, the, i. 197; the influence of the principle of, on the matter and form of the historical books of the Old Testament, i. 198, 200.
Theodotion and his version of the Old Testament, ii. 332.
Tirshatha, the, ii. 111.
Titles of the Psalms, the, i. 455.
Transmission of the books of the Old Testament, ii. 159.
Translations. *See* Versions.
Trent, the Council of, abolishes, under anathema, the distinction between the Apocrypha and the canonical Scriptures, ii. 371, 372.
Tribe, i. 208.

Ulphilas, the Gothic version of, ii. 260.
Unity of the Pentateuch, i. 156, etc.
"Unto this day," i. 212.

Vaihinger, his system of the constitution of the Pentateuch, i. 90-92.
Van der Hooght, Everard, his *Biblia Hebraica*, ii. 325.
Various readings in the text of the Hebrew Bible, ii. 294, etc.; causes of the,—no designed falsification can be proved, 295-297; collections of, 326, 327.
Vatablus, Franc, ii. 168.
Veneta Versio, the, ii. 260, 261.
Verses, the origin of, in the Bible, ii. 203, 204; how at first indicated, 204-206.
Versions, ancient, from the Hebrew, the value and classification of, ii. 215, 216; Greek—the Alexandrian, 216-228; other ancient Greek, 228; Aquila's version, 230; Theodotion's, 232; three anonymous, 234; the Itala, 247-251; the Syriac, mediate, 251; the Ethiopic, 256; the Egyptian, 257; the Arabic, mediate, 258; other versions derived from the Septuagint, 259; the Targums, 261-270; the Syriac Peshito, 270-274; the Arabic, derived from the Peshito, 274, 275; the Arabic, from the original text, 275-277; the Samaritan, of the Pentateuch, 277, 278; the Greek and Arabic, of the Samaritan Pentateuch, 278; the Persian, of the Pentateuch, 280; the Latin Vulgate, 281-293; versions derived from the Vulgate, 293-294.
Vision, prophetic, i. 276.
Vowel points, the most ancient system of —history of the controversy respecting, ii. 190-194; how the Masoretic system of, came into existence, 195, 196; the Palestinian origin of, 197.
Vulgate, the Latin, origin and character of, ii. 281; offence given by, attacks on, and final general approval of, 283-286; fortunes of, till the invention of printing, 286; revision of, by command of Charlemagne, 287; *Epanorthotæ*, or *Correctoria Biblia* of, 288; history of the printed text of, 290; Sixtine and Clementine editions of, and their variations, 291-293; versions derived from, 293, 294.

Walton's Polyglot, ii. 323.
"Wars of the Lord, the book of the," i. 189.
Wasmuth, Math., ii. 170.
Wessel, Johann, as a promoter of Hebrew learning, ii. 166, 167.
Writing, the beginning of, among the Hebrews, i. 15, etc.
Writing, the *Tam* and *Welsche* styles of, Hebrew, ii. 212.
Writing materials, ancient, ii. 183.
Written characters, Hebrew, changes in, ii. 184-190.
Worship of Jehovah, the neglect of, at various times among the Hebrews, no argument against the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, i. 195.

Zabian language, the, i. 36.
Zechariah, the prophet, i. 421, 422.
Zechariah, the book of, commentaries on, i. 421, 422; modes of prophetic representation in, 423; symbols employed in, *ibid.*; repetitions of formulæ in, 423, 424; language of, 424; contents of, 424, 425; genuineness of ch. ix.-xiv. defended, 425-430.
Zephaniah, the prophet, i. 413-417.
Zephaniah, the book of, commentaries on, i. 415; contents of, 417-419.

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